



Drawing by Oliver LaFarge II

MONARCA IN THE *CIL-CORTÉS* DANCE

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THE TULANE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA

MIDDLE AMERICAN RESEARCH SERIES

PUBLICATION No. 3

The
YEAR BEARER'S PEOPLE

By

OLIVER LA FARGE II

DOUGLAS BYERS



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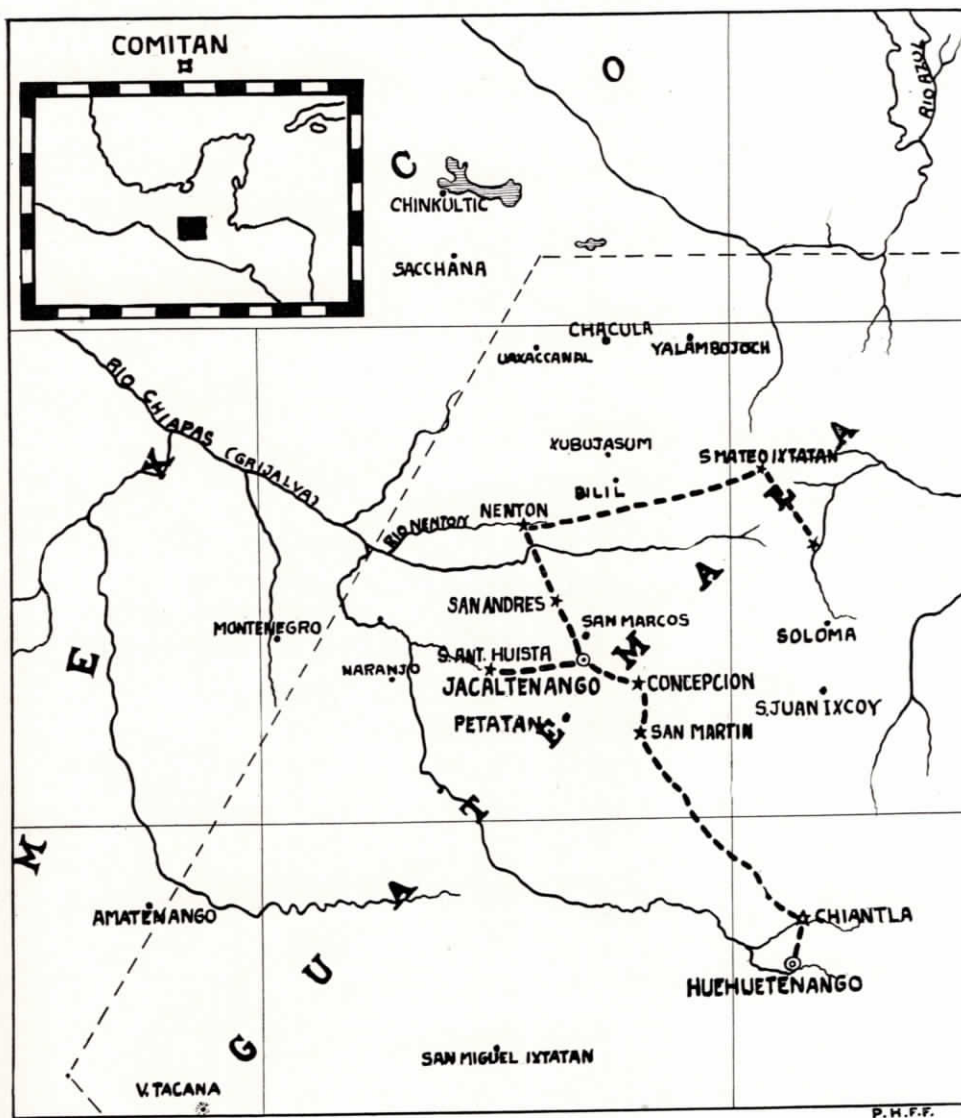
THE DEPARTMENT OF MIDDLE AMERICAN RESEARCH

THE TULANE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

1931

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THE LAND OF THE YEAR BEARER'S PEOPLE

The section on the Guatemala-Mexico border in which the Third Tulane University Expedition was conducted. The dotted line shows the route traversed. Inset: Map of lower Mexico, Yucatán, Guatemala and Honduras, with the black square indicating the region studied by the 1927 Expedition.

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The Third Tulane University Expedition to Middle
America, sponsored by the Tulane University
Exploration Society

OLIVER LA FARGE II, *in Charge*

DOUGLAS BYERS, *Assistant*

JOSÉ MARÍA HERNÁNDEZ C., *Assistant at Jacaltenango*

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President A. B. Dinwiddie,
Tulane University,
New Orleans, Louisiana.
Dear Sir:

In 1925 Mr. Oliver La Farge and I were sitting on the Plaza of Comitán in Chiapas, Mexico, talking to one of the leading citizens of the town, Don Gregorio de la Vega. During our conversation he informed us that the Indians in the town of Jacaltenango, Guatemala, at intervals held a ceremony to a person whom they called the Year Bearer. Our informant probably did not realize how deeply we were thrilled by this casual remark.

Long before the Conquest the Maya every year gave special reverence to four gods who rotated to the position as protectors of their years, and in their honor were held some elaborate feasts, such as those described by Father Diego de Landa in his "Relation of the Things in Yucatan." Now, after the Indians had been under the influence of Spanish culture for nearly 400 years, we to our astonishment heard that they still were giving worship to the Year Bearer gods.

About ten days after our conversation with Don Gregorio in Comitán, we rode into the town of Jacaltenango, perched on a terrace in a rugged mountain valley, and there we were able to confirm that the Indians really held ceremonies to the Year Bearer. This fact was of such importance that a further investigation seemed to be fully justified.

Here in an isolated mountain valley the Indians had apparently retained many of their ancient ceremonies, and there was not only an opportunity to make a study of the greatest ethnological value, but one might find explanation for obscure passages in the Maya ceremonies described by the early Spanish writers. There was even a slight possibility that some of the material to be gathered might throw light on certain aspects of the Maya hieroglyphic writings.

Therefore, an expedition was organized in 1927 and sent out under the auspices of the Tulane University Exploration Society. This was the Third Tulane University expedition, and Mr. Oliver La Farge II was placed in charge, with Mr. Douglas Byers as his assistant.

Few people realize the task before these two men. Their objective was to investigate the ancient and secretive religious ceremonial of a tribe of Indians which had been persecuted by well-meaning missionaries for about 400 years. They were to conquer the suspicion of the Indians and to gain their confidence. Their task can be likened to that of a man trying to become familiar with the ritual of a Masonic Lodge without becoming a Mason himself. Outwardly there was nothing spectacular about their work. They would have to spend long and monotonous days wandering around among the natives in hopes of finding a clue to some secret ritual.

The attached report which I herewith submit to you, recommending that it be published as Publication Number 3 of the Tulane University Middle American Research Series, shows plainly that both Mr. La Farge and Mr. Byers were signally successful in their work, and I should like to take this opportunity to thank them for the excellent service which they rendered, not only to the Department of Middle American Research but especially to Maya ethnological research through their conscientious work among "The Year Bearer's People."

Yours respectfully,

FRANS BLOM
Director

FOREWORD

While this report is mainly the work of one writer, the field investigation must be credited alike to both members of the expedition. Our field notebooks show how equally the work was divided.

The success of our expedition is due in large part to the kindness and help of many friends. Some of this indebtedness has been acknowledged at appropriate places in the text, but we wish here to thank certain friends who gave us special assistance. First of these is Mr. Frans Blom, Director of the Department of Middle American Research at Tulane University. Mr. Prentiss H. Gray, of New York, provided us with a moving-picture camera and film, and secured many facilities for us in Guatemala.

We received the utmost coöperation from the Guatemalan government; the courtesy of His Excellency Dr. Matos, then Minister of Foreign Relations, and His Excellency Dr. Mora, Minister of Public Education, made our work possible. Sr. Don Carlos Palma, of the Ministry of Foreign Relations, did us many services. General Don Aureliano Recinos, and Sr. Don H. R. Gómez, who were successively Jefe Político of Huehuetenango during our stay, extended to us their official support. We received courtesies also from Sr. Don José Antonio Villacorta, co-author of the "Manuscrito de Chichicastenango," then Alcalde of Guatemala. Messrs. Bennett and Agarino of the United Fruit Company extended to us the courtesies of that important organization.

Our friends and helpers in the Cuchumatán country are too many to be listed here. Their names, and the parts they played, will be found in the text.

This report would still be in preparation had it not been for the work done by Mr. P. H. F. Follett in preparing the illustrations, and by Mr. Maurice Ries in making the index and reading proof. They have both worked devotedly and intelligently, taking off the author's shoulders much labor which one does not ordinarily dare to delegate. Thanks are due also to Mrs. Patricia Irving, who carried out the difficult task of going through all note-books and linguistic lists, to compile the outline of the Jacalteca Vocabulary.

OLIVER LA FARGE
NEW YORK, 1931

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CHAPTER I

THE MAYA BACKGROUND

The Indians of the Mayan¹ Linguistic Stock, living in southern Mexico, Yucatan, and Guatemala, are generally admitted to be the descendants, ethnically and culturally, of the people who built the great temples and wrote the inscriptions of the deserted cities about many of which the modern tribes are distributed. To a casual traveler passing through one of their villages, this claim of cultural descent seems far-fetched. He has seen evidences of the engineering and artistic ability of the older people, whole cities, temples, palaces, and monuments, lying neglected in the jungles. From the studies that have been made of inscriptions and codices, and the descriptions of the early Spanish conquerors, he knows that their builders were a subtle and sophisticated people, mathematicians, astronomers, literateurs, artists. There has been here a great and highly evolved civilization. Mud-walled villages of humble and subservient little Indians, in whose streets the hog and the buzzard reign supreme, scarcely seem the heritors of that old culture. Yet even superficial observation confirms what history and a few scientific studies have shown, that among these poor peasants who carry his luggage and run his errands, there exists what one might call the echo of a memory of things that used to be.

The region occupied by the Maya during the first known period of their culture, commonly called the Old Empire, includes the inland low country from Copán in Honduras to Comalcalco in Tabasco, Mexico. Its Southern and Southwestern boundary would be an arc intersecting those two points, or better, a diagonal sagging to the southward at its center. From Copán one may draw the line to the Caribbean coast, and follow that until a little short of the 18th parallel of latitude in British Honduras. From there it would strike inland just a little bit north of true west to reach Comalcalco and the Gulf of Mexico again. An arm of it runs up the east coast of Yucatan. The country thus enclosed is mostly low, *Tierra Caliente* or Hot Country, reaching the moderately high *Tierra Templada*, the Temperate Country, at a few places along the edges, such as at Toniná in Chiapas. Geologically,

¹ The terms Maya and Mayan will refer to the ancient culture and to the ethnic group. Yucatecan will be used for the Yucatan Maya from whom the area has taken its name. Strictly speaking, the Maya country does not form an independent culture *area*, the term is used for convenience in this report.

it is all a limestone land except in the vicinity of Comalcalco. On the evidence of the inscriptions, the Maya flourished within this district from about the birth of Christ to the end of the seventh century, A. D. There is reason to believe that they were present a goodly length of time before their first preserved inscriptions.

There was unrolled a sedentary, agricultural civilization. Enormous temples, mounds, and palaces were built profusely. Artistic styles developed and ran their course. Astronomy and mathematics flourished. The country must have been thickly populated. Probably then, as later, the common people were relatively ignorant, living a simple life, and absolutely subject to the edicts of their rulers.

For the specific purpose of this report, one point of the old Maya culture must be brought out from the beginning. The pre-Columbian religion had become sophisticated far beyond the point of simple beliefs in such gods as man instinctively creates for his own comfort. Mathematicians *par excellence*, the Mayas had become fascinated by the mutations and numerical combinations of their own system for measuring time. The purely mechanical changes of twenty day-names revolving in a 365-day year produced four dominical days, "Year Bearers," with which the years successively might begin. In very early times, probably long before the oldest fragmentary records that have come down to us, this and other facts of a like nature began to assume a place in their worship. The extraordinary nature of mathematical fact, its inevitable quality, that character which causes us to speak of a mathematical law as being "discovered," not "invented,"—our justifiable feeling that, for instance, the relation of two lines perpendicular to the same line, or the number of times that five divides into twenty, have always existed and always will exist, whether anybody knows about them or not—that character invested their computations of time with a sacred nature. It is inevitable that if you keep a count of days, eventually a round number will be reached and that on occasions such a number will occur, for example, upon the equinox. It is equally inevitable that if you have a month of twenty named days repeating through a 365-day year, as has been said, then each new year will begin five days later than the last, thus creating the Year Bearers. Those things are products of absolute laws, and cannot be avoided. It is, however, a question of temperament whether the keeper of the records shall simply notice these inevitable facts, accepting them as he accepts the fall of an apple, or whether, immersed in their study and fascinated by their certainty, he should deify them. Roughly speaking, the latter was what the Maya did.

Newton, living in another age, might have made a god of the law of continuation of forces.

The practical result of this process was the superimposition of calendrical worship upon a hypothetical older cult and the introduction of such deities as the "Year Bearers," purely the product of calendrical mathematics. The Year Bearers were worshipped in Yucatan² and were, at least, important in Chiapas³ at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards; probably much the same kind of thing went on throughout the area. Ceremonies connected with them are shown in the pre-Columbian Codex Dresdensis,⁴ and two pages⁵ of the Codex Peresianus appear to be given over to calculations concerning them. With the downfall of the native kingdoms, they disappeared.

This one phase of the Maya culture has been emphasized for reasons which will appear in the body of this narrative. It is also necessary to present, however sketchily, some other points of the old civilization, which will help one to understand the survivals that we found in the Cuchumatanes country. This is not intended to be a complete description; those who are not acquainted with Maya Archaeology, and wish to go deeper into the matter, are recommended especially to:—Bowditch, 1910; Brinton, 1882, 1885; Holmes, 1895, 1897; Landa, 1881; Maudslay, 1899-1902; Morley, 1915; Raynaud, 1925; Spinden, 1913, 1922, 1924; Stephens, 1842, 1843; Blom and La Farge, 1927.

Toward the end of the seventh century—the close of the Maya Ninth Cycle—the great cities were abandoned one by one. It is not germane to the purposes of this report to discuss the many reasons suggested for the desertion of the Old Empire. Those empty, tremendous cities rotting in the green jungle present a story even more incredible, and as true, as the countless deserted pueblos of the Southwest. It seems to be a characteristic of the Indian that though he languishes and is miserable even at a little distance from his homeland, he will, for cause, rise up and abandon that home suddenly and completely, leaving all the investment of his labor and development behind, where a European peasant would cling to his soil though it meant starvation. For us, now, the fact suffices. Northward, moving out to the plains of Yucatan, and southward, moving from Chiapas towards the mountains of Guatemala, new cities were built and in turn abandoned. It seems to have been a process of slowly edging away, settling just a little further along, until at last mountains, the sea, or hostile tribes barred further

² Landa: 1881, p. 87 ff.

³ Nuñez de la Vega: 1702, p. 9, 10.

⁴ Pages 25-28.

⁵ Pages 19-20.

progress. At Comitán and Sacchaná in Chiapas, and in the Temple of the Initial Series at Chichén Itzá in Yucatán, appears the date 10-2-5-0-0,⁶ or 874 A. D.⁷ Less than fifteen years later the last dates are recorded in the Old Empire, 10-3-0-0-0, 889 A. D., at Uaxactún and Xultún. With them the history of the Old Empire comes to a close.

The monuments of the Old Empire are fairly similar throughout, but there is enough individuality of style at such places as Toniná to indicate that even at this time the people were somewhat divided, possibly into separate nations. Probably there were already distinct dialects. Indeed, the slow rate of change shown by most Mayan languages during the four hundred years of Spanish domination leads one to conclude that the beginnings of at least the main groups must have been in early times. On the other hand, the main elements of the culture were the same everywhere. Costumes, as shown on the monuments, do not vary greatly. The inscriptions and the count of time are the same from end to end of the area. It seems fair to postulate that the people who divided to go north and south took with them a single culture pattern, varying only in minor ways. Once well separated, divergent evolution assumed full force.

There is very little evidence that the immigrants to Yucatan encountered any alien people there. They occupied the country more or less as a unit, founding a single civilization. The situation in the Highlands of Guatemala and Chiapas, however, was different, and more difficult to unravel now. The very high country, and the Pacific Coast, are occupied by tribes of the Mayan Stock whose languages—Quiché, Kekchi, Cakchiquel, Pokom, etc., show a certain unity as contrasted with the whole Northern group. It must have taken a long time for the Highlanders to become thus set apart, and subdivided within themselves. With the exception of the Kekchi, their geographical position rather faces away from the Old Empire; tribes of Northern speech lie between them and that region. The fundamentals of their culture are drawn from the common Maya store, but in details they are greatly differentiated. It seems to the writer that these people may have been in occupation of the Highlands when the Old Empire emigrants arrived, having separated long before, and remained in a relatively slight contact.

The new settlers in Chiapas and Guatemala found themselves in high, broken country, bordering upon foreign tribes. There must

⁶ Blom and La Farge; 1927, pp. 422, 436.

⁷ I am using the Oxtutzkab correlation, recently and effectively restated by Martínez Hernández: 1928. See also Thompson: 1927.

have been a certain amount of turmoil. The country itself was harder to live in; in most parts the two crops a year of the rich lowlands were not possible, it was necessary to make provision against cold. The difficulties of travel kept them apart. It is small wonder, then, if there failed to develop here a Renaissance comparable to the New Empire of Yucatan.

Of the Old Empire we know only the archaeological remains; of the New Empire, and the Southern and Highland⁸ Tribes, early Spanish explorers and native writers have given us a fair idea. Yucatan and Campeche, of which Landa (1881) has left us a detailed description, were divided into city states, ruled by hereditary oligarchies of nobles and priests. Schools were maintained for the ruling classes. Some few elective offices were known, such as the *Chac*, a low grade of priest elected annually by the people. The religion cannot be gone into here, but it must be pointed out that the calendar, as far as the shorter time-counts are concerned, was in full force. Not only were the chronological counts maintained in an abbreviated manner, but the mutations of days and numbers, to which we have already referred, were of great importance. The days were counted by their twenty names recurring through the eighteen months and five extra days, but also by thirteen numbers, so that a day was known by a name, a number between one and thirteen, and its position in the month. If we had such a system, Monday, July 12th, would become, say 8 Monday 12th (day of) July, Tuesday being 9 Tuesday, 13th (day of) July, and so on to 13 Sunday 18th July, and thence to 1 Monday 19th July. The selection of a twenty-day month is natural to a people with a vigesimal numeral system. There has been much discussion of the reason for choosing the number thirteen, without any very satisfactory solution. The combination of numbers and names became important, producing a cycle of 260 days, commonly known as the *tzolkin*, or by the Aztec name of *tonalamatl*, the time necessary for any one of the twenty names and thirteen numbers to recur in conjunction. This cycle was used for divination.

The daily life of the common people was very much as it is today. Corn was the heart and center of all things, everything else was subordinate to its cultivation. The fields were burned over and roughly cleared, and planted without fertilization or true tilling. The men worked in the fields and hunted, certain ones were specialized as skilled artisans. The women had a share in the cultivation, but their time was mostly spent at home, eternally bent over the

⁸ It is necessary to assign some sort of name to these two groups, both of whom are situated mostly in the high country. Highland refers to the Quiché-Pokom group before mentioned, and Southern to the Tzeltal, Chol, and their relatives.

grinding stone, preparing the corn. Ceremonial occasions, often accompanied by drunkenness, broke the monotony.

No one writer has given us such a picture of the Highland Tribes as they were at the time of the conquest, as Landa has done for the Mayas of Yucatan. Much may be garnered from Alvarado, Gage, and Las Casas.⁹ Yet more is told or implied in the native Popol Vuh, the Titulo de Totonicapán, and the Annals of the Cakchiquels.¹⁰ We find what appear to be true tribes or small nations, each one with its own distinctive linguistic and religious character. Warfare and conquest were common, the Quiché being top dog at the time the Spaniards arrived.¹¹ The nobility, which seems to have been slightly less priestly in character than that of Yucatan, ruled the land and monopolized the learning in much the same way. The native accounts have less talk of the calendar than in Yucatan, with a good deal less emphasis on chronology in the larger sense, although it is clear that the magico-religious calendar existed. The life of the ordinary man, with due allowances for difference in climate, seems to have been very much like that of Yucatan. Indeed, that pattern is found with little change, as far as material things are concerned, throughout Mexico and Northern Central America. Their gods, as recorded in the Popol Vuh and Annals of the Cakchiquels, differed from those of Yucatan.

This description can only be applied by inference to the people with whom we are most directly concerned, the immigrant Jacalteca and Chuj tribes in the Northwestern corner of the Guatemala Highlands, for they were ignored by the early historians, and no native writings are known of from that part of the country. As late as 1884, Dr. Otto Stoll overlooked the two languages in his "Zur Ethnographie der Republik Guatemala," following Juarros (1810) in listing that section as Pocomam. Stoll corrected his error in 1888, and in his "Die Maya-Sprachen der Pokom Gruppe" is the first to name them. Thomas Gage passed through the country in about 1630,¹² but he says nothing about the people, and later writers showed the same reticence, all the more curious when we consider that one of the main roads from Mexico to Guatemala passes through these tribes.

We do not know what was the condition of this section at the time of the conquest. It may have been, as Recinos¹³ thinks subject

⁹ Alvarado: 1924; Gage: 1655; Las Casas: 1909.
¹⁰ Popol Vuh; throughout this work, Raynaud's edition (1925) is used. Titulo de Totonicapán; Charencey: 1885. Annals of the Cakchiquels; Brinton: 1885.
¹¹ Termer (1930), partly on archaeological grounds, depicts highly organized conquest, with viceroys or governors sent out into the conquered districts. I do not feel that architectural similarity of the ruins proves anything more than cultural contact, and it must be remembered that the Spaniards, with their ideas of royalty and empire, tended grossly to exaggerate the organization and hierarchy of the peoples they encountered, nor can we completely trust what the Quichés have to say about their own history and power.
¹² Gage: 1655, p. 116.
¹³ Recinos: 1913.

to the Mames kingdom. More probably the high mountain barrier of the Cuchumatanes preserved its isolation, and like the various tribes immediately north and west of them to whom the names of Alcalaes and Lacandones were so loosely applied, it may have consisted of one or a number of petty, provincial chiefdoms. The archaeological remains, as will be seen, in part belong to the type of Zaculeu, in part conserve an older form.

We do not know just when these people were conquered or converted. Gonzalo de Alvarado, in 1525, stopped at the foot of the Cuchumatanes, after the taking of Zaculeu, leaving a garrison under Gonzalo de Solís at Huehuetenango, and ordering his Teniente General to "go through all the country, and the villages subject to Caibilbalán (the Mames King)."¹⁴ Between 1559 and 1564, Pedro de la Peña, second bishop of Vera Paz, asked to have the cure of Soloma, one of the Jacalteca towns, added to his diocese.¹⁵ San Mateo Ixtatán, a Chuj town, was then part of the cure. In 1695 the troops going to Ocosingo for the Lacandon-Peten campaign passed through those towns, instead of by the shorter route through Jacaltenango or San Antonio Huista.¹⁶ Meantime, as has been said, Gage had made the trip, probably passing through the latter town and Todos Santos. In 1810, Soloma was the head of a secular cure, and Jacaltenango of a convent of the order of Our Lady of Mercy, the two between them embracing all the Chuj and Jacalteca towns.¹⁷ This is the first time that the names of Jacaltenango and most of the other towns occur, and the last, until Stoll. Stephens passed through Todos Santos and San Antonio Huista.¹⁸ In short, the whole Cuchumatanes country is virtually devoid of history, and obscure. Jacaltenango itself was until recently the head of the electoral district, and local Commandancia de Armas, as well as a religious center. Its large church and convent, and the remains of an elaborate church yard, testify to its former importance. Now all its glory has been usurped by San Antonio Huista, which has become Ladino.¹⁹

We can suppose that the same drama of the conquest was enacted here as in so many other places—feeble resistance, submission, overthrow of native officials, reduction of the aristocracy to the common level, conversion, and an early period of oppression which is still remembered in the legends. After that, these villages were left very much alone; in only a few of them did the Ladino

¹⁴ Fuentes y Guzman: 1882, Vol. II.

¹⁵ Juarros: 1810, p. 126, Vol. II.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 99.

¹⁸ Stephens: 1842, p. 234 ff.

¹⁹ The term Ladino is used here, as in Guatemala, for all people of relatively Spanish culture and speech, as opposed to the Indians.

settlements amount to anything. Nobody paid any attention to them, we have not even any early linguistic material, any of the "Artes," "Doctrinas," and "Confesionarios" in the native tongue, in producing which the old Frayles were usually so prolific.

In 1925 the First Tulane Expedition passed through Jacaltenango. It was the end of the trip, our next to last night in hammocks. Following our usual plan, we made a short linguistic list with an Indian, a Regidor called Santiago Hernández. Acting on a suggestion from a friend in Comitán, Don Gregorio de la Vega, we asked the Indian:

"What do you call the Year Bearer?"

The man was astounded. "How did you know how to say that? 'Year Bearer (Cargador del Año)' why, that's just what we call him."

He and others then proceeded to unburden themselves of an extraordinary batch of information concerning local beliefs and customs, almost half of which eventually proved to be correct. The single fact of the Year Bearer, however, was sufficient to determine us that Jacaltenango would have to be studied.

From that arose the Third Tulane Expedition, with whose work in 1927 this report is concerned. It is a twofold study. From the archaeologist's point of view it is an investigation of the survival of old beliefs and customs that may help us in understanding the ancient culture. Until recently, with the exception of Dr. A. M. Tozzer and Dr. Carl Sapper, almost no one has made any serious study of Middle American ethnology, and particularly of Mayan ethnology, save as a sideline to archaeology. Today, the publications of Thompson and Termer,²⁰ and the investigations of Miss Bunzel at Chichicasteñango, lead one to hope that this vastly important subject will receive the attention it deserves. In this report it is attempted to present the ethnology of the Jacalteca Indians *per se*. They are not merely descendants of the Mayas, they are also live Indians, a fact of which scientists have tended to lose sight. They present a picture of a fairly primitive people whose background is highly civilized, subjected strongly to the influence of a foreign culture, and out of these factors evolving a type pattern peculiarly their own—well worthy the attention of the general student of man. And there is about them an unconscious clinging to the remnants of something that once was glorious, like H. G. Wells' men-beasts trying to stay men, that cannot but appeal to one's imagination.

²⁰ Thomson: 1930; Termer: 1930.

CHAPTER II

HUEHUETENANGO TO JACALTENANGO

(*By* DOUGLAS S. BYERS)

In Huehuetenango, where we hoped to do our final outfitting, we found horse-trading all that it is supposed to be: the much vaunted beast that would appear as soon as the Chief of Police demanded, turned out to be two dejected horses, and a senile old donkey. Feeling that it would be too much to expect such elderly beings to follow us, we left, to consider the problem at leisure. After several days of haggling, we at last secured two good horses, for what we were told was a very small sum; on these we rode to Chiantla, the neighboring town, in search of a pack animal. There we were told by the friendly Alcalde that pack animals were scarce, as the people were holding them for sale at the impending fair. He promised to send us a muleteer, however, so back we rode for what we expected would be our last night at the Hotel Galvez. Next day we were disappointed; a telegram arrived from Chiantla, informing us that muleteers were not to be had that day, but that one would arrive for our bundles next morning.

Not wishing to run the chance of having to wait another day, we took the advice of our host, Don Emilio Galvez, and secured an Indian from the village of Todos Santos, bound home with no freight for his mules after having brought a load of corn down to the mill. The Indian, Apalasio Martín, was dressed in the costume of his village, which would have done credit to a comic opera pirate. His trousers were of cotton, striped red and white like those of Uncle Sam, and over them he wore a contrivance like a pair of heavy black woolen coat-tails sewn onto a pair of almost legless trunks. The long flaps are buttoned up to the waist while the man works. He wore a black tunic of wool that reached to his waist, and beneath this a shirt of the same red and white striped material as his trousers. His head, wrapped in a bright red bandanna handkerchief, was crowned by a broad-brimmed straw hat with a gay cockade of rooster's feathers fluttering behind. His village, the next on our road, was some twenty miles away over the pass, and we were told that he would be in a hurry to get home. He was. We never saw him or the hundred pesos (\$1.36 in American money) which we had paid in advance.

Having lost our man and our money, we rode again to Chiantla to call on the Alcalde once more, who found us an excellent muleteer, Don Felíz Alba. That night we stayed at the guest-house of one Doña Mercedes. Her small boy, overjoyed at the sight of horses to be fed and watered, opened the great gates to the stable yard, from which we passed into a patio filled with sun, where a fountain played from a mask hidden beneath the ivy on the wall. Two trimmed cypresses guarded the fountain, and provided a cool spot where one could rest his eyes from the glare of the sun.

Beyond Chiantla, to the north, towers the wall of the Cuchumatanes mountains, some 5,000 feet above the town. As we left the covered bridge just beyond the town, we began a five hours' climb. Up a rugged shoulder, the trail zigzagged over such steep and rocky ground that we had to lead our horses, half pulling them as we went. On the barren stony crest we stopped for breath, while we gazed at the heights above. Beside us stretched the mountain wall, a steep and rocky barrier running East and West that effectively cuts off the northwestern corner of Guatemala from all but mule-borne commerce. Up again we went, through a lone grove of white oaks, and the string of huts that make up the hamlet of Cordillera, a stopping place for muleteers on the trail to Mexico. Lines of agave cactus, their flower stalks standing like colossal asparagus, wound up the ridge beside the trail. Soon even these gave out and left us to the rocks, grass and scattering wind-blown trees. Just below the Southern summit of the pass was a cross, old and weather-beaten, marking the official crest. Near this, on a sunny limestone outcrop, we stopped for lunch. (Fig. 1).

Over head a pair of ravens croaked, as they flew back and forth to their nest on the nearby cliff, fitting birds for that barren spot. Below us, seemingly beneath our feet, spread the valley of blue-green, pine-clad hills and yellow fields, its hills faded to insignificance, and its rolling fields to soft flat velvet stretching away to the west and Mexico. Over across the valley to the southwest, the Sierra Madre reared its parallel wall, a high and rugged mass, uncrossed by trails, above which loomed the huge bulk of Tajumulco, the highest mountain in the State. As one followed the skyline, one saw the whole string of Guatemala's volcanos from Tacaná at the Mexican border, past Tajumulco and the glorious tower of Santa Maria, to Agua, and Acatenango smoking lazily as she grumblingly watched over Guatemala City.

One last look, as we turned into the narrow trench through which the winds whoop and rush. A cold and cheerless spot it was, with but few trees to break the tumbled grey sides of rock. As one

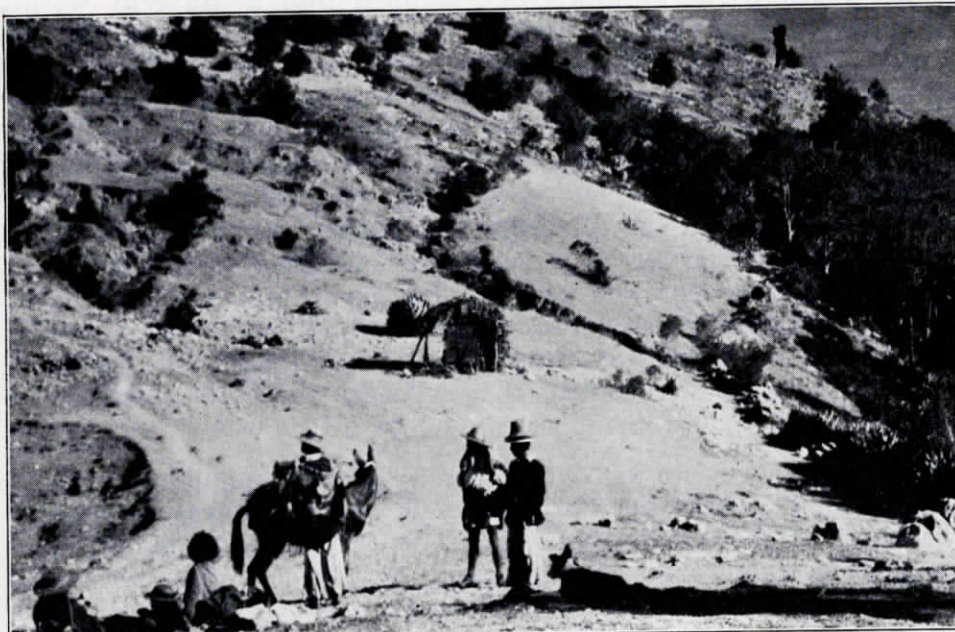


FIG. 1—The pass between Chiantla and Todos Santos, Guatemala.



FIG. 2—Todos Santos Men.

passed through the gateway, one stepped into a different world. Ahead spread a rolling grassy plain, stretching treeless to the mountain rim, some two miles away to the north, a vast dance floor where the winds grew and whirled before they rushed howling over the ridge to the valley. Around the sides of the plain clung the few fields from which the hardy inhabitants coaxed a few potatoes. From these, and their flocks of sheep, grazing in the meadow, they eked out a scant existence. Their houses, dark and windowless huts, with mud and log walls, were well designed to hold the heat and smoke of the fires and keep out the prying fingers of the bitter wind. And bitter it can be, for on the sixth of April, when a member of the Expedition was crossing, a snow and hail storm came up in which the mail carrier died from exposure and cold! This in the tropics!

Beyond the meadows, one enters a defile rising in a slow and gentle slope toward the north, a defile which contrasted sharply with that of the south. Everywhere were cedars, scrub pine and gnarled deciduous trees through which darting blue jays, fly catchers and thrushes made brilliant flashes of color. Moss was thick beneath the trees, and little brooks trickled between cress-covered banks. The trail climbed and climbed up the steady incline, beyond which there was only the sky and the ceaseless wind. At the cross which marks La Ventosa summit we halted for breath, over ten thousand feet above sea level. Before us a cañon opened up, a great trench running down to the northwest and the valley of the Rio Grande de Chiapas, toward which we could see nothing but sky, and a few clouds floating in the distance far below. On each side spread the ridges, like fingers of a giant hand, up the back of which we had slowly climbed. Down into the cañon between the fingers we dropped beside a rushing brook that dashed its rocky way through the forest. Fir, hemlock and pine had taken the place of the smaller growth, covering the valley between the bounding cliffs, and even climbing up the grey walls when there was any foothold. In the clearings red-and-white-trousered Indians cultivated their potatoes, while miniatures of them forgot the flocks of sheep that grazed beyond the fences, to gaze at the two strange men. A descent of some twenty-four hundred feet brought us to the mountain-rimmed valley in which lay Todos Santos. As we rode down the winding lanes between stone walls backed by elderberry hedges, the shadows crept up the eastern wall, until, as we drew up to the school where Don Felíz awaited us, the last sun faded and the whip-poor-wills began to call.

We were installed in the high-roofed schoolroom, a part of the town building, and our horses in the Convent stable to the disgust

of the *mayores* in charge. Hard by lived Doña Felipa in whose house we ate our supper of mutton ribs, grilled on the coals and hot tortillas snatched from the griddle inside the dancing circle of flames by a hand that must have been insensitive to heat. About the fire sat the family, talking quietly and now and then casting an appraising eye in our direction while the warm firelight danced on their faces and the grotesque shadows leaped and jumped behind them, as if to regain the soft blackness beneath the roof whence they must have slipped. Draining the last drop of delicious coffee we lit our pipes and departed with Don Felíz, to shake down our beds in the schoolhouse. We had heard that it was cold at Todos Santos, so we prepared for a cool night, but not too well, and it was with stiff and aching limbs, and chattering teeth, that we arose next morning to feed the horses. From Don Felíz, to whom we will ever be grateful, we received two cups of what we believed was the finest coffee in the world; just before sun-up he departed and left us for a day to the mercy of the Highlanders.

By daylight, the village proved to be every bit as attractive as it had seemed in the gathering dusk. The Juzgado, or Town Hall, Church and Telegraph station (for Todos Santos is on the main line to the Mexican frontier at Gracias á Dios) are grouped around the sparkling ice-cold fountain and form the nucleus of the town. Some thirty houses are gathered nearby, while others trail off up and down the valley, set in neatly walled and hedged cornfields. In spring the few apples trees make bright splashes of color that call one's mind away from the tropics to colder lands. To the southeast of the Juzgado are the ruins of Cu Manchón, some eleven mounds in all, set on the brow of a hill. These were investigated and mapped, with the aid of one Fidel, a simple, good-hearted Indian who became our firm friend.

The tallest of the pyramids, is a grass-covered mound on which we found a crude stucco figure, lying face down. Although there had evidently been no disturbance of the figure, it was quite plain that people had been on top of the mound, as tooled pieces of wood, and bits of board were scattered all about. Fidel, whose faith was as much that of his ancestors, as of Rome, told us that it was the custom of the people to bring their dead up there and leave them on the mound over night before they were buried. This custom has no connection with the figure, but has always been observed. All about are signs that the site is still the place of many ceremonies. Near the base of mound A is a small altar with a blackened cross on it; about its base are offerings of the blue Iris, called *Flor de*

San Juan, which grows in thick clumps among the mounds, while the fires of worshippers have left a goodly deposit of ash on the altar's top. In the center of the plaza is a small mound, at the base of which are more ashes, and still other marks of fire show that the place is in active use. Fidel knew that his people had built the mounds before the Spaniards came; and said that they had always come there to pray at certain times.

On some of the mounds are small stone boxes like sentry boxes, about 15 x 20 cm., and about 15 cm. high. (See Fig 71). They are of rough stones set on edge to form three sides, with a fourth laid over the top. In front of each were bits of charcoal, and other signs of fire. They are the shelters for the guardians of the corn-fields, minor gods who watch over the crops, and ensure a good harvest.

At planting time it is the custom of the people to come there to pray, and burn incense to the guardians. Fidel knew of the caves of Tulan Suiva, whence the people had come at the Creation, according to the Popul Vuh, the Quiché bible. He showed no hesitation in talking about it. Catholicism, in spite of the occasional visits of the Padre from Chiantla, probably has very little hold on the people; the only ceremony that we ever saw near the bare church, was the burning of incense before the door and the two crosses every evening. A man, who seemed always to be the same, waved a smoking incense brazier before the door so that the smoke floated over the whole façade, and beneath the crosses until a dense cloud floated over the tops and arms. One man, whom we wished to reward for having helped us, refused to accept a small chromo of a saint, so readily accepted in other places, saying that the people had no altars in their houses, and what was the use of a saint, anyway! They also observe the Year Bearer Ceremony, and have a body of Priests, or Prayer Makers, quite unconnected with the Catholic faith.

Since our return, Señor Hernández has sent us the following information:

The titles and papers of Todos Santos are kept in an old chest, ordinarily in the custody of the Alcalde unless he is a Ladino, in which case it is kept by the highest Indian official (when we went through, the second Alcalde). This chest is highly revered, if not worshipped, by the Indians, and is carried in a solemn procession on New Year's day, when the new officials take office.

Recently, a Ladino being Alcalde, some young Ladinos made an attempt to seize the chest during a procession, believing it to contain gold. Although they drew pistols and fired several shots,

the Indians refused to let it go. They made complaint to the Jefe Politico, who sent an official to investigate. This individual, whom we questioned, told us that when he arrived, the Prayer-Makers were praying before the chest with incense and candles.

The man in charge of it must observe complete continence during his year of office.

The village is apparently a very old agricultural community; the ruin, still used as a place of worship, the old terraces which can be seen along the valley, and the bare slopes of farmed-out land capable of producing only wirey bunchgrass that is spurned by even the goats, all testify to the age of the town. Planting is done about the last week in March, before the rains begin. It is still done as it apparently has always been done; no other means of fertilizing the soil is used than that of incidentally digging in the weeds and grass, with a hoe.²² Where there is a handy spring available, the water is sometimes led through small ditches along the rows of corn; otherwise there will be nothing more than the dampness of the soil until the rains begin in May. Daily showers are not enough, they say hard rains are necessary to ensure a good crop. It takes ten months for the corn to become hard and dry on the stalk, and not until then is it considered to be matured. At the time of the Spring planting, it is customary to make offerings to the guardians in the corn fields; these seem to be quite separate from the ceremonies at Cu Manchón, as Fidel told us that they were *aparte*. Incense and candles are burned before the planting begins. Corn is their largest crop, although in the higher country toward the top of the pass, potatoes are grown to some extent. These form one of the sources from which Huehuetenango draws its supply, while the culls are sold to the Indians and Ladinos in the warmer towns to the north. A few apples are also raised, but these are probably, or were originally, the property of the few Ladinos that live there. This is probably one of the towns that sent men down to the relief of Caibilbalán, the Mames King, when he was besieged at Zaculeu by Gonzalo de Alvarado.

From the ruin, the town presents unexpected order and neatness; the houses are trimly built, whitewashed, and roofed with a grass thatch. They are much like the houses of Jacaltenango described in Chapter IV, following, but the sides are of adobe bricks, rather than of wattle and daub construction. The bricks are made in fields where one of the many tinkling brooks is turned into a clay bed which is then puddled until it becomes smooth; straw is mixed in, and the clay is packed in molds about 42 x 50 x 10 cm. to dry and

²² Cf. Cook: 1921, and see Chapter VII.

harden in the sun. On all but the public buildings, which are roofed with tiles, the roofs are of thatch, held in place against the winds by a crotch of logs laid over the false ridge-pole. The crotches, made by lashing one log into the fork of the other, vary in number with the size of the roof; the usual house has but one, while on larger roofs there are two and even three. On one side, usually the southern, is the large, roomy porch where the weaving and spinning are done.

The costume worn by the men has been described above, but this standard has variations of one sort or another. Some men wear red and white trousers in which the white stripe is twice the width of the red, with narrow red cross stripes cutting the white into squares, as on the man in Figure 2. In place of the black tunic, or *capixaij*, many wear a gray, or gray and white jacket, quite like the Eton jacket in cut. These are brought in from Momostenango, while the *capixaijs* are either made in the village, or brought in from Santa Eulalia, Soloma, or San Miguel. A woven straw hatband is usually worn, to which additions are made to suit the taste of the wearer, cockades of rooster feathers seem to be the usual variant, although at one time when Byers went through the village, the rage seemed to be for any paper or cardboard label from a "trade" package. One man took particular pride in the cover from an American chewing gum box, which he wore with the name in the middle, like the badge on a conductor's cap, while another took equal delight in the gaudy label from a packet of Guatemalan cigarettes. The sandals are of the type seen so often in Middle America, with a heel cup from the wings of which a thong is led, to be tied through the loop of the toe thong, and knotted over the instep in a bow.

The women wear a skirt of dark blue cotton material through which run double lines of lighter blue at about four inch intervals. Their blouses are of the same red and white material as the men's shirts and drawers, and their hats like the men's, although they may have lower crowns. All seem to have a fondness for rings, which often leads them to wear three or four on one hand. They are common brass rings, brought in by the traders, but they make a very good showing, against well-tanned brown skin. Sashes from the whole country-side are worn; some were seen that are apparently those made by the Chamula women near San Cristóbal las Casas, in Chiapas. In cold weather they wear a shawl of the same material as the skirt.

Spinning and weaving are done by both men and women; the former weave the wool and the latter, the cotton. On almost any

day, a group of men may be seen sitting on the wooden bench on the Convent porch, or on the steps, carding and spinning the wool from their large flocks. The washed and scoured wool is carried in a bag of netting, from which small handfuls are taken as the carding progresses. They use ordinary traded cards, with wire teeth, rolling the carded wool into their up-turned hats, until they are filled. The spindle, with a whorl of wood, is held on the ground, and the tension supplied by slowly pulling the hand with the carded wool away from the revolving spindle, which is then held between the second toe and the great toe while the yarn is wound on. Men come and sit in the sun spinning and joking at the expense of what travelers may be there, and leave at noon time, with a good portion of their spindles full. They take great pride in their work, and explain how much better than the *capiwaijs* of Santa Eulalia and San Miguel are those of Todos Santos. By taking time, and care, they weave a garment that is as wind-proof and water-proof as any woolen goods can be, and well suited to the climate of the place. The women made the red and white striped blouses, and the shirts and drawers for their husbands. We were told that each woman had her own pattern, which she always used. String for netting, such as bags, and small straps, is made by the boys and younger men; at least they were the only ones that we saw employed in this way. Fibres of the *ixtle* or hennequin are carried in a bag, as the wool is carried by the men, and rolled into twine between the palm and the bare thigh. The same method is used as at Cancuc.²⁴

Above all else, these Indians are very conservative, and cling to their old customs with great tenacity, although their conservatism does not interfere where matters of business are concerned. They are great packers, and own many mules with which they pack their crops out to Huehuetenango. Any trifle may be turned into a business venture; even our stay was seen by some to be a golden opportunity, for they invested a small amount of talk, and tried to reap their returns by attempting to levy a fine on us for the additional smoke that our fire had left on the walls of the building! The care used in the making of *capiwaijs* is but an example of their workmanship; in carpentry they are remarkable. While the expedition was at Todos Santos they were working on the Juzgado, trimming door jambs, morticing bench legs and tables with no other tools than machete, chisel, and crude plane, yet the work was as nicely done, and as accurate as if it had been carefully measured and laid out with the most precise instruments in the trade.

Of their healing, and medicine, we learned little. There seemed to be an extraordinary number of people who complained of boils,

²⁴ Blom and La Farge: 1927, p. 350.

or abscesses, but on the whole they were a healthy lot. They had heard of some cures we had made, and when the news got about that we had come up from Jacaltenango, a few came to see us. One fine old man, a Regidor of the town, was brought by his little granddaughter to see if we could treat some abscesses on his neck and chest. The little girl held a candle in one hand, and supported her grandfather's head on her shoulder while we tried to do all that we could for him. As we left the town on our way out, we were hailed by a stout old Indian, with a flowing beard to find out if we could do any thing for his epileptic daughter, but that was beyond our powers, and we left him, waving good-bye as we rode off up the trail. All this fame we owed to one "Pedra," a man whom we treated for a carbuncle at Jacaltenango. He had been down there to cultivate his fields, for he had rented land there like so many others, and came to see us every day. It must have hurt him terribly, to have us cutting and squeezing his neck, but he grinned and bore it, and came back regularly for treatment. Most of our patients never returned if we hurt them, but this man was of different stuff, and his gratitude was great when he was finally cured. We gave him the cover of a deviled ham tin, saying that there was a devil for one of the saints of Todos Santos, and he left us, grinning from ear to ear. They make great use of blood letting in their medicine, but we were not told where or how they drew blood, whether with a glass chip for a lancet, as at Jacaltenango, or by some other means.

Next morning we were off again, bound, as we hoped, to Jacaltenango without further delay. After the usual fuss and flurry of getting the porters away, and saying goodbye, we rode down the trail for San Martín as happy as could be, for we were in the saddle again, our horses stepped well, and all the valley was full of sun and the freshness of the morning. North of the village, the trail climbed the shoulder of a hill, for the valley narrowed down to a mere gulch with sides so steep that they were terraced by the ancient people to keep them from sliding into the river. All down the banks of the stream one saw the stone walls built long ago to make level fields for corn to supply the village. After about a mile of clambering along the hillside, the trail pitched down and crossed the stream, from which there was a steep little climb to the north side of the cañon. Northward, toward the lower country, this side became lower, and soon the trail crossed it to swing through the hamlet of Chicoy, at the head of the next little valley, and so onto the north wall of the main cañon again. Many Indians were on the road; men with packs on their backs trudged slowly up the hill, stopping to breathe with the peculiar whistling exhalation they all use; shy women and little girls trotted by on one side, and little boys, followed by their

dogs ran on to see if the sheep on the next hillside were still eating as they should. Through many sparkling streams, dashing from the pine-topped ridges behind us, we gayly trotted, finally reaching the jutting point on which stood San Martin Cuchumatan. Although the town was over 6,000 feet above sea level, the warm winds that swept up the valley from the north, made this a warm spot, for coffee, bananas, and alligator pears grew well there; we bought a hat-full of the pears for three cents, and made our lunch from them while we waited for the next relay of porters.

Here we went to see what we might see at the ruin called Tilajyón, just northeast of the village. It had been built, so our guides told us, by the ancestors of the present inhabitants, and was reported to have a worked stone at the foot of one mound.

Reaching the Juzgado again, we found everything ready for us. Our luggage was loaded and off we set, with the Alcalde and a friend following us to the end of the village to wave good-bye. After dropping off the point on which the village stands, the trail took us up the steep and rocky side of the valley toward the northwest. Hard going it was, so we walked leading our horses after us for the greater part of the climb. From the top of this ridge, we dropped into a little valley that lies between it and the main slope to the north. Through it a sparkling stream made its way among the rocks and fields to plunge over a cliff just beyond the trail. Here we stopped for a drop of water and a short breath before trying the next climb. It was just as steep and rocky as the first one, so we walked again, picking our way along the hanging path that wound to the summit. Far below us we could see men at work in their fields, women washing clothes at a spring, and some children romping in the shade of a big tree.

At the summit we stopped for breath. It was about 7,000 feet high, and from it we could follow our back trail through the little valley and over the ridge, and trace the main valley toward Todos Santos and La Ventosa. Toward the southwest the hills grew lower, fading into the blue haze below. From the northwest side of the ridge, our view stretched without stop across the indistinct Tierra Caliente, the valley of the Rio Grande de Chiapas, to the ranges on the far side. Below, the sides pitched sharply to the Rio Azul, beyond which an equally steep slope rose to face us. Only then did we begin to realize how much the country was cut by ridges; from each crest there was always a clear view to the northwest, but to northeast or southwest there was nothing but ridge after ridge, like so many roofs set next to each other, with a foaming

river in each gutter. The ridge on which we stood rose gradually to the main massif of the Cuchumatanes, which turns northward and runs in a wall across the head of the valley of the Rio Azul. This wall is called Ajul by the Jacaltecos, and is reported to contain caves and ruins at its foot. It is the home of their Grandfather and Grandmother, according to their legend.

Just below the summit of the ridge stands the village of Concepción, its houses climbing among corn fields that cover the slopes. It is a village of Indians, with only two families of Ladinos in the town, those of the Schoolmaster and the Secretary. On a hill that juts westward from the main slope stands the little whitewashed church, with its warped cross guarding the door, and the town building and schoolhouses flanking the other three sides of the small plaza. North of the church rises a thick clump of magnificent hemlocks on the hill called *coltsisis* or *biku*. There, on a later visit, we found a small mound with two crosses before which offerings of hemlock branches, and flowers were laid. Among the dark green of the hemlock branches were brilliant spots of color, where bright red orchids nodded in the breeze that sougled through the needles. Concepción is evidently in a very old community, for ruins were reported to us in the valley at Yulá and Cactá, and also near the mountain Ajul.

At the Juzgado we found an Indian alcalde who could not read our papers, so we sat and kicked our heels until the Secretary could arrive, getting more and more disgusted as the time went by. At last he came, and, after reading our letters, explained to the Alcalde that we were to be given what we asked, lodged in the schoolhouse, and that porters should be made ready to take us on the last stage of the trip to Jacaltenango, about three leagues down the valley. Our horses were tied to the pillars of the schoolhouse porch, our things were laid inside, and we prepared to make ourselves at home. We were deliciously fed by Doña Favia de C. Rios. A real hostess she was, and our meal as pleasant as any dinner, as we sat chatting by the flickering light of smoking torchwood that lay on a rock beside us.

We were up bright and early, fed our horses, and arranged our dunnage for the start. Doña Favia gave us our breakfast, as pleasant as supper had been. She made us feel like old friends, telling us all the gossip and troubles of the neighborhood, and brought in her two smallest sons to give us a concert on their little marimba. Each time we passed through Concepción we were always given a warm welcome at her house, and cakes and coffee of the finest.

Hardly had we left the edge of the town than the trail plunged over the hill and down we went, ever down the river, as we worked along the valley. To each side the ridges seemed to grow higher and higher, while the firs and spruces that lined their crests shrank to mere bushes. Along the trail were many corn fields where Indians worked, gathering the last ears of the ripened crop, leaving the broken stalks as feed for the horses that would be turned into the fields to follow up their work. In that warm country they let the corn stay on the stalks until it is thoroughly dry and hardened; this takes about ten months. After it has matured in this way it is gathered and brought in to be stored until needed.

The trail swung around a shoulder, and brought us to a ridge through the top of which it made a narrow notch, called quite appropriately *La Ventana* (the window). Through this we had our first view of *Jacaltenango*, *San Marcos*, and the great gorge of the *Rio Azul* that divides the two towns so completely. Below us the ridge pitched downward to a long apron of rolling land which flattens into a plateau extending across the valley and well down the northern side. Through this the *Rio Azul* had cut a great gash some 500 feet deep into which led a laborious trail, and out of which the ascent was as difficult, to reach the village just across it. It takes nearly an hour to ride from village to village, yet one may hear the dogs barking, and people calling cattle as plainly as if they were next door; in a straight line, the two edges of the *barranca* seem hardly more than a stone's throw apart. Around all were the circling hills, like great walls that opened only to let the river through the cup.

Jacaltenango lay spread out below us, a great straggling village of thatched houses trailing from the edge of the hills across the flat to catch itself at the chasm's edge. Beyond the village, near the rim where it swings straight back to the hills, rose the white dome and towers of *Santa Maria Candelaria*. Toward this we made our careful way along the stony paths that cross the ledges over which much of the village is scattered. Children gazed vacantly at us in answer to our inquiries for the *Juzgado*, but one woman, who understood Spanish, sent us on our way over the next small hill.

After reporting at the *Juzgado*, and showing our letters to the *Alcalde*, we were taken to an unused room in the Convent, where we were told we might make ourselves at home. It was a room about 25 x 40 feet, giving onto the *Campo Santo*, its rear wall, in which was a built-up door, backing on the cloisters. Above us were the rafters and tile roof through which beams of sun filtered, and beneath which the bats were wont to swoop at night. At the end

of the room which abutted on the Church was a blank wall behind which the stairway climbed to the bell towers. A double door of weathered oak, paneled with maltese crosses was our entrance, and the only means of letting in more light than that which came through the roof.

CHAPTER III

SETTLING IN JACALTENANGO

Jacaltenango gave us a good reception. We had scarcely settled in our quarters when the Alcalde, Señor Don Gabino Martinez, and the Second Alcalde, Santos Camposeco, an Indian, came to visit us. They showed themselves to be friendly, pleased at our coming, and boasted that their village had more interesting, older, and prettier customs than any other. The Secretary, Señor Don Manuel Funes, had been at Concepción when the 1925 expedition went through. He was most cordial, and then and later proved to be of the utmost assistance to us, and a very pleasant friend indeed. During that day and the next, other Ladinos visited us, Don Octavio, and Don Adán Mont, the telegraph operators, Don Germán Pinto, the schoolmaster, at the house of whose mother-in-law, Doña Tomasa Hernández, we ate. All were friendly, with the open, direct curiosity characteristic of the country. To one new to Latin Americans, their personal questions, their interest, for instance, in one's correspondence, are very annoying, but one comes in the end to recognize that it is all a form of friendliness, entirely well meant.

These Ladino people do not, on the whole, correspond to the ordinary North American's idea of a Latin American. The men are tall, averaging easily five feet eight, often with grey eyes and only moderately dark complexions, although their hair is black or dark brown. The women are more brunette. At a dance or other gathering, it is noticeable that the women look far more Indian than the men.

Our first days, of course, were spent in looking over the ground. We were engaged on a fairly delicate diplomatic mission. Certain Indians, we did not know which ones, possessed important secret information. We had a general idea of what it was about, but how much they knew, in just what form they knew it, we could not tell. We had three months in which to ingratiate ourselves and extract the information, meanwhile making a complete survey of the general culture. We formed only a vague general plan: to acquaint ourselves with the Indians' daily life, to become friendly with as many of them as possible, and above all, to learn the language. As it happened, one totally unexpected factor upset the main point of even so indefinite a scheme, but of that more later.

We acquainted ourselves with the general aspect of Jacaltenango. A trail coming out of the cleft in the western hills by scattered farms enters a shady strip of banana and coffee gardens, with thatch houses among the trees and bushes. It climbs a low hill steeply, past a little chapel, and straightens out into the dignity of a street at the Juzgado, or Town Hall. There it runs along the south side of the common, known here as the *campo santo*, a casual sort of a large field, with a great ceiba tree growing in it, and two fountains that do not work. At the west end of the common is the secretary's house, on the north a small school and two sheds for keeping horses. All across the east end stretches the front of the old Church and attached convent, partly ruinous, rather sloppy, but big—somehow depressing and empty-looking. (Fig. 3). Before the church the great cross, seventy feet high, dominates the village.

From the Juzgado on, the main street has been paved at some time, making walking dangerous at night. It passes between the church and the house and compound of Antonio Roja (*Antōn Cuc Lutc*)²⁶ the richest and most progressive Indian of the village. Beyond, are the houses of the few Ladino people, and some Indian huts. Some three hundred meters from the Juzgado, the ruinous paving ceases in favor of bald-rock. Here the main cross street intersects, where the market is held on week days. Two well made, tile-roofed stores are run by Indians, Manuel Domingo and Jervarcio Camposeco. The second most important cross of the village, the Cross of Las Cruces, about fifteen feet high, is placed to one side of the cross-roads. Beyond here, the street continues, partly over bald-rock, past some large Indian houses of the best class, with thatched roofs, to drop off again among more gardens. It becomes a road, then a trail, crossing some small brooks, and finally the village ends where it begins to wind down the precipitous drop to the crossing of the Rio Azul, on the way to San Marcos, Nentón, and Mexico.

The main cross-road runs south from the northern edge of the steep cliff. Near its beginning it passes the chapel of San Sebastian. Most of the time it goes over bald-rock, with very little paving. Indian houses of all grades flank it. For the first few hundred meters beyond the cross-roads of Las Cruces it runs straight, then, where the foothills that push into the village come close upon its right, it begins to waver, and turn into a trail. A fairly flat valley with scattered houses continues south into a half circle of foothills.

²⁶ The phonetic alphabet will be treated later.

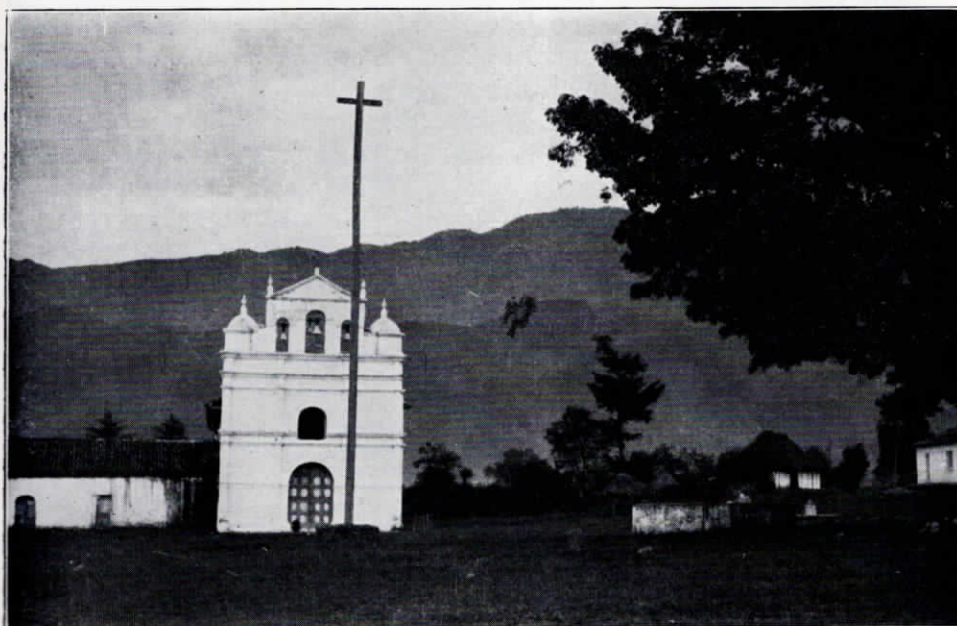


FIG. 3—The church and convent, the big cross and the ceiba tree at Jacaltenango, Guatemala.

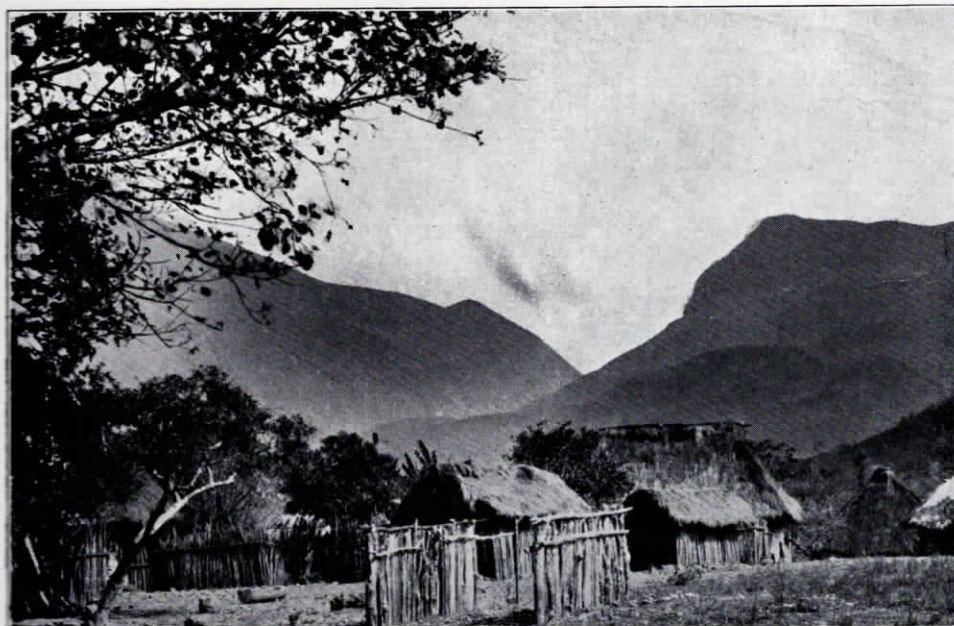


FIG. 4—View up the gorge from Jacaltenango, Guatemala.

The remains of other paved streets run parallel with these two, still exerting some influence toward regular alignment of houses, particularly in the central part of the town, where the broad stretches of pure rock forbid the planting of gardens. Wherever possible, there are banana and coffee groves, orange trees, *ixte* cactus, or small plantings of corn. The houses are stick or mud-walled, sometimes whitewashed, with thatch roofs. When new they look rather nice, but many sag, and not infrequently one sees them propped up with insufficient poles, like a drunken cripple leaning on crutches. Miniature houses, used as pig-styes, are everywhere. Pigs are an exuberant crop; the styes are mostly occupied, and more of the animals run loose all over the town, joining with the buzzards to keep it fairly free of smells.

Although some corners, under the green shade of semi-tropical trees, are charming, one could not say that the town as a whole is picturesque. The common is big enough for a Ladino town, but lacks the surrounding colonnaded houses, the walks and fountain, the slightly run-down formality that make those so delightful. The rest of the village sprawls. Where the hills thrust into it, there is only unattractive second-growth, at this dry season not even really green. The Indians are colorless. The men wear medium-sized *sombrero* hats. The more conservative ones dress in thin white trousers and shirts with yellow, blue or white sashes. For cold weather they put on over this a heavy black wool tunic. Many wear cheap and shabby European clothes. The women's costume is not very pretty. The blouses, of local or imported material, usually white, are square and blocky in cut, with many frills around the neck. The glowing colors of the head-band, twined in their black hair, and an occasional shawl, gracefully draped, are the best features.

The people are obviously of mixed origin; some of the Indians have light brown hair and blue eyes, the Indian cast of their faces is weakened by European blood. The very strongly mixed type, among the men, tends to be gangling in build, and shifty-looking. All this is disappointing to a pair of ethnologists wandering about seeking for ancient things.

The town well deserves its native name of *nimañ koñop*, "Big Village." Recinos²⁷ gives the population of the Municipality at 4,000, of which we are inclined to think that a good half lives in the village itself, which would mean, roughly, some five hundred houses. There are eight Ladino families, of which three are of Government officials from other towns, and three more have come

²⁷ Recinos: 1913, p. 195.



FIG. 5 (Left)
Women at the well,
Jacaltenango.

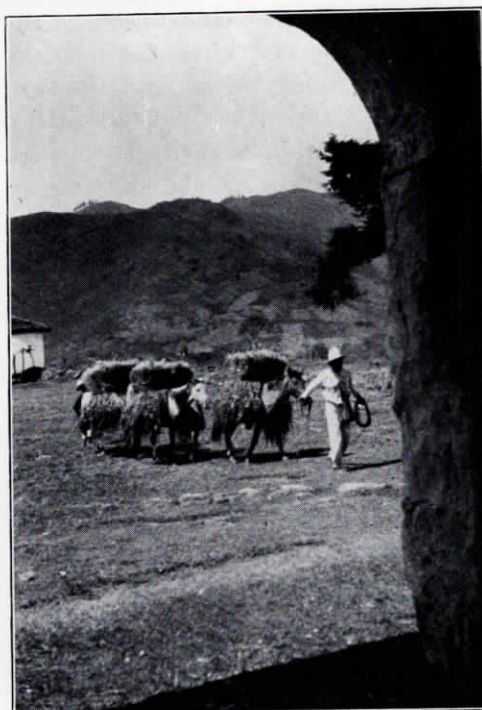


FIG. 6 (Right)
Bringing palm from the Low Country for hats,
Jacaltenango.

here in recent times. On the basis of the size of the church, the traces of elaborate lych-gates and walls about the former cemetery, the *Campo Santo*, which now serves as the plaza, the convent, and the remnants of paved streets, Jacaltenango must have once had a considerable Spanish settlement.

Jacaltenango may not be picturesque or pretty in itself, but it is a good place to look away from. From our convent-door one sees the great masses of Xuán Canil and Jüiuits in the west, rising abruptly behind the town. Southward lie the main body of the Cuchumatanes, the road to Concepción going up past the peak of La Ventana, with pine-topped ridges to the right and the tremendous gorge of the Rio Azul to the left. (Fig. 4). Up the street from Las Cruces, more or less southeast, one looks up that gorge, between tremendous walls, to the high cross-wall, sheer cliff at the top, of distant Ajul. Eastward, the view is dominated by the ridge of Payá, and the steep hills behind San Marcos. That town lies just across the deep trench of the Rio Azul, a glimpse of a white church and a few houses among green trees, nestling in a fold of the hills. Behind it rises the green mass like a back-drop. Highest to the right, at Payá, where the silhouettes of magnificent ever-greens are tiny, at least four kilometers away, when the clouds stand over it, it seems to hang over and threatens all the valley. Northward, from the edge of the cliffs, one looks away to the breaking down of the last hills, the hot low-country, always mysterious under changing lights, and distant mountains in Mexico confusing themselves with clouds. Steeply below, five hundred feet or more, one traces the ribbon of the Rio Azul. Holding one's arm out at full length, a house at the bottom is just the size of one's little finger nail.

When we arrived, they had already begun to burn over fields for planting way down there. When the painted sunset faded from the low country, there remained lines of dark light, fire outlining hills, or straggling snake-fences of flame, miles and miles away.

On first sight it did not look as though, aside from the typical material culture of the Guatemala Indian, but little different from that of the poorest Ladinos, we should find much that was not of European derivation. Religion obviously centered about the church, there was always someone praying in front of it or inside. Carefully planned accidental remarks or questions concerning day-names, months, or other ancient matters, obviously meant nothing to the Indians. The tall cross in front of the church might seem spectacular, and the Prayer Makers in black tunics with white or striped handkerchiefs over their shoulders were promising, but even



FIG. 7—Santos Camposeco.



FIG. 8—Kash Pelip and family.

they seemed devoted to Christianity. Only the name of the Year Bearer always brought a response.

After a while we began to get hints of beliefs in magic, and confused references to various kinds of "medicine men," *ahbe*, *watc-winaq*, *nagwal*, who "know things," or "speak clear," or "have permission" to do something. We did not try to follow these leads too quickly. Our first line of attack was the language, and the general acquaintance of the village. Before everything, we set about looking for informants and friends.

Don Gabino Martínez, the Alcalde, detailed to our service Santos Camposeco, the Second Alcalde (See Fig. 7). He was a mixed-blood Indian, a little man with sharp features and plenty of brains, ex-sergeant of artillery and machine-gunner. This was hardly what we wanted, and indeed, as far as native beliefs were concerned, he was ashamed to admit that he knew anything about them. He did prove most excellent for the linguistic lists, his slight knowledge of Spanish Grammar enabling him to answer questions as to such things as verb-forms, questions which rapidly fatigue and confuse most Indians. To supplement him we obtained Juan Cruz (*curwan manēl*), a man of the real Indian type, well-built, dark, with good features. He became our friend in time, and though he held himself superior to local superstition, when taken off his guard could tell a lot. He was good on fact. We showed him our big black note-book, with sketches of men and women in it, explaining our idea of making a book about all the ways of Jacaltenango, and obtained an immediate response. He brought us Gaspar Diez (*kac pelip*). Gaspar was by far the best of our Indian informants. A young man, of the slightly-built, thin-faced, golden-skinned type, he was bright and far from humorless. In the pure native pyjama-costume, he looked a meek little creature, although as a matter of fact he was a daring smuggler in a land where border guards shoot on sight. He was a conservative, one of those delightful Indians who have not yet found out that there is any reason for concealing or being ashamed of their true beliefs and knowledge. We became real friends with him and his charming family, and, as will be seen, used him constantly. (Fig. 8). If anyone should go into that district again, his name should be noted.

Señor Don Rodrigo Taracena, whom we first met in 1925, helped us not a little, although he was hampered by a poor knowledge of the language.

A fortunate accident won us the sure friendship of the Alcalde, and that most useful assistance, a gang of intelligent small boys. Remberto Martínez, Don Gabino's twelve-year old son, stepping

back from a wild horse, jammed his leg against a stalk of corn-stubble. A long splinter lodged in his calf, of which his father managed to extract about half. He was finally brought to us for treatment. The piece had worked too far in for our probing, we did not dare go very deep, our instruments being a safety-razor blade and a small tweezers, and our knowledge as faulty as our instruments. As it was, we caused him no slight pain, which he bore admirably. Finally we applied a poultice, which brought the splinter—over an inch long—to the surface, when Don Gabino extracted it. For this slight service we were repaid a hundred-fold by the Martínez family. The eight boys, ranging from three to fifteen years old, rendered us a thousand services. They were intelligent, clean, well set-up and honest, they spoke Jacalteca fluently, and knew the Indians. Personally, they were delightful visitors. One of them, Lupe Guadalupe Martínez, kept our water-jug filled during all the last two months of our stay.

It was said, at the beginning of this chapter, that our original plan of spending most of our time learning the language, attempting only towards the end of our stay to penetrate those secrets for which a knowledge of Jacalteca was essential, was abandoned. Instead, we found ourselves eventually working with shamans and story-tellers through a Ladino interpreter. Yet more remarkable, we actually put aside trying to obtain any more than a smattering of Jacalteca, because our time could be put to so much better use. We think this is almost unique. It came about this way: As we were about to go to supper one night, it being already dark, a small, well-dressed man came to our door. We had already blown out the candle; still, he stuck. He explained that he knew more about the Indians than anyone else in Jacaltenango, was perfectly acquainted with the language, and possessed their complete confidence. He understood that we were anxious to learn about their manners and customs, and were willing to pay for information. He wished to arrange a contract with us by which he could, in a short time, instruct us in all we wished to know, or could, if we so desired, present us with our information in written form.

We were not at all impressed. We thought the gentleman did claim too much, and we were wary of Ladinos. Politenesses were exchanged. He told us where he lived; it was the pleasantest and biggest house and compound in the village. A few days later, not wishing to overlook any bets, La Farge visited him. It was tentatively arranged that he should spend three evenings with us. We thought that he could probably give us a framework, to be completed with Indian information, concerning birth, death, marriage,



FIG. 9—Señor José Mariá Hernández C.



FIG. 10—Market at San Marcos, early morning.

and daily life. His first information was carefully checked with Juan Cruz's, and proved superior.

By the end of those three conferences we found that we had been given, in the person of Señor Don José María Hernández C, such an informant as one might dream about. Don José María is educated and intelligent, distinctly progressive and awake. He has seen the world, and speaks a little English and French. He is absolutely at home in Jacalteca, acquainted with the finest shades of the language. He has many personal friends among the Indians, who trust him and seek his help and advice. More, and most rare among Ladinos, he really likes them and understands them as human beings, not merely looking on them as *Indios brutos*, "beastly Indians." Whenever possible, we checked his information, and never once caught him in error. He has the scientist's instinct for proof and comparison.

After the first few meetings, when we realized our good fortune, we taught him some elements of Maya science, explaining just what we were after. With a little warning on such matters as leading questions, all we had to do was to suggest things to him, and let him bring in the bacon. He kept the information coming in so fast that at times it was all we could do to keep our notebooks and diaries to date. Much of what he did not bring himself, we obtained through leads given by him. Thus, the important conferences with the *ahbe* Andrés²⁸ could never have been held if he had not previously brought us a version of the calendar.

It thus happened that in the second month of our stay we found ourselves where our original plan was hoped to bring us at the end. We leaped, as it were, into the advanced grades, leaving the elementary classes, the language, behind. What has been written above about our friend and guide may strike the reader as a little high-flown. The writer can only say that it is bare truth, and poor expression of our feeling for the man to whom we undoubtedly owe what success we obtained.

²⁸ Chapter XVI.

CHAPTER IV

COSTUMES AND HOUSES

In the actual course of our work, our information was not gathered in any particular order. It seems simplest, in presenting it, to begin with the most obvious phases of the material culture, and thus work along, to end with the most recondite parts of the religion. We did, in fact, begin as this report does here, with the clothes of the people and the houses in which they lived; matters which, to be observed, only required a little well-directed sauntering.

As was said, the men's costume is uninteresting and little picturesque. A great many wear cheap clothes of European type, usually clean, for they are a cleanly people, but badly made and unattractive. Particularly favored is a salmon-pink shade in shirts, the effect of which, when combined with a light green fedora, is overwhelming. However, the majority stick to the simpler native dress, of white cotton, a collar-less shirt with a V neck buttoning at the front, and trousers tying with a string, cut rather like sailor trousers, sometimes wrapped about the ankle. This seems to be derived simply from Spanish underwear, as is indicated by the name given by the Ladinos, who call them *calzoncillos*, "drawers." The Indians call the shirt *kamic*, from the Spanish *camisa*, and the trousers by the purely Spanish name of *pantalón*. Both articles were presumably introduced by the Spaniards. They do not wear loin cloths, as in Yucatan, but when at work take off their shirts and roll their trousers up over their knees. At such times the golden brown of their skins, the beautiful and delicate musculature of their legs, and their fine chests make a picture worth seeing.

Stephens²⁹ describes the Indians of Todos Santos, San Martín and San Antonio Huista, in his time, as being trouserless, and speaks of people in and near the latter village going about in loin cloths. Gage^{30a} says that the costume in the Cuchumatanes when he went through was knee-length, wide drawers.

They wear a sash, *tc'añbale*, now usually blue, yellow, or white, with fringed ends. It is wrapped twice about the body, and the ends tucked in behind, so that they hang down, the same manner

²⁹ Stephens: 1482, pp. 234-242, passim.
^{30a} Gage: 1655, p. 141.

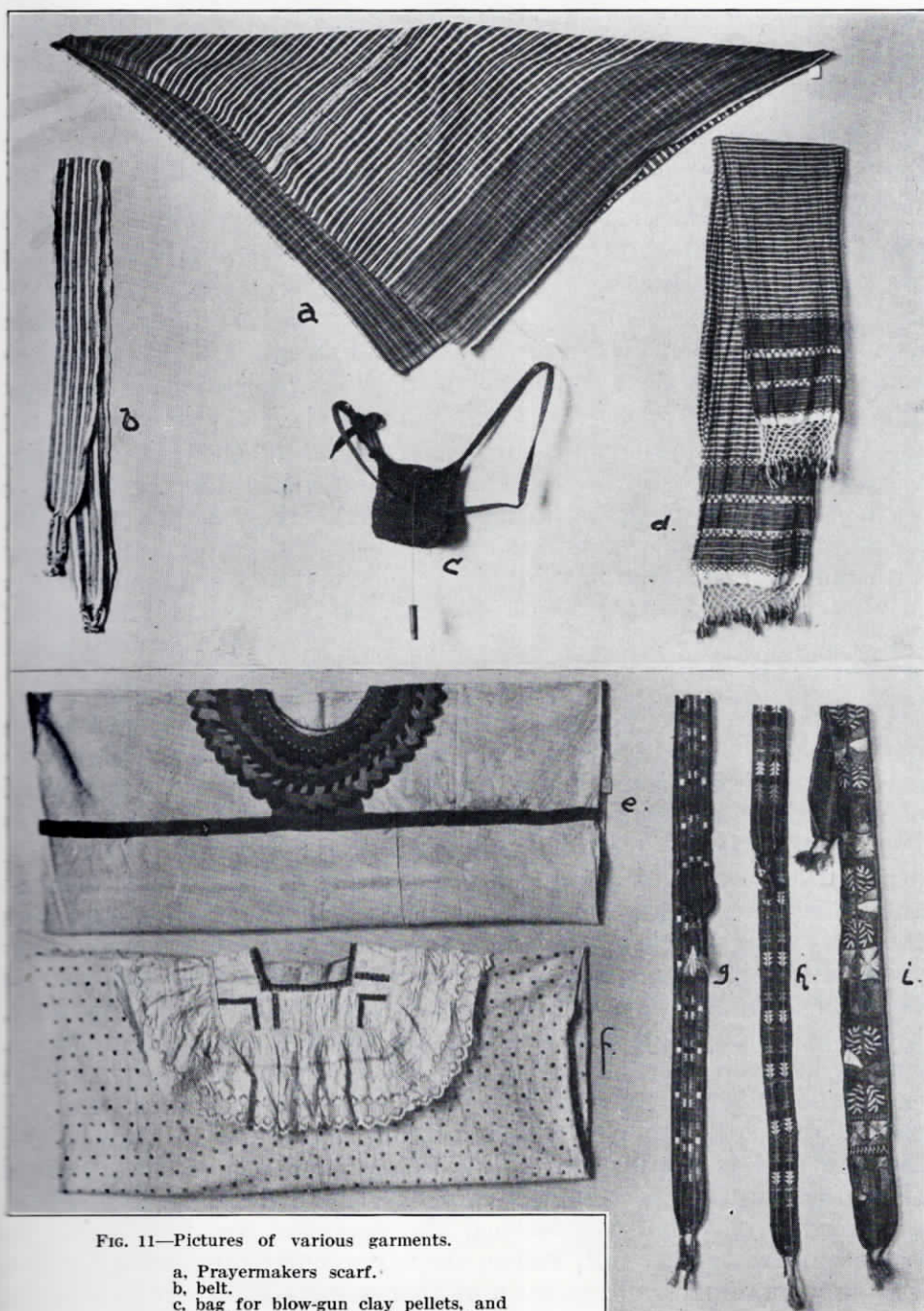


FIG. 11—Pictures of various garments.

- a. Prayermakers scarf.
- b. belt.
- c. bag for blow-gun clay pellets, and used cartridge for shaping them.
- d. belt.
- e. woman's blouse, San Mateo Ixtatán.
- f. woman's blouse, Jacaltenango.
- g, h, i. headbands.

of wearing it as was found among the Tzeltal Bachajon.^{30b} An older style of sash has cross-lines of red, with narrower ones of blue and white, with some decoration at the ends. (Fig. 11). These are now worn chiefly by old men and Ceremonial Officials.³¹

Their hats, *pōkwi'e*, are typical small *sombreros*. Sometimes they go barefoot, but leather sandals, *cañap*, are usually worn.

For colder weather, and in certain ceremonial connections, the men wear a heavy tunic of partly felted black wool, *tcok'an*. This garment, which lends some style to an otherwise characterless costume, is most excellent for cold or wet weather. We ourselves found it invaluable. It has a V neck, and sleeves a little more than elbow length; the skirt comes down to about the crotch of the legs. The space under the sleeves, and part of their under side, is not sewed up, so that one may slip his arms out of them in moderate weather, or may put his arms, sleeves and all, inside the tunic, to warm his hands or get at his pockets. A fringe hangs from the bottom, at the back, and not infrequently the edges are adorned with red or green tape or whipping. These tunics are made chiefly in San Miguel Acatán, Santa Eulalia, and Soloma. The rest of the costume can be made here, although often the materials are bought in the stores.

In its form, the women's costume is more truly native but the material shows Ladino influence. At present the skirt, *hitsbile*, is made of material from Quetzaltenango. The design is a true plaid of green and yellow and red on a blue background, or green, yellow and blue on red. Over the plaid is a more elaborate, faint white design which ruins its looks. This material is used at Jacaltenango and San Marcos, and to a lesser degree at Concepción and San Andrés. In the other Chuj and Jacalteca towns the women wear skirts made of a gorgeous, rich red cloth with narrow golden and black lines through it, woven somewhere near the coast. As worn, a simple rectangle of cloth is wrapped about the body in a sheath, tucked in upon itself at the waist. Rarely, and most often in the case of little children, a simple white sash with a yellow and red check, just long enough to go around the waist, affords added security. It is always surprising to see how secure the unsashed skirts seem to be, save in the case of very little children. These, apparently, have not yet learned the necessary twist to make the tucked-in corner stay put, and so they frequently meet with disaster. It is no uncommon sight to see a mother going somewhere in a hurry,

^{30b} Blom and La Farge: 1927, p. 334 and Fig. 285.

³¹ It will be necessary to speak of the Ceremonial Officials many times. They are the various men in charge of some aspect of the worship or religion, who form a distinct body called by the Spanish name of "*Principales*."



JACALTECA WOMAN

Drawing by Prescott H. F. Follett

moving swiftly at her gliding dog-trot, while some distance behind her trails a six or eight-year-old daughter, running desperately, clutching the upper corners of her little skirt—open before her—in both hands, and bawling at the top of her lungs.

The sheath-like wrapping of the skirt makes it, where, as at Jacaltenango and San Marcos, it is worn nearly to the ankles, a virtual hobble. In other villages it comes about half-way from the knees to the ankles. The general form is very characteristic, in contrast to the Ladinas, whose skirts have fullness and are pleated. The people, both Indian and Ladino, distinguish between the two classes of women by calling them, in jest, *envueltas*, "wrapped ones," and *plegadas*, "pleated ones."

Their blouses, *kole*, are made of native-woven, white ribbed cotton, white store cotton, or cheap silk. They are cut nearly square, long enough to come well below the waist, with short sleeves and a round or square neck. The neck has a yoke or several yokes, sometimes decorated with some kind of cheap lace, lace embroidery, or appliqué, and similar decorations are occasionally put at the edges of the sleeves. A native-woven form, ribbed and decorated with blue or vari-colored spots, *kuts''bën*,³² was formerly the gala attire; this is now going out in favor of what can be bought at the stores.

The blouses are wrapped tightly at the waist. They are evidently a modification of the old, flowing Maya *huipil*, still worn by the Chuj and at San Miguel, as also in Yucatán. It is in a transition toward the short blouses of the Highland women.

Their hair is done in two braids. A head-band, *sintaHe*, (from Spanish *cinta*) is then wrapped about them in the following manner: The middle of the band is placed where the braids part, and each half wrapped in a spiral along one braid. The two are then brought together in front, so that they form a kind of turban or crown. This general method of adornment is found among many Mayan tribes. One type of these head-bands is woven here, another comes from Quetzaltenango. The local forms will be discussed in the next chapter, under WEAVING.

The women seldom or never wear sandals.

Necklaces, *urwe*, and earrings, *ome*, cheap things such as are sold in our five-and-ten-cent stores, are worn. They prefer necklaces of metallic beads strung close together, worn in several strands close about the throat. Unlike the women of Todos Santos, they do not use rings, and bracelets appear to be unknown.

³² See the account of weaving in Chapter V, pp. 50-54.

For dress occasions, mourning, or sometimes for going to church, as well as for carrying a child, shawls of various kinds are worn. They are known by the Spanish name of *rebozo*, or else *paiyurwe*, which may be derived from the Spanish *pañuela*. For this purpose they use a piece of striped, fringed, heavy cotton of local weave, or the napkins woven by Ladinos in Huehuetenango, or more elaborate shawls from various parts of the country, buying silk if they can afford it. Sometimes one of these pieces is folded into a square about two feet on a side, and worn over the head and back of the neck, after a manner shown in some prehistoric works of art.

Children wear the same clothes as grown people, or parts of them, or nothing at all.

The area which must not be exposed, in grown people, extends from the waist to the knee among women, and among men from the waist about half-way to the knee. In the hot country, about their houses at Jacaltenango, and when bathing, women think nothing of stripping to the waist. Even when people such as we rode past a bathing place, they would not be in the least perturbed. On the other hand, even when bathing they do not remove their skirts but change into dry ones as soon as they come out. The Ladinas carry this curious and awkward custom yet farther, remaining dressed to within our limits of modesty while in the river. The men, who undress completely, always bathe apart, usually upstream, which is just as well, as the women, having bathed, generally proceed to do the family wash at the same place. In very hot weather, the men sit about their houses without shirts and with their trousers rolled up, and the women go about their work without their blouses. In large towns, such as Jacaltenango, they always dress fully before appearing on the streets. Of course, there are no rules at all for little children. A finely made, bronze mother, sitting by her fire at night, with her baby, makes a picture of real beauty.

There are two words for house, *watut*, which apparently carries the idea of home, and *ñá'* or *na'*, which means more or less any construction of house type. All through this section the roofs are made of straw thatch, with the exception of the stores of one or two of the richest Ladinoized Indians in Jacaltenango itself. A few houses there and in other villages have abode brick walls, but the common types are of interlaced sticks covered thickly with mud, or else fence-like walls of sticks set close together perpendicularly in the ground. This second type is used chiefly in the Hot Country. Sometimes couples just setting up in life build little, gable-ended, stick-wall shacks, such as one man might make fairly quickly by himself, but the common type is hip-roofed, and, when new, looks solid

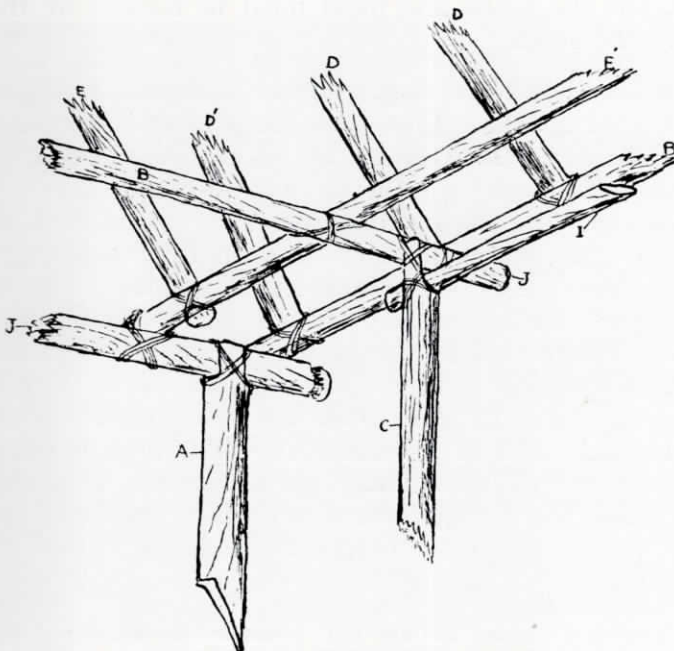
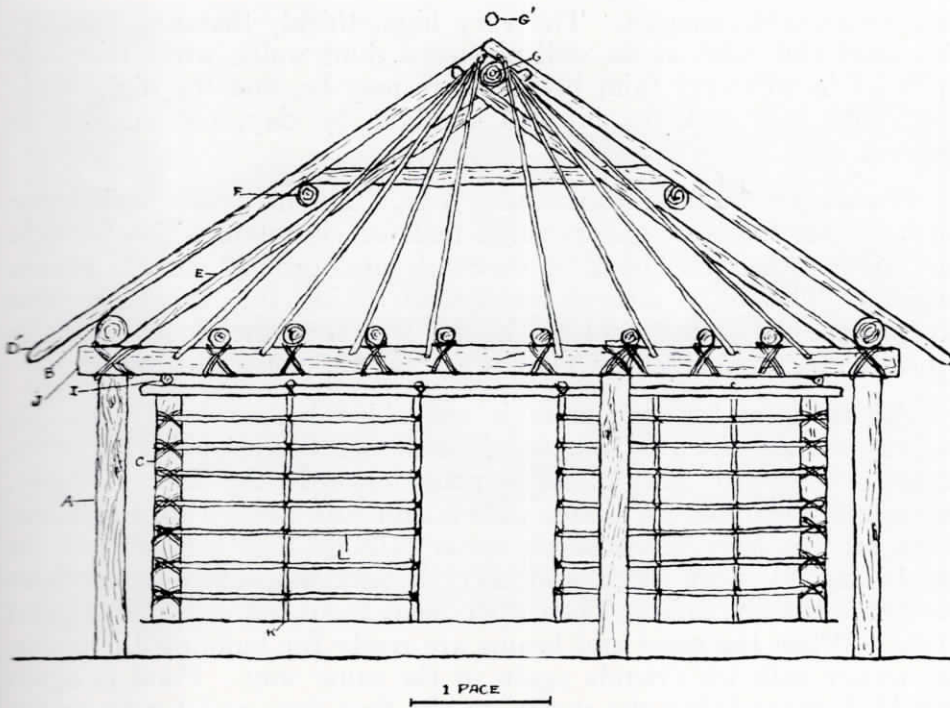


FIG. 12--Framework of house.

and comfortable enough. The very high, thickly-thatched roof resists heat and cold, as do well-plastered mud walls, while the stick walls let in whatever faint breeze there may be, and the night coolness, with only a little dappled sunlight by day, not enough to oppress.

Houses are built by community help. The man who wishes one set up sends to his neighbors small balls of chocolate which form in the middle when the drink of chocolate and ground corn is beaten rapidly. This is an ancient method of asking for favors; he who accepts the gift must lend his help. But first the Soothsayer³³ is consulted as to whether the chosen site for the house is propitious.

All material for the house is assembled before construction is begun—a rule which is followed in all work of this kind. For instance, the owner goes to some place towards the Hot Country, where grass suitable for thatch grows, and cuts enough for his house. Then all who have accepted the cocoa balls go together to where he has it stacked, sleep there, and carry it back the next day to where the house is to be built. The owner feeds them beans, *tortillas*³⁴ and *posol*. When the poles and beams are ready for building the house, the owner calls his friends again in the same way. Food is again provided, meat being the staple on the first day, and beans on the second, it being always understood that foods prepared from corn dominate any and every Indian repast. The women prepare the corn, as usual, but the beans and meat must be cooked by the men. They also serve the food.

On the first day holes are dug, and the uprights, stringers, and plates are set up. (Fig. 12). This, with the preparation of the food, takes up the whole day. They sit up all night with music and feasting to keep watch and prevent the devil, *naq-mats^ewalil*, from entering the house. On the second day the frame is finished, and the thatch is put on. An under thatch is put on first, a fine grade of grass called *k'antcin*, which is not bound into bundles. Over this is laid a coarser grass or straw, *tcin*, which, being bound on, holds down the under thatch. Of the beans that are served on the second day, only a small portion is eaten. The greater part is saved and taken home by the different men, while the women each carry home a hollow wooden tube full of ground corn. The mud is put on the wall much later, usually on a Sunday, we were told. It is also done by community help, but is much less of an affair, and only chocolate is given. The family will start living in the house before this last act has been done.

³³ Soothsayers are described in Chapters XVI and XVII, particularly the latter.

³⁴ *Tortillas* are a kind of bread, made of ground hominy and water cooked on a griddle—not fried. *Posol* is finely ground hominy in water, a kind of soup. See Chapter V.

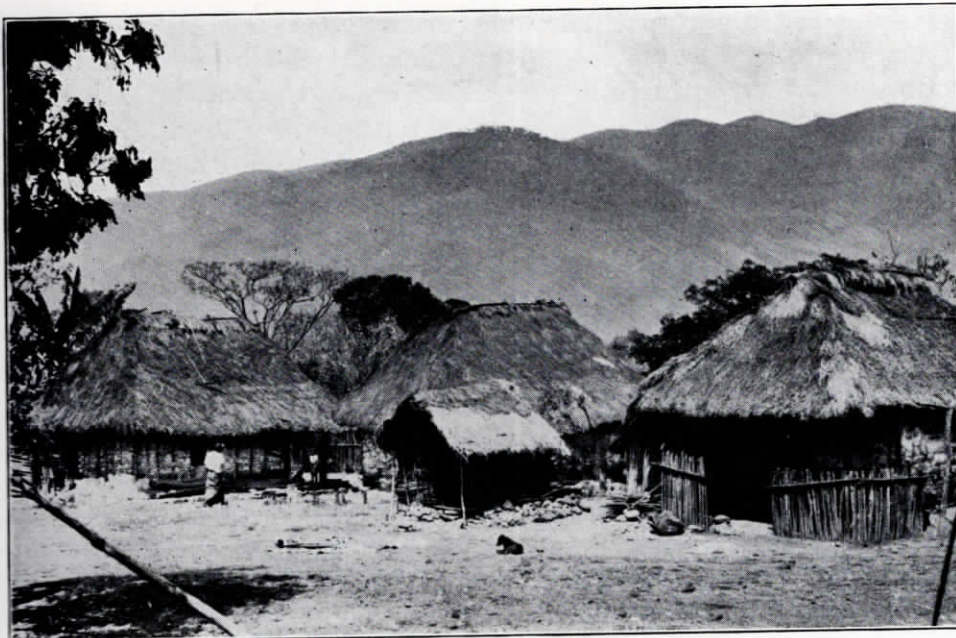


FIG. 13—Group of houses, Jacaltenango. Guatemala.

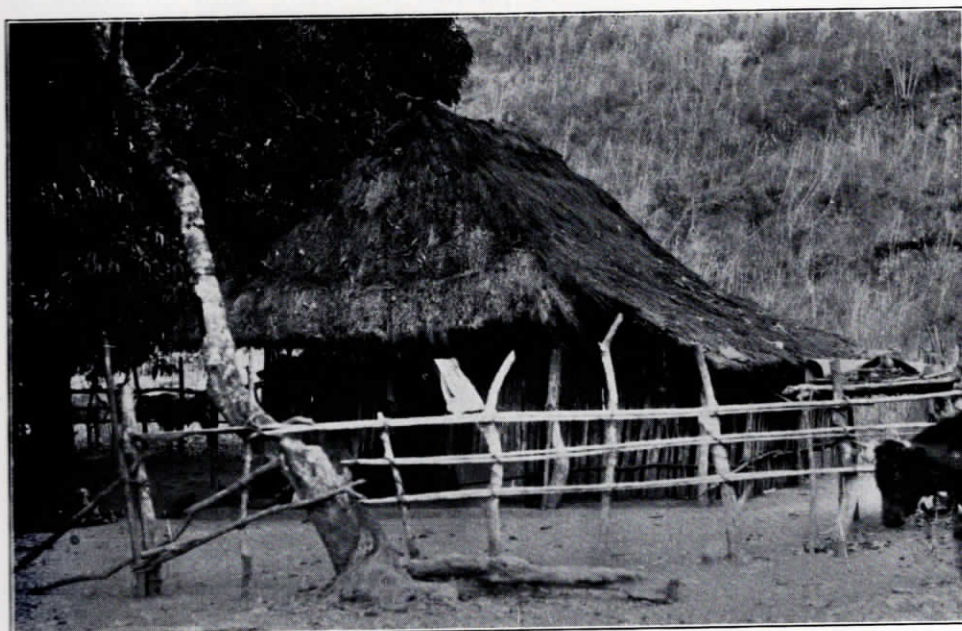


FIG. 14—Shuwan Manel's house, Puxup.

The most important framework of the house consists in the uprights carrying the plates and stringers which support the roof. Pairs of shears go up from the plates or from one of the stringers running parallel to them, meeting at the points where the ends of the ridge poles are to be. (Fig. 12). On these is laid the ridge pole, which in turn supports the upper ends of the gable poles and rafters. One or more purlins also brace these. The gable poles and rafters are brought down to the plates, and probably could support the ridge pole and stand without the shears. Over these are laid small horizontal rods for thatching poles, corresponding to our shingling boards. The whole load of the roof is distributed by the shears onto the two plates or stringers to which they may be attached, which in turn are carried by the uprights. The shears also prevent sagging of the roof in any direction, it being notable that, when the walls and uprights have begun to lean crazily, the roof retains its original shape. In some houses, instead of having two pairs of shears meet at each end to carry the ridge pole, there is only a single pair at each end, parallel to the gable rafters. These are prevented from falling inward by a single pole running from a cross-bar lashed across the jaws of the shears down about to the middle of the center long stringer. Very large roofs, such as that of the Town Hall at San Marcos, are supported by three or more sets of two pairs of shears. With these, which are extra high in proportion to their length and width, two sets of purlins are used, with crossbars or braces running directly under the peaks of the inner sets of shears. A variation on this center brace of the purlins is seen when, instead of a single pole running between two opposite sides, two poles are brought down to the center stringer.

Where the thatch from the two sides of the roof meets at the ridge pole, bundles are laid across, with their ends hanging down on both sides. Over these a false ridge-pole is bound on. Sometimes large pieces of broken pots are put on top of everything.

The mud on the walls is mixed with grass or pine needles. The walls are set well inside of the overhanging eaves, leaving a protected air space. Often the front wall is set back so as to leave a porch, in which case the uprights and corner posts of that side are likely to be squared, and are sometimes called *pilal*, from the Spanish *pilar*. The wall may have some heavy posts of its own, or be supported by the uprights. Small sticks are planted in the ground at intervals of about half a meter, and horizontal sticks interlaced through them at smaller intervals. In the case of the rather large house being built for the First Chief Prayer Maker, these sticks amounted to a wattle to the height of more or less a



FIG. 15—Sweat-bath, San Miguel Acatán. Guatemala.



FIG. 16—Kitchen corner, Kash Pelip's house. Jacaltenango.

meter from the ground, forming a sort of crib-work in which stones about the size of one's fist were placed. Over this, as in other walls, the mud is plastered to a thickness of about 5 to 10 centimeters. Sometimes the walls are then whitewashed.

In a few cases, small windows are made in the end walls, but rarely at the front or back. These windows, and the doors, are sometimes fitted with neat board frames, but more often with merely a square of small rods. The doors are simple affairs, either of boards or of sticks lashed together, hinging on a long stick projecting above and below, or, in the case of the board doors, on two pivots, the lower one setting into the ground, the upper one into a thong or loop of vine. The door is locked by tying a stick across it. The threshold is often raised about 30 centimeters above the ground, either with the same construction as the walls, or with boards set on edge. The porch formed by the overhanging eaves in front is frequently enclosed in a stout fence a meter high, made of strong sticks stuck in the ground close together, lashed to a horizontal pole at the top. Here the women weave and spin, the men loaf, and visitors gossip.

Nails and pegs are not used, everything is tied together with vines, some of the more important joints being made more secure by simple mortising or the use of forked poles.

The first house that we visited belonged to our pleasant smuggler informant Kash Pelip,³⁵ with whom we had shortly become on friendly terms. Having explained that it was a very poor house—which it was, one of the gable-ended affairs of which we have spoken—he led us to it with evident pride and elation. His fine-looking, big wife, very Indian in character for all her obviously mixed blood (See Fig. 8) was rather puzzled by our inquisitive descent upon her tiny abode, but took it all in good part. She was stolid where her husband was volatile, silent where he was talkative, reversing the usual formula; in time we won some friendship with her, when we had learned something of the language, and made up to the children. Just now she suffered us with uninterested and somewhat superior tolerance. Kash gave us some *zapote* fruit to eat, and the children hid and peeked in the usual bright-eyed manner.

The house was small, about two meters by four, set on a levelled space in the gently sloping hillside. It had stick walls, a gable roof, and grass thatch. One wall had never been finished, but was filled in with brush, *cucal*, tied across the uprights. The name, *cucal*, also refers to the thatching-rods, and probably merely means

³⁵ The Indian names of people who are mentioned frequently, for the convenience of readers not accustomed to phonetic alphabets, are spelled in the English manner.

small sticks. The whole wall, he said, was called *telax*, which seems to be a generic term for anything made up of small strips, as *telax-tce*, grass fodder for horses, *telax*, strips for plaiting hats. The upright sticks of the gable ends did not fully close the A at the top. The door was of similar sticks, lashed to two cross-pieces, swinging on a tall upright, clear of the threshold, which was also of sticks about 10 cm. high. The space above the door was left open. This kind of shack is more ordinarily built for corn-cribs in the fields, or for pig-styes.

With its contents, plus Kash, his wife, three children, his sister, and two ethnologists, the little house was distinctly crowded. It really was not convenient for us all to sit down at once. A list was made of the contents of the house, to give an idea of one family's belongings. The furniture consisted of a table, *maliñde'ra* (a Spanish word, *me'ca* from Spanish *mesa*, is reserved for altars) on which was placed the grinding stone, *ka'*, and a chest on legs, *kaca'*. The table was simply a board supported by two sticks laid across four upright forked stakes. The chest, he said, was made by the Indians, but the legs had obviously been turned on a lathe. The fireplace, *k'a'* "fire," (Fig. 16) in one corner was simply three stones, between which the logs lay in a star shape. The stones supported a large pot, another large pot, a small one and two pitchers stood nearby.³⁶ A very large water jar was placed in the corner, and there were two three-handled jars, or *cántaras*, one of native make, and one from the expert potters of Amatenango near Teopisca in Chiapas.³⁷ There were two tortilla griddles, a small round bowl, a bowl with a foot from Huehuetenango, and a clay collender for washing the lime out of the hominy. These pottery vessels were supplemented by a tin coffee pot, *calu-tcên*, literally, "pitcher-metal." (See Fig. 20) There was one open gourd dish, five of the large ones with necks, *ts'uH*, used for carrying water when going to work, and two of the cylindrical ones for drinking posol, chocolate, etc., *tsimah*. There were one wicker and one twined basket. The handstone for use on the grinding stone is called *sQap* or *sk'ap*, "its hand."

There were no beds, the occupants slept on two mats, *pōp*, which are made in Sapaluta and other towns of Chiapas. There was the inevitable machete, *matcit*, as usual made by Collins & Company of Hartford, with a tump line, and basket pouch or *moral*, the tools of the man. A net, *yu'lap*, hanging over the fire from the roof-tree held meat and tortillas. Some small packages of pig and snake fat, used as ointments, were also hung from the stringers. There

³⁶ See the description of Pottery in the next chapter.

³⁷ Blom and La Farge: 1927. pp. 395-397.

was one heavy *chamora* blanket from Quetzaltenango, *tcou*. This makes up a pretty complete list of the possessions of a poor couple.

When we went down to the hot country, to look for a non-existent ruin, Shuwan Manel (Juan Cruz), invited us to stay at his house in the settlement of Puxup. All that section is divided into narrow valleys, running more or less northwest-southeast, with steep, not very high sides of craggy limestone and stupid, brown second-growth. The bottoms are traps for heat, but they have their swift-running streams that come down from the higher country, and tall shade trees, and good farming land around them. Each pocket of a valley contains its own settlement, *aldea* or *casería*, usually of houses grouped together among bananas, coffee, alligator pears, and mango trees, with the fields lying at various distances. We reached Shuwan's house about noon, riding a short way beyond the main settlement. It was a fine example of the stick-walled type with hip roof, standing under tall, rich mango trees. The bare-swept yard, about 15 meters square, was fenced with a fence made of spindly uprights a meter apart carrying two or three horizontal members, instead of the usual arrangement with close-set uprights. (Fig. 14). Two gates were narrow barways. A trough for the pigs, which wandered freely about, was outside. There was one sow that was almost the biggest and most impressive animal we have ever seen. Near the trough was tethered a calf, a little further away were a couple of cows. Hens and chickens of curious plumage clucked in the yard, and occasionally annoyed the somnolent dogs.

The house itself, about 6 by 5 meters square, was a pleasant refuge from the time of day. Shuwan's mother brought us cocoposol in large gourds, and little blocks of wood with handles on one end, *tcēm*, to sit on. These seats, and four-legged stools which go by the same name, are also used by the Lacandones,³⁸ and probably represent a very old form. We sprawled in the shade of the porch and the mangoes, after our saddles had been slung out of reach of the truly omnivorous dogs and took notes.

Originally, the house was square, but an addition had been made on one side by continuing the roof, pent-house fashion, to a second line of uprights. The space thus provided held the fire and grinding stones. In back, facing the door, which is the place of honor here as in a Navaho hogahn or a Plains Indian tipi, was the usual table with a mat behind it, serving as an altar. It had a framed chromo of a saint, flowers, and pine-tips. On the side opposite the fire, on the left of the door, was a coffer like the one at Kash's house. Goods in bundles, nets, gourds, and choice ears of seed corn

³⁸ Tozzer: 1907, p. 114.

were hung from the stringers and the tops of the wall sticks. The sleeping mats were stored over the stringers. Pottery was grouped near the fire, save for one big water jar at the back center. Various goods were piled at the sides, the central part being kept clear. The two small "squatting seats" mentioned, a couple of square pieces of wood, and an old fragment of mat served to sit on. They had two cheap china cups and a plate.

Two young women, dressed in clean white blouses, presumably in our honor (or dishonor) as in all the houses here the women were comfortably semi-nude, were grinding, grinding, grinding. A third brought water, and helped Shuwan's mother about the fire, or in watering and sweeping the house and yard. Towards dusk, the men came in from the fields, three brothers, and a step-father with whom they seemed to feel no relationship. They washed, and changed from the sweaty, ragged work-clothes that give many travelers so false an idea of the condition of these people, and sat down to a cooling gourd of *posol*.

The mother, a very respectable looking elderly person with a quiet sense of humor, was evidently mistress of the household. From one or another, as something was needed, one constantly heard the two-toned "*mi-yai*," "mother," the name which daughters-in-law and sons alike applied. She and her second husband lived in a little gable-ended shack just outside the house. These shacks are much more common, as dwellings, in the hot country. During the day, all four couples, and a baby belonging to one of them, lived in the house. In and about it were dogs and chickens, pigs, cattle, but everything was scrupulously neat and, as is usual with Indians wherever one finds them in anything approaching a natural condition, the domestic atmosphere was restful and pleasant. At night they chatted for a while over the fire, and Shuwan showed us stars. They slept in pairs on mats, under Quetzaltenango blankets, in the house or the porch. For light at night, they had the fire, and sticks of *ocote*, a very resinous pine, laid on a round wire net near the grinding table.

The mud-walled houses differ in no essential from the building last described. A good type was the one where we went to study weaving, belonging to Kash (Gaspar, we did not learn his last name), who was First Chief Prayer Maker in 1926. Situated in the middle of the village, it was a good example of the richer kind of house. (See Fig. 18). It must have been about 7 x 5 meters square. The walls were thickly plastered with mud. The door was in one of the long sides, in front of which the overhanging roof formed the usual porch, fenced with stout split sticks lashed to-

gether as previously described; firewood was stacked inside this porch, here also in the shade much of the weaving and other family activities were carried on. The table altar was placed at the back of the house facing the door. Beside this there were two long benches of the type which apparently are made for the Chief Prayer-Makers and other officials, a couple of chests, and some miniature chairs. This good supply of furniture may have been due to the fact that Kash was also a skillful carpenter. As usual, inside the house, furniture was ranged about the sides, and goods were similarly placed or hung from the ceiling, leaving all the central part empty. There was a small square window in the south end. The door was made of a single slab of wood. The interior was rather dark and cool even on the hottest day. Outside, a couple of beehives in the form of long narrow boxes were slung from the eaves in front of the porch.

A quite different kind of construction is used in the sweat baths, *ih'a*. They are low structures, sometimes semi-excavated, about one meter high by one and a half wide. The walls are of stone and mud, the roof, which is gabled, is of boards and small stones and mud. At San Miguel some were seen with a free standing, thatched roof, similar to the ones made by the Tzeltal. Sometimes a permanent slab oven is built at the back, inside. (Fig. 15). These are not found any more at Jacaltenango, having been forbidden by law, owing to deaths said to have been caused by their misuse in cases of sickness. They are common in all other villages.

For domestic purposes, the Indians have stuck almost entirely to their own native architecture, but it must not be supposed that they are unacquainted with other kinds of building. The compliments which Gage³⁹ pays to the architectural ability of the Pocomams may be repeated for the Jacaltecas. "It was my fortune to set upon a hard and difficult building in a Church of *Miawco*, . . . yet for this work I sought none but *Indians*, some of the Town, some from other places, who made it so complete, that the best and skillfullest workmen among the *Spaniards* had enough to wonder at . . ." That the Indians built the church at Jacaltenango alone, I would not guarantee, but they were certainly able to make complicated and important repairs upon it, and they are constantly hired to build houses for the Ladinos. The quaint little church at San Miguel (See Fig. 66) is a very good example of the Indian's architectural self-expression.

One usually hears that the ancient engineering and artistic ability is dead, but there are many evidences that, given the necessary

³⁹ Gage: 1655, p. 146.

stimulus, it readily revives itself. What would be said of the engineering ability of the North Americans if, having been conquered by, let us say, the Touaregs, or some people of equally foreign culture, who monopolized the erection of all public buildings and trade centers, we were left only the typical frame houses in which the majority of the nation habitually dwells?

CHAPTER V

WOMEN'S WORK

The house seems to be held in common by the family, or at least by the parents, but its mistress is distinctly the housewife. Thus, when entering a house, it is customary to ask, "*ai ic-mi?* Is the lady in?" (Is [here] the woman mother?) All the housework, and most activities which can take place at home with the exception of basketry,⁴⁰ are performed by the women. When a man has brought his corn or firewood in from the fields or woods, he drops the load in front of, or just inside the house, and therewith his duty ends. It is the woman who stacks the wood, and takes the corn out of the nets. She draws the water and prepares the food, which means that she spends about half of her waking hours over the grinding stone.

When the morning star, *sax^ebes*, first gives warning of day's approach, the women begin their work, while the men still sleep. Anyone who has spent much time in Middle America knows the picture, much as we saw it at Puxup, when we lay in our hammocks under the mango trees in the cool night, having been wakened by the scraping crunch of the stones. The *ocote* sticks in the hanging wire net, and the small fire, made a thick, ruddy light that came through the intervals of the stick walls, making queer, blotchy masses, like silhouettes cut out of blotting paper, of the irregularly spaced poles, and many amorphous bundles that hung against the walls. Just turning our heads lazily, we could watch them at work, speaking little and in low tones. Two women stood at the grinding stones, bending forward slightly from the waist while their arms worked like slow, very smooth pistons, scrape, scrape. They wetted their hands, gathering the grist into a lump, flattening it again, working it slowly off the end of the stone onto the table, then gathering it for a second grinding. *Tortillas* for everyone, *posol* for the men to take to the fields, for themselves, for visitors; marvelously muscled backs and rounded forearms, dragging the stone, scraping it forward, pushing the meal off the end of the stone.

The sky behind the house was a little paler and bluer than could be ascribed to the moonlight. It lay flat, with the neat, delicate masses of the hanging mango-leaves against it, drooping down to

⁴⁰ See next chapter.

the roof. Where the meeting hills closed the end of the valley, the moonlight was caught in wisps of cool mist.

A little before dawn, the men arose. One went silently to the fire, having washed, and was given sweet coffee—much better than one can get in any Ladino house—and a great stack of *tortillas*, hot off the big clay griddle over the fire. For two outlandish Americans, there was a helping of their rice, cooked marvelously, with herbs, served on a box, for special honor, with a Huehuetenango napkin for a table-cloth, and the coffee given in the two china cups.

The men go off to their fields. The women sweep, take the laundry to the river, prepare food, weave, make pottery. Now their easy time begins. In the villages, if they have something to sell, they may spend a sociable three or four hours in the market, thriftily occupying their hands, perhaps, with rolling cigarettes of bad tobacco in an unpleasant variety of yellow, highly explosive paper. The native standard of cigarettes seems to be derived from the rockets they are so fond of shooting.

They are very good cooks; a really good Ladina surpasses them, for she has much more variety at her command, but if one is just taking pot-luck, one is likely to fare better at an Indian's hands. They made a delicious dish of our rice at this house, and later served us remarkable tamales, with the breasts of doves in them. At another time we were given a really first rate shrimp soup à la Créole. Indian coffee is almost always strong and good, while the Ladinas usually prepare it weak and bad. Perhaps the most unusual exhibition of cooking that we saw was a Todos Santera frying an egg on the tortilla griddle, without grease. As soon as it had begun to harden, she began working it around the edges with quick touches of her fingers, until she had the whole thing loose. Then she turned it, still with her fingers, repeated the operation, and flipped it neatly into a dish.

Thus much for the cooking. The actual food supply is reserved for Chapter VII.

Among the Jacalteca of Jacaltenango, weaving is carried on only by the women, and we believe that the same is true of San Miguel and the other wool-raising towns, as against Todos Santos,⁴¹ where the men weave the wool and the women the cotton. The work, from the point of view of design and richness of color, does not compare to that of some of the Highland tribes.

Spinning has now almost entirely died out, the women preferring to buy their thread at the stores. None was observed in process. The spindle is called *pětět*.

⁴¹ Chapter II, pp. 16-17.

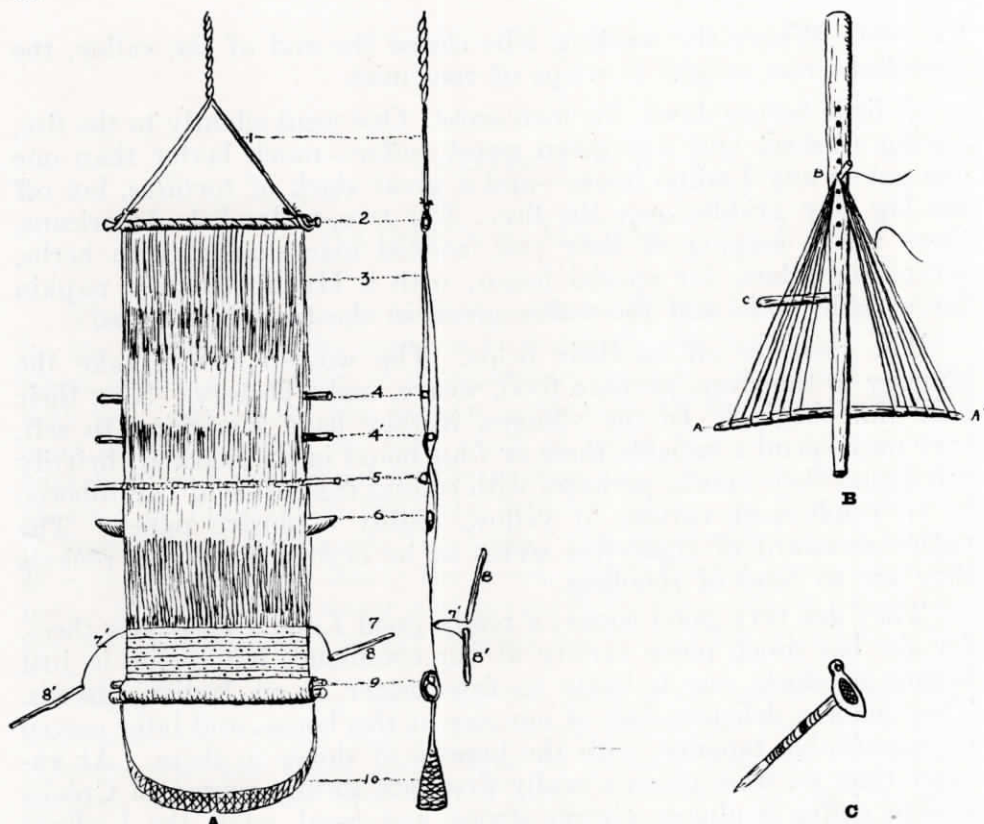


FIG. 17—Loom.

A. Large loom with triple warp.

B. *K'ubal*. Frame for winding warp. About 2 m. long. Width about 60 cm.C. *Hotsbal*.

To observe the weaving of cloth, we went to Tulisa's house, as she is a good weaver, a friend of Señor Hernandez, and a conservative. She did a good deal of work for us, making us two Prayer Maker's handkerchiefs, a blue sash, and a blouse. It was a pleasant way to spend the time, visiting in her shady, big house, or sitting in the porch, watching her and some younger women, daughters or nieces, at work. She was far from shy, deluging us with gossip and jokes in pure Jacalteca until we felt as if we were standing under a very strong shower bath.

The hanks of prepared thread are wound on a large reel, *holbaltca* (Fig. 17) which is set upright in a small stool with a hole in the seat. From this the thread is laid on the winding frame, *k'ubal*. (Fig. 17B). This is a heavy pole about 2 meters long, with a cross-stick $1\frac{1}{2}$ meters in length set through it at one end. A little further down on one side another, shorter stick is set, parallel to the cross-stick. Toward the middle is a row of holes, in one of which a twig or nail is placed, according to the length of warp desired. The thread is wound from one end of the cross-piece over



FIG. 18—Tulsisa weaving a huipil.



FIG. 19—Woman weaving a head-band.

the nail and out to the other end of the cross-piece and so back and forth (Fig. 17-B: A, B, C). As it is wound, it is crossed over at c, the small cross-stick, so that the thread which has been on the top of the large cross-stick from then on is underneath and vice-versa; this crossing of the warp strands is maintained when the loom is set up. Meantime, the thread unwinds from the reel. The fixed and movable parts of this winding frame are the reverse of those seen at Sivacá in Chiapas.⁴²

The head-piece of the loom is placed through the warp strands on the side where the stick c is, the foot-piece on the other side. The small sticks and the batten (Figs. 17-A: 4 and 6) prevent the thread from being uncrossed when it is taken off the winding frame. This is now set up as the loom, the head-stick, *tsulup*, (2, Fig. 17-A) being attached to a cord (1) *wi-tcēm*, which is tied to a post at about the height of one's shoulder. The foot-stick, also called *tsulup* (9), has a strap, *iwbal* (10), attached to it, which passes about the waist of the weaver. By setting back she holds the loom taut. As the weaving progresses, it is desired to roll up the part that has been already woven. For this purpose a second foot-stick is added, the woven part is rolled up on the two, and by allowing the ends of the strap to pass under the nearer one and over the further, the tension holds them from unwinding. The woof, *surwa'*, is wound on a wooden shuttle, *p:alpalwa'*, (8), sometimes even when weaving plain white thread with a treble warp two shuttles are used. The batten, *tcēmbal-te* (6), is placed immediately above the line of weaving, and is shifted according to which layer of warp strands is brought to the top. It is pounded down with extraordinary force after the laying in of each line of the woof. Above this is the heddle, *lēm*, (5), a stick with a looped thread running in a spiral along it attached to the lowermost warp. Above this are either one or two sticks, *ahap*, or *tsutbalte*, (4), according to whether there is a double or triple warp. These are set between each of the warp levels, just above the point where the warps cross each other.

Lines of color in sashes are obtained by means of the warp strands. In the weaving of blouses, which was what we saw Tulisa doing, ribbing was obtained by weaving in an extra thick woof strand at equal intervals. Immediately above these a small carved bone stick, *hotsbal* (Fig. 17-c) would be scratched towards the weaver roughly across the newly woven part forcing the strands apart and giving the effect of drawn work. In one specimen purchased, the ribbing runs both ways. At intervals of about 2½ cm. spots of color were inserted. A piece of colored yarn was passed under four of the top warp strands, drawn nearly to its end over the top across

42 Blom and La Farge: 1927, p. 347.

five or six strands, and then under the second warp so that it was woven in once between the two, for the rest being merely wrapped until a square was obtained, when it was cut off short. The third warp remains below, and when the weaving continues, binds in the whole. This type of blouse is that known as *kuts'bën*. (Fig. 11).

Sash weaving was observed being done by the daughter of the soothsayer, Nicolas Delgado. (Fig. 19). The loom itself is essentially a miniature of the larger one. The warp strands are vari-colored according to the lines desired to be brought out in the background. A single shuttle is used. Instead of the small dots of colored yarn a very simple design is made with solid masses of different colors of silk. The silk is set in very much as the spots were on the other loom, but as the warp is only double, the design comes out alike on both sides. These inserts of silk form solid lines running the length of the head-band, between which the vari-colored warp strands and single colored wool form flat dotted lines. While presenting on the whole a uniform appearance, it is surprising what variety is obtained within narrow limits; of ten head-bands bought by the 1925 and 1927 Expeditions no two are alike.

We also purchased a head-band or small sash without any inserts, but with the typical background; none of these were seen being worn. Sashes of designs of lines running lengthwise or crosswise, shawls and the insignia handkerchiefs of the Prayer Makers and other officials, having a striped decoration with a suppressed plaid, are also woven. This can be done very simply with either colored warp or wool strands. In the handkerchiefs and shawls, the wool strands form the strong vari-colored strands, the warp showing through makes the suppressed plaid. Plaids of this type are common all over Guatemala.

We bought one sash and were offered several of an unusual type for this section. The background was the same as for the head-bands, but the decoration appeared to be poor embroidery of very coarse designs in cheap silk, suggesting a poor imitation of the work done on blouses at San Cristóbal and Totonicapán. We did not see anything of this kind being worn, but were assured that they were an older type now nearly forgotten, and woven by only a few old women. They were brought to us just at the end of our stay, and we were not able to find the weaving actually in process.

The heavy wool tunics will be taken up in describing outside trips through the villages in the higher country.⁴³

The pottery is also a specialty of the women. The clay is taken from certain river beds and tempered with a finely ground crystal-

⁴³ Chapter XXIII.

line silicate stone, *cit'kut*, found in the low country. We observed the process of modeling at a house in the village. The young woman who was at work (Fig. 21) showed the usual cheerful embarrassment. We had ordered an incense burner from her, and asked her to delay completing it, so that we could take photographs and moving pictures of her at work. However, she had gone ahead and completed the thing, so she obligingly made a little bowl for us, free of

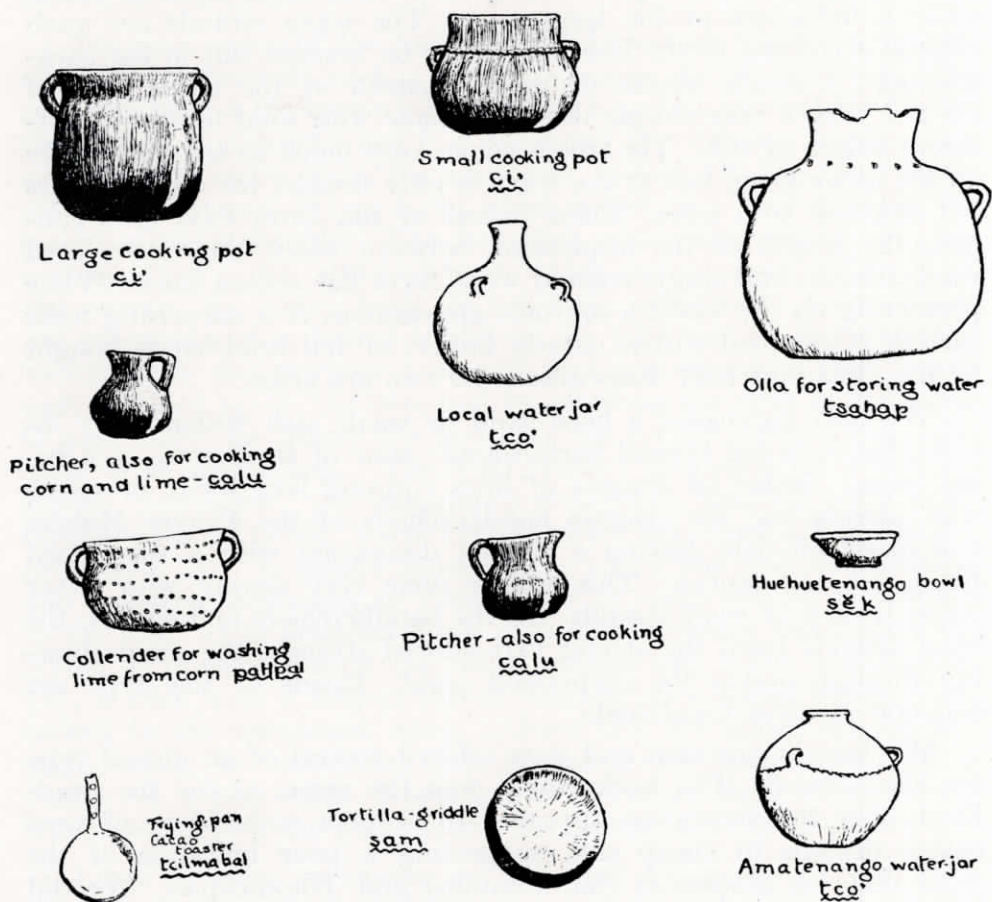


FIG. 20—Pottery forms.

charge. The point is interesting because the little vessel which she turned out does not resemble any type in common use, and seems to have been a mild flight of fancy, since she knew that we were not buying pottery for use, but "just to have," or "for samples."

The Indians had been having a great time guessing why we bought all the queer things we did. Why did we want *women's* blouses? Why did we want their pottery, when we could afford



FIG. 21—Making pottery.

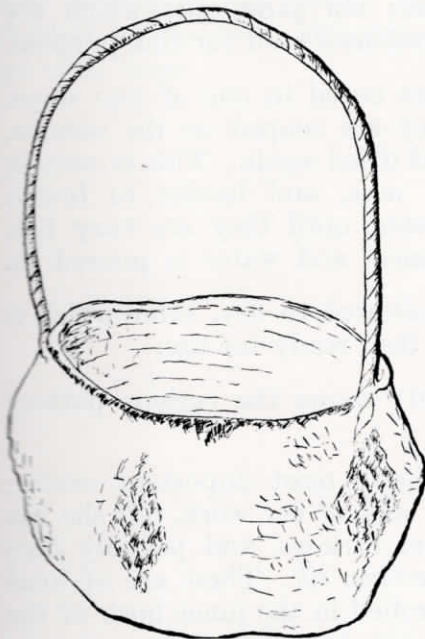


FIG. 22-A.

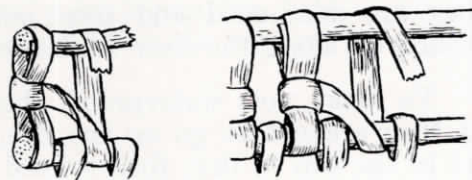


FIG. 22-B.

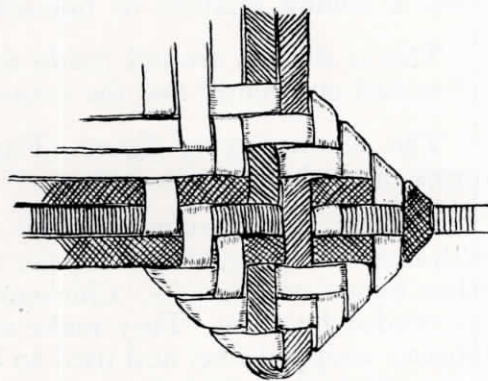


FIG. 22-C.

FIG. 22—Basketry.

any number of iron vessels? Why did we pay men to teach us the language, or to tell us about customs? At first it made them very suspicious. Finally, Señor Hernández told us, they made up their minds that we were going to become very rich by introducing new arts and ways into our country, "but they do not hold it against you for that." On the contrary, as they found us rather easy marks, they set themselves gaily to have a share in some of our prospective profits. Perhaps the biggest profiteer was the old soothsayer, Nikol, who actually held us up for ten pesos (about fifteen cents), for a conference with him.⁴⁴

To return to our potter, between giggles of embarrassment, her hands worked with the usual astonishing speed. She did not coil the pottery, but, as is common in this area, took a lump of clay in her left hand, and shaped it into the bottom with her right. More chunks or slabs are built on as needed. The hands are wetted from time to time and keep on patting and smoothing until an almost polished surface is obtained. The pots are then allowed to dry in the shade, and when a large batch is ready they are baked in dung. At San Mateo Ixtatán we saw pottery being baked under a large pyramidal pile of pine wood. The pots have the fine texture of the clay from which they are made, have no slip, and cook to a warm, matt orange. There is no painted decoration, but small nodules are sometimes set on around the neck. After the pieces are dried, and before baking, they are dampened and then polished; old jade celts which are picked up along the river bank are sometimes used for this purpose.

To make pots waterproof, they are cured in one of two ways. If they are not to go on the fire, they are soaped on the outside, set in the sun to dry, then soaped and dried again. This is said to make them waterproof for ordinary uses, and harder to break. Pots that will go on the fire are heated until they are very hot, when a boiling mixture of fine-corn meal and water is poured in.

This is sloshed around inside and allowed to dry, after which it is brushed out gently and the vessel is then ready for use.

The accompanying figure (Fig. 20) shows the various pottery forms, and their native names.

Pottery and weaving are the women's most important crafts; with house-keeping, they comprise the bulk of her work, but she has other minor occupations. Chickens and turkeys, and possibly bees are tended by them. They make cigarettes, *sik*. These are of local tobacco, chopped fine, and used to be rolled in the inner husk of the corn. Now they find it more convenient to use a very unsavory

⁴⁴ The usual price should be about a nickel. See Chapter XVI.

grade of commercial paper, and corn husk cigarettes can be bought only in stores, where they are brought in from San Antonio Huista. The women may be seen rolling these cigarettes at any time. Both the women and men smoke, although the former do not commonly do so outside of their houses.

They do a very little work in the fields, and are commonly employed for picking coffee. Occasionally they are seen bringing in inferior bundles of firewood, presumably because there was no man to go get it. They are not accustomed to handle the machete. Around Jacaltenango they had nothing to do with the flocks, but in the sheep country frequently act as shepherdesses.

A number of Indian women, as well as Ladinás, own small sewing machines and do piece work, particularly sewing up the strips for hats. In no circumstances have they the faintest idea of how to repair any of these machines. As many of them come with the instructions neatly printed in English or German, they are rather at a loss when anything goes wrong. From this, too, they conclude that any passing foreigner, particularly if he is blond or has grey eyes, can fix the machine that the pig rolled on.

It is the women who sell goods in the local markets, and often they, alone or accompanied by their men, who go to neighboring fairs to trade. Long trips, particularly when they are for wholesale buying of raw goods, such as palm-leaves for hats, are performed by the men, although even on these the women sometimes go with them.

CHAPTER VI

MEN'S WORK

The man's primary occupation and chief reason for existence is agriculture, which will be described in the next chapter. He is, above all, the one who furnishes the food for the family. Speaking in a very broad way, one may say that when he has done that, he is through, and indeed among the least energetic or industrious Indians, this statement is almost literally true.

Curiously enough, here as among the Tzeltals, and probably among many other neighboring tribes, all basketry is made by the men. They weave the ordinary wicker-work baskets, built up on splints, that are found all over Mexico and Guatemala, *mOtc*. They also turn out a more difficult type, *cuk'*, with a twined weave. These have a fairly wide distribution. The former type of basket is open and flat, the latter is usually high-sided, often having a handle and cover, and being commonly decorated with a simple geometrical design, known by the Spanish name, *morada*. (Fig. 22). The figure shows the details of the weave better than it can be described.

The men also occupy themselves in plaiting hats, and are frequently to be seen walking about thus engaged, much as Scotch shepherds go about knitting. The reason why these related crafts are so commonly delegated to the men in the Maya area may be just for that, that one may work upon them while going to and from the corn fields, or walking about the village. When Kash made a basket for us, he carried it with him to the Town Hall, where he was on duty as Mayor. For hats, a single long strip is made, which is then sewn together in a coil, shaped to form the brim and crown. The sewing, apparently is done by the women, by hand or on a machine, or by Ladinos, on machines. The latter carry on a small trade in exporting hats thus made. The strip, *setañ*, is made of six strands, *ciqlp:al*. Five strips are laid parallel and one crossways under one, over two, under two. (Fig. 22). Each of these parallel strips is then bent at a right angle and passed over one strip and under two, bringing them thus parallel with the one first laid across. This process is continued as shown in the figure, it is not difficult to learn. The men work with great skill, their fingers moving so

fast that it is impossible to see what they are doing. The hats thus made are heavy and durable.

Carpentry is a specialist's occupation, which is carried on about the house, except when there is community work, such as repairing the church. The carpenters show real skill in working wood with simple instruments. When they were making and decorating beams for the church, the following tools were seen in use:

Single and two-man saws: *tcēn serucho*, or *kupbal-te* "wood cutter."

Adzes: *esētbal-te* "wood worker."

Straight and right-angled rules: *regla*.

Saw horses.

Compass and pencils.

Machetes: *matcit*.

Of these, machetes must be said to be by far the most used. There seems to be nothing that they cannot do with this implement. A man would take a board along which a line had been ruled about an inch from its edge, and trim it free hand with his machete, so that it looked to have been sawed. All their work with this tool, even if it is only cutting a gash in a pine tree to get the resin, is similarly neat, and seems rather the work of a saw than of a sword or axe-like instrument. The adzes were of two kinds, one a standard type manufactured by Collins & Company, who make the machetes, the other a cruder form, put together with wedges and an iron band, probably made somewhere in Guatemala. It was not made here. (Fig. 23, C).

The carpenters make benches, *eskanyo*, (from the Spanish) which are solid affairs, neatly put together with mortising, having backs and arms. (Fig. 23). The tops of the backs are usually serrated. The same kind of bench was observed at Todos Santos and other neighboring villages, and at Cancuc, Chiapas, in 1925.⁴⁵ Stools with square seats, about 15 by 15 cm., and four legs about 10 cm. high, are much like those used by the modern Lacandones.⁴⁶ They show none of the finish of the other products of the carpenter's craft. Tables are mostly larger editions of the stools. Chairs, *tecila* (?) are of two kinds. One is a miniature stiff European chair, such as we should make for a child, the other has a slanting back which curves into the bottom, while the legs are crossed. This latter is usually just a frame, with seat and back of hide, it is common in Mexico and Guatemala. Both types are neatly mortised, and usually, not always, put together with nails. Simple, heavy chests are also made.

⁴⁵ Blom and La Farge: 1927, p. 390, fig. 325.

⁴⁶ Tozzer: 1907, p. 114.

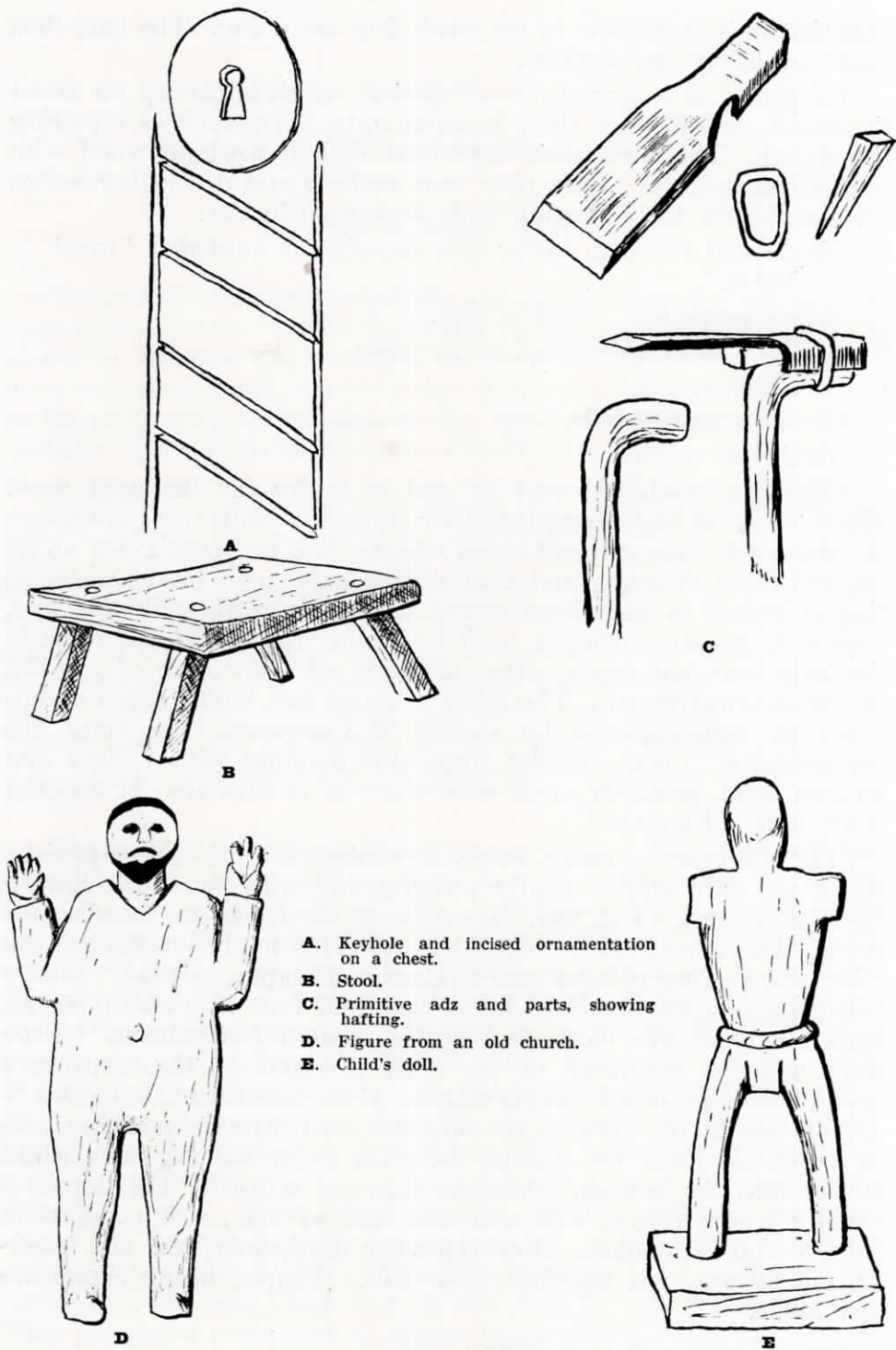


FIG. 23—Woodworking.

Some of the carpenters show a good deal of ability at a simple kind of wood-carving. The ends of the beams supporting the eaves of the church were carved out with their machetes into forms evidently derived from the conventional scroll ending. As now made, they present a profile like a child's drawing of a horse, and are whittled and painted into various kinds of faces of men and animals or formal figures. Small figurines of men, and naïve, conventional snakes were carved for decoration of the church beams inside. (Fig. 23). Tulusa's husband, who was a carpenter, had made several figures of wood for his children, of which one is shown here. Another, crudely blocked out figure of a man running, evidently followed the suggestion of the natural shape of the piece of wood, which had been slightly whittled to bring out the resemblance. Some very simple scratched or incised designs were seen on chests. For the detail work of this kind, they use old, ground down machetes. There is a real display of original fancy, and no little humor, in much of this work.

When called upon to work on the church, or to make a cross, carpenters receive special ceremonial treatment, being fed with tamales, and their work being accompanied by music. To a slight degree, a ceremonial character is ascribed to them at all times. Their general treatment when the church was being repaired while we were there, reminded us of that described by Landa in Yucatan, for the men who made the idols and incensarios before the Year Bearer ceremony.

The district provides a goodly supply of game, such as deer, (*Cariacus virginianus*) *tsaq-tce*, wild pig (*Dicotyles Tajacu. Scl.*) *melaHil-tcitam*, tepescuintle (*Caelogenys Paca, L.*) rabbits (*Lepus Palustris*), doves, (*Columba Leucocephala Lnd* and *Columba Speciosa, Guek.*) Hunting these is a minor occupation of the men, which they enjoy more than a little. Only those who have made contracts with the guardians of the Hills⁴⁷ can be said to go in for it regularly. It is forbidden by law to own firearms without licenses issued by the departmental government. These licenses are very hard to obtain, and for an Indian, the cost, about 300 pesos or \$5.00 U. S., is prohibitive. None the less, a great number of Indians keep muzzle-loading percussion-cap, smooth-bore guns. They hide them in the thatch of their houses or in other places for safety and bring them out only when they are actually going to hunt. Some of these guns are made in Germany and in Spain. Many are heirlooms handed down from long past generations. Men will be seen with long, slightly bell-mouthed muskets with beautifully carved stocks,

⁴⁷ See Chapter XIV.

brass mounted, which their great grandfathers had before them. Black powder and shot are purchased in Huehuetenango and other large towns. For birds and rabbits, they use heavy small shot, somewhere around number 6 or 8 of our measurements, while for deer and wild pig they use ball. The Indian name for a gun is *alkěpus*, a name derived from the obsolete Spanish *arquebus*. We also heard them refer to it simply as *tcěn*, a generic term for any stone or metal. Most of the other names for parts of the gun are also of Spanish derivation, the barrel, *kanyon*; stock, *kahit'a*; ball, *bal'a*; shot, *munision*. Powder is called by apparently a purely native name, *tañke'*. The powder horn is called *katcu'*. They appear to be good shots, and in their hunting are extremely patient. As most of the animals and birds which are sought after come down to water at dusk, this is the great time for hunting, so that to a certain extent it may be regarded as a recreation indulged in after work during the last hours of the day. During the rainy season they also go jacking for deer with lanterns.

Beside the gun they use a blow-gun, *up:al*. The blow-guns are hollow tubes of some light wood which grows in the Cold Country around San Miguel and Santa Eulalia, where there are people who specialize in making them. The gun is usually about 50 cm. longer than the individual who uses it. The longest seen was 1.92 m. long (a little over six feet). On one side of the gun is placed a lump of beeswax which serves as a sight. Pellets of clay are used for bullets, *spa-up:al*. These are rolled into approximate size in the hands and carried dried in a small pouch. The ones for immediate use are worked down to the exact size between pieces of bark or by rotating them in the mouth of a brass rifle shell, *kaski'ya* (Spanish). The shots that have been thus prepared are carried in a small pocket on the outside of the pouch, ready to hand. According to statements made to us, a rabbit can be brought down with this weapon at a distance of fifty yards.

Beasts of prey, the jaguar, *balam*, and wild cat, *tcis-balam*, are found occasionally, the puma, called also *balam*, or by the Spanish name, *león*, is more rare. When met with they usually shoot these beasts, but do not go out after them unless they have been attacking flocks.

There is almost no fishing. In some of the higher streams some small fish are found which are splashed out, but according to local accounts, the streams seem to be empty on the whole.

While local trade belongs to the women, more distant trade is carried on by the men. Jacaltenango itself is becoming a commer-

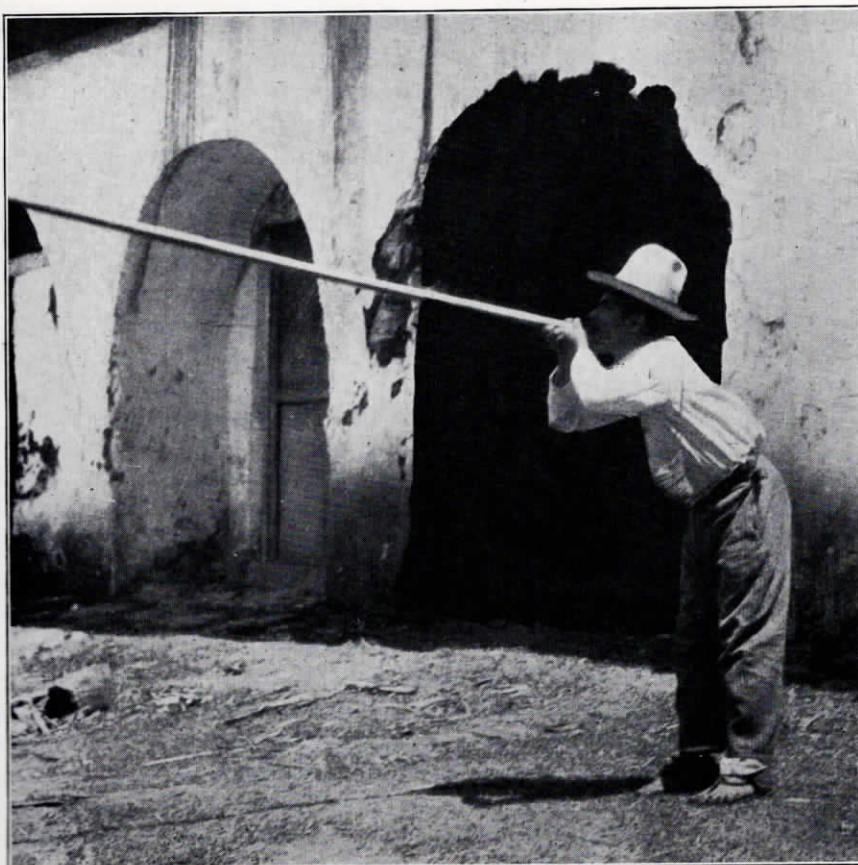


FIG. 24—Indian with blowgun.

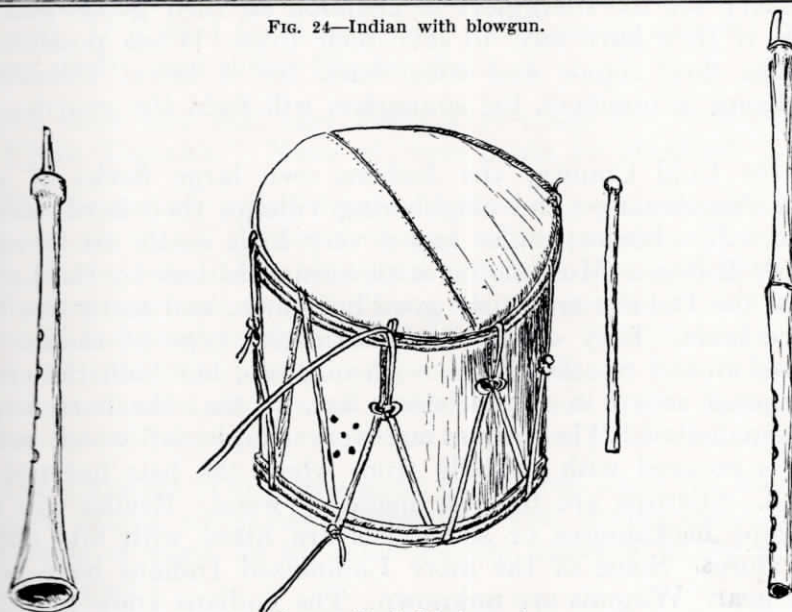


FIG. 25—Musical instruments.

cial town. The rich store-owning Indians, of course, make business trips on horseback to various parts; the ordinary Indians go as far as Comitán and Tapachula in Mexico, and Quetzaltenango in Guatemala. They get material for making hats from the Mexican Low Country, which they exchange for chocolate and other products of the Guatemala Coast. They also carry on a considerable export of corn. The sugar trade is largely in the hands of Ladinos. Pottery from the village of Amatenango in Chiapas is obtained in Comitán and brought as far as Todos Santos. Occasionally Amatenango jars have been seen in Huehuetenango. Minor glazed pottery vessels are brought in from various parts of Chiapas and from Huehuetenango. Beside cocoa, dried fish, shrimps and some woven goods are the chief products obtained from the Guatemala Coast.

Smuggling could probably be included here under the heading of Trade. The duty on importation of distilled liquor is very high. In Comitán there is made a liquor from the agave cactus which is much in demand in Chiapas and the neighboring parts of Guatemala. Certain Indians make almost a profession of smuggling this in. The profits are high, a quart which costs about 10 cents in U. S. money in Comitán, selling for between 50 and 60 cents in Jacaltenango, without allowing for the additional profits gained from adulteration. This is a very dangerous occupation; the border guards are a rough and rather low type of men who are zealous in the discharge of their duty, as much of their earnings consist in confiscated goods. They will shoot almost on sight. Frequently it is necessary for the smugglers to abandon all their goods and pack animals, if they have any, to save their lives. When possible they will cache their liquor and come back for it later. Occasionally when strong in numbers, the smugglers will fight the guards.

In the Cold Country the Indians own large flocks of sheep. Around Jacaltenango and neighboring villages their herds are confined to a few horses; mules and a very little cattle are owned by the richer Indians. Most of the cattle raising is done by the Ladinos. Some of the Indians are fairly good horsemen, and many are handy with the lasso. They often use a distinctive type of saddle which preserves an old Spanish form, with no horn, but both the crupper and pommel raised in a high sharp arc, so that the horseman sits in a deep hollow. The frames are very simple, of wood, and the saddle is covered with cowhide from which the hair has not been removed. Stirrups are likewise made of wood. Bridles are sometimes rope hackamores or sometimes are fitted with bits obtained in the stores. Some of the more Ladinoized Indians have regular leather gear. Wagons are unknown. The Indians know little about

packing, and do not have the specialized *aparejos* of the Ladino mule drivers.

Almost every man owns one or more dogs, animals of extremely mixed breed. They are trained when they are puppies, and are very obedient, following close behind their master's heels unless given permission to roam. They serve in hunting and as watchdogs. On the whole they are pretty well fed; when the Indians are eating almost everybody throws portions of their tortillas to the dogs, and to them go what very few scraps are left over from the Indians' meals. The half-starved, cringing animals that one sees so often in Mexico are most uncommon here.

Music is not confined to the men, but it is they alone who make and play the instruments. They make use ordinarily of the flute, pipe, drum and marimba, and, during dances,⁴⁸ of rattles. The flutes are made of cane, have six stops and a whistle mouthpiece. Almost any Indian knows how to make them, the only tool he needs is a sharp knife. The cane, or reed, is cut diagonally at the mouth end. Just above this it is notched, and a splint of the same cane is inserted in the mouth so that its end comes just under the notch. The stops are then cut in. (Fig. 25). Sometimes the mouthpiece is bound with string to prevent splitting. The name for a flute, *pitc* or *bitec*, is derived from the root *pit* meaning "singing" or "lamentation," a very good comment in itself on their vocal music.

The pipe is a double-reed instrument, made of wood, about forty centimeters long, with a sounding chamber just in front of the reed. It is used for dances, and sometimes in church. Its sound is very pretty, and rather like an oboe.

We were told that clay flutes were made for the ceremony of the Flute Tamales.⁴⁹ None of these could be obtained.

The drums are made from a hollow log usually about 28 cm. long and 26 cm. in diameter, shaped with machetes. Five holes are made in one side. Hide, wrapped around a vine and held in place by another vine, put over it, forms the two heads. Snares are made of twine, but produce little noticeable effect. The sticks are of plain wood, 28 centimeters long, with small heads on them. Drums are played at dances, and on all occasions when music is required, as well as to call the militia together or make public announcements.

The marimba is an instrument introduced since the conquest, of disputed origin, which has become universal throughout Guatemala. It is made of wood, on the same general principle as the xylophone,

⁴⁸ See Chapter XIII.

⁴⁹ See Chapter XV.

but far more rich in tone. In expert hands, it is a truly delightful instrument, and has an extraordinary range and variety. Every town owns one, and frequently private individuals have them as well. Jacaltenango's pride in this respect is a three-man affair, inferior in tone to the one at San Marcos, and apparently rather aged. It is played with sticks having crude rubber balls as heads; each player uses two or sometimes three.

A violin, in very bad condition, was heard once, accompanying the singers on Maundy Thursday in the church. About three different notes were wrung from it. Guitars used to be used, but have been given up at Jacaltenango; they are seen at San Marcos.

The music itself is very simple, perhaps three phrases making up each tune. They are pretty when one first hears them, but after they have been repeated over and over in an endless chain for an hour or so, one shudders at the very thought of the marimba being brought out. Perhaps three or four of these simple tunes make up the entire repertory. The flute has two tunes, and the pipe one; one hears them being whistled by Indians from fairly distant parts of the country. One of the flute tunes is almost identical with the call of a bird—probably the *cen-tzontli*—which we heard between San Andrés and Nentón.

CHAPTER VII

AGRICULTURE AND FOOD SUPPLY

The chief and foremost occupation of the men, and heart of the Indian's life is agriculture, and, yet more specifically the raising of corn (*Zea Maiz*). This staple probably comprises more than seventy-five per cent of the total crops raised by them. In this they follow the ancient way of life; their other staples, and the various new foods brought to them by the Europeans, have never replaced this one great grain of the Indians. Their manner of cultivation, too, the well known "milpa system," is conservative. This system has been studied in great detail by O. F. Cook,⁵⁰ to whose writings we have nothing to add. Briefly, for the variety practiced in this section, a strip of land that has lain fallow for a few years, or of virgin soil, is cleared by cutting and burning. The largest growth, if any, is cut, and so are the smallest bushes and grasses. Small trees and brush growing high from the ground are left standing. Usually some of them survive the flames, and their roots serve to hold the soil, promote reforestation and renewal of fertility. The crops are planted in the burnt-over ground, almost without tillage; only once, at San Martín, did we see a crude wooden plow in use. The corn is left standing, unless it is wanted for fodder, and cut, not pulled out, before the next planting. According to statements by Indians and Ladinos, the same piece of ground will continue fertile over a long period of years, if allowed to lie fallow at frequent intervals. Certainly all the fields that we saw in the municipality of Jacaltenango were in ground that had been long cultivated. Most of the country is covered with such second growth as might come up in the space of from two to five years—unattractive, worthless, monotonous brush. There is almost nothing that could be called virgin or old forest, save on the highest ridges. The land has been worked since early times, always according to this wasteful system, without fertilization or rotation, taking everything out and putting nothing back; yet there can be no doubt of the justice of Jacaltenango's reputation for fertility. The only real example of exhaustion of the soil that we could find was in the case of sugar cane, the plantations of which do not lie fallow: here the decrease in yield was said to be as much as twenty-five per cent in the course of the three years following the first harvest.

⁵⁰ Cook: 1909, page 18 treats of this section; 1921, page 320.

It is true that an enormous area of land is needed for the farming of a relatively small number of people. Here as everywhere,⁵¹ fields often lie half a day away from the dwellings and the distance one has to go to get good firewood makes that commodity genuinely scarce. The same conditions existed in early times.⁵² This exerts a centrifugal influence on the villages, causing them to tend to scatter into the little settlements that gave so much trouble to the early missionaries. The present custom of centering around one village dominates them, so that, if need be, they will often support two houses, one in the municipal seat, and one near their fields, but over and again colonies that are far away will break off, and become independent townships.

The cultivated country of Jacaltenango itself and of the neighboring villages follows the course of the Rio Azul, *niman yac ha'*, "Big Green (or Blue) River," from the Cold Country, at an altitude of about 2,500 meters, through the Temperate, down to the Hot Country at about 1,000—800 meters. As has been said, this is mostly second growth, with old pine, live-oak, and similar large trees in a few very high or neglected places. Between our visits in 1925 and 1927, the decrease in timber along some parts of the trails was noticeable.

The burning off of the fields was begun in the low country in February, and was taken up progressively in the higher country until, in May, the hills behind Concepción and the high slopes of Payá were alive with fire at night. This is curious, as it is in the high country that the planting begins. Around Todos Santos, corn was already being planted in February; at Jacaltenango they did not begin until the rains were almost due, in May, while in the lowlands they do not plant until the rains have actually started, because, they say, if they do, the corn will all be eaten by insects. Unlike the corn of most of the United States, theirs requires heavy rain and plenty of it to do well, it is during the downpours of the rainy season that the plants thrive.

Over most of this district there is only the first, or *milpa*, crop of corn, *patnabal* or *icim agrwal*, "corn sowing." In some of the lowest parts, particularly if they can irrigate, they plant the second, or *tonamil* fields *skap patnabal*, "second cornfield."

Holes are bored with a digging stick, *aupal*, made of any hard wood with the pointed end hardened in the fire. The grains, *sat icim*, "eyes (of the) corn," are planted in groups of five, or occasionally six, in each hole. Usually they are selected by color and

⁵¹ Cook: 1909, p. 9; 1921, pp. 312 and 315.

⁵² Tozzer: 1913, p. 501.

variety. A little weeding is done while the plants grow. When the green ears, *aHan*, are ready for eating, a few are plucked, but the greater part is allowed to mature fully and dry on the stalk. In February or March the dry ears, *ñal*, are plucked and stored in sheds in the field. Besides the digging stick, they use a hoe, known by the Spanish name *asadon*, an axe, *čtee* (from Spanish *hacha*), and a curved corn cutter, *luk'*. The harvest is called *hatco-ñal*; at that time everyone has a sort of harvest-home feast.

There are a great many kinds of corn. In the Hot Country there are three quick-growing types, taking about two to three months from the seed to the edible ear, these are: *ockal tsaiik* or *ocēp cahau*, *p:au* and *tcimho*. The first named is a spotted corn, the name *ockal tsaiik* means "sixty days," and *ocēp cahau*, "three months," or "moons." Some of the Indians said that it took sixty, others ninety days; the laymen have no idea of the old, ceremonial calendar of 20-day months, but there is some confusion here, and the latter name may preserve a memory of that kind of counting. Another relatively quick-growing corn is *nimčx kan p:au*, which may be the same as the *p:au* listed above; its name means "big yellow ear." There is one long term corn in the Hot Country, taking six months to mature, *tewa'*.

In the Temperate Country there is no short term corn, *kčx sat*, "black eyes" or "grains," takes about four months. It is all black, and said to be much in demand for making black tortillas, although we saw nothing of it. The slow-growing corns are *sax-ñal*, "white ripe ear," *ts'ip sat sax-ñal*, literally "writing grains white ripe ear" (the white ripe ear with written grains), *qan-ñal*, a very white corn, and *ts'ip sat*, which may be the same as *ts'ip sat sax-ñal* above.

In the Cold Country the only short term corn is called *tciletcurwa'*, which one Indian said was sweet and white, while another said it was yellow. The long term corn is *kčx-wa'* literally "black tortilla," which was said to be a sweet yellow corn, very good for making the drink *atole*. It takes five months to mature. The termination *-wa'* which occurs in many of these words, is the generic term for breads made from corn.

The people here raise more corn than they need, and carry on a considerable export business in it. For "*una cuerda buena*," about a third of an acre (1,135.6 square meters according to Termer), they say they expect about two quintals of corn. This is about the same yield as estimated by Termer,⁵³ four hundredweight for four *cuerdas*, but according to him the Indians of the higher parts of the Cuchumatanes cannot raise, with this yield, enough to support

53 Termer: 1930, pp. 354-355.

themselves. This may be because owing to the difficulties of the terrain, they can put less area per family under cultivation.

Most of the territory is privately owned by individuals or families. A certain amount of land is unclaimed and there is a community field called in Spanish, the *milpa de Dios*, God's cornfield, for poor people, and certain other fields are cultivated by the community for civil and religious officials.

Beans, *hup:al*, are the next staple after corn. There are nine varieties. *ockal tsaiik*, the same name as the corn above, is a small yellow bean, growing on a bushy plant in all climates, ripening in about two months. The Cold Country beans are said to require a year. They are: *nimēx yāt*, "big *membrum virile*," striped, black, or spotted; *paxhai*, a small bean which comes in all colors, and is said to be particularly good fried. The Hot and Temperate Countries have the same varieties: *tcinap:ul*, a black bean; *omon*, black, and *k'os*, a black bush bean, said to be the best of all; *sax-up:al*, "white bean"; *kaq tela'*, *kaq* means "red," a red bean with red pods. In the hottest parts of the Hot Country there is a wild or self-planting bean called *kēx-toñ*, which is flat and has thorns on the vine.

Certain other vegetables, such as cabbage, *kulic*, and red tomatoes, *icpic*, are raised in small quantities. Potatoes, *sis*, grow only in the cold country, and are chiefly raised at Todos Santos and San Miguel. They are brought down to Jacaltenango, chiefly for the Ladinos. A plant called *sal-xwinaq*, which grows in very wet places, is cultivated. It looks like a sugar-beet with long, Spanish bayonet-like leaves, which are the part that is eaten.

Fruit trees grow about the houses and in the villages. As Landa noted,⁵⁴ the Indians were quick to take up the European fruits. The chief of these are oranges, *lalancēc*, bananas of several varieties, and coffee, *kape* or *kafe*. Besides these they plant alligator pears, and the native mango grows in the Hot Country. Most of the real tropical fruits come from the true Hot Country, outside of the Jacalteca and Chuj territory, while apples are raised at Todos Santos.

The coffee groves are one of the alleviations of Jacaltenango. While the central, bald-rock part, by the edge of the cliff, supports little vegetation, on the western and southern edges of the town, where the terrain dips for little stream-beds, the narrow paths are shaded by the trees that protect the bushes from the sun. Here the houses are bowered with the green of bananas, and on either side of the paths one looks into aisles of the cool, rich green of the coffee leaves, in dappled shade, livened by the glowing, deep red berries.

⁵⁴ Landa: 1881, p. 113.

Here and there, where the soil is damp, grows the crimson, lily-like flower, *lopehal*, that is used in offerings of prayer. By one path that is thus lined, a little spring seeps out in a grassy bank. The shade trees meet above it. When the young women are coming down with their big jars for water, it is the prettiest spot in the village.

Tobacco, *sik'*, is raised here in small quantities. They have various kinds of peppers, *etc.* The gourd known in Spanish as *ayote* and in Jacalteca as *k'um* grows about the houses. Alligator pears are found mostly in the Cold Country; a tree takes five years before it begins to bear. The soft shelled pear is called *tsumoñ*, the hard shelled, *tc'om*. One variety, *koye'uw*, grows in the Hot Country.

Sugar cane, *wale'*, is raised in the lower part of the township, at an altitude of about 3,000 feet, and along the bottom of the valley of the Rio Azul as far up as Jacaltenango itself. It is a very important commercial crop, both for domestic use and for export. From it is made the drink, *yal-wale'*, which is used during dances. The fresh juice is allowed to ferment for two days, producing a beverage which tastes like cider and is as strong as heavy beer. After a couple more days it becomes vinegar. Most of the sugar is made by the Ladinos, with very simple outfits. The juice is boiled down in a caldron, then dumped into a wooden trough, from which it is ladled into forms to cool, producing a nearly black sugar of great sweetness, with a strong molasses flavor, that is remarkably good in coffee, and for preserves. For export, it is put up in sticks or cup-shaped pieces of about a pound each, wrapped in bark, or in fifty-pound blocks.

Ixte cactus is grown in considerable quantities around San Andrés, and was seen in one or two parts of the rocky section of Jacaltenango. The fibre, which is superior to hemp, is used for twine and ropes. San Andrés makes a specialty of ropes, nets, and crude hammocks.

This list of plants raised, with the flocks, pigs and chickens, and the game, gives a fair idea of the extreme range of the Indian's diet. As we have said before, however, corn is the one great staple; an Indian eats corn for breakfast, corn for lunch, corn for supper, and corn in between meals. The grains are boiled with lime and then washed, after which the women grind this hominy into a kind of mealy paste. They pat it into a pancake shape, and bake it on a clay griddle into tortillas, *waw*, or *wa'*. In the morning, a pile of these, with coffee, makes the breakfast. On his way to work, or if he will travel, the man takes a ball of the meal, extra finely ground

and wrapped in palm-leaves, some more tortillas, and a gourd full of water. He toasts the tortillas over coals, unless they have been already toasted hard into the enduring *totopostle*, *bōkoc*, that is used for very long journeys. Then he puts a fistful of the meal into a small gourd, adds water, stirs it with a stick, and drinks *posol*, *pitci'*. It does not sound very good, but in fact, if the corn be sweet, it is excellent in flavor, cool, and refreshing. A very small quantity suffices for a meal. In the evening, the chief part of the dinner is *tortillas* and *posol*. For luxury, or to entertain a guest, he adds chocolate to the same brew, and serves it hot or cold. Unsweetened, this drink is inferior to the plain *posol*, but with a little sugar or honey, as the Ladinos sometimes take it, it is remarkably good.

When additions are made to this diet, it usually happens at the evening meal. Beef is *usually* beyond the Indian's reach, and even his own pork seems to be raised more for sale than for home consumption. Such game as may be attained is always welcome. The main additions are in the form of some one of the many varieties of beans, usually served boiled down in a mass—the familiar *frijol*, or black beans of Latin America. Some are toasted or fried, and a kind of soup is made of beans, corn and peppers. Hot pepper sauces are used with everything. Cabbages and tomatoes are not much used. Oranges and bananas, and fruits traded up from the real Hot Country, are popular, particularly between meals. Alligator pears are much eaten in season.

Some more specific dishes and delicacies have been mentioned in Chapter IV.

An enormous number of herbs and wild plants are made use of, most of which we were not able to identify. An herb called in Spanish, *chipilin* and in Jacalteca, *tcap:in*, is very much eaten boiled with salt. It is a small shrub growing on a single stem, with oval leaves placed opposite each other. It is said to be a soporific if placed under one's head at night, when raw it is supposed to be poisonous. The leaves of a young tree called *ts'u'wiH*, are eaten during the rainy season. The ribs or large leaves of a herbaceous plant called *kěctc* are eaten. When young, almost the whole of a small bush called in Spanish, *yerba de Santa Catarina*, is eaten. The flower is star-shaped, the bud of which has a taste a little like celery. The root of a bush called *jicamo* is said to taste like a watermelon. In times of famine the large round root of a vine, called in Spanish, "*madre de maïs*" is ground and mixed with corn to make tortillas. Fruits from the Hot Country, such as watermelons, zapote, pineapples, etc., and apples from Todos Santos, are eaten to some extent. Almost every Indian keeps chickens and turkeys while some

raise ducks. Both the eggs and the birds themselves are eaten. Shrimps are traded up from the Coast and cooked into a very excellent soup with a great deal of spices. Pigs are raised in great numbers, their pork is probably more sold to the Ladinos than eaten by the Indians themselves. Except on occasions of celebrations, beef is very little eaten. Game of all kinds, particularly doves and deer, form an important article of diet. On any slight occasion, tamales are prepared, *cuheVu*. These are prepared in a variety of ways, with corn or beans as a main ingredient. At Puxup we were served corn tamales with breast of a dove in them.

For sweets, honey and crude black sugar are used extensively. A sugar candy called *sax-k'ap* (white sweet) is made by dipping peeled sugar canes into the vats in which the boiled sugar is beginning to cool. A mass of the syrup adheres to the canes, which is stripped off when partially solidified and pulled until nearly white.

Chocolate, *tcōk'olat*, which is consumed in fairly large quantities, is obtained by trade from the Hot Country toward the coast. It is used plain with *posol*, or made up into tablets with sugar, for cocoa.

CHAPTER VIII

MISCELLANEOUS MANNERS

It is a striking feature of these Indians that they have no organized games, if we except the chicken-pull in which twenty or so take part at Carnival time.⁵⁵ Perhaps the various festivals fulfill their need of mass amusement, but still, those are not many and one would expect to find some sort of competitions of skill or strength. It must not be thought from this that they are a morose or sombre people; on the contrary, though they have no games, they are always playing, and derive amusement from anything possible. Rounding up a pig that has got loose on the common is almost as good as a big league ball-game. When they are all together at some community task, like the work on the church which we saw, one would think they were at a picnic. Jokes fly, and even the hoisting of a heavy beam may be made into a sport.

When the children are together, just after school lets out, they raise a small riot. They have worked out one pastime that might be called a game—trying to throw everybody's hat into the dry fountain in the plaza, or, as a variant, taking one boy's hat and keeping him from getting it. They will lasso each other, or one of the *Mayores* from the Town Hall across the way, or steal his hat, and by and by get all the *Mayores*, and any other young men in the neighborhood, mixed up in a general rough-house.

A lasso always seems to be a temptation to them; an Indian with a lasso and a man looking the other way form a combination that reacts as inevitably as chemicals.

Some of the younger men gamble a little with European dice, but this does not seem to interest them very much. A professional gambler at the fiesta at Santa Ana Huista attracted very little attention.

The young men derive an astonishing amount of fun out of popping dried corn on a fire of dried dung. They gather about it, talk, laugh, roll about, and generally act as if it were the greatest lark in the world. The *Mayores* at the Town Hall are constantly so occupied; the horses of travellers supply them with fuel, the big ceiba tree makes a pleasant shadow in which to sprawl, and time usually

⁵⁵ See Chapter XI.

hangs heavy on their hands. The bathing places are marked with many burnt circles where such fires have been made. The smouldering dung and popping grains of corn have much the same effect as a campfire, drawing men together and loosening their tongues.

They are very fond of story telling.⁵⁶ Whenever travelling or working in some place away from their homes, the men gather around the fire for an hour or so at night to tell stories, either traditional myths or amusing anecdotes. Some good talker, or some man who knows many legends, holds the floor, speaking with great animation, while the others smoke, listen, laugh, and, rarely, comment. Probably very much the same thing goes on in the homes.

The children do also play with the ordinary European top, and have themselves a good deal of fun with sling-shots.

Bathing is almost to be counted as a game, as well as a means of keeping clean. At least during the dry season, they get into the water as often as they can. They always speak of it with a distinct gay accent and brightening of the eye; whenever an Indian met one of us going to the river with a towel over his shoulder, he would exclaim, "Ah, you are going bathing!" as though it were something delightful for us to anticipate and him to think about. In fact, whenever one is seen near the river, one is asked whether one has been or is going in. This habit has spread to no slight degree among the Ladinos.

Formal manners and rules of conduct are highly developed. Indeed it is typical of the American Indian to have rigidly defined politenesses and a strong feeling for good form. One is tempted to point it out as one of his Mongolian mental traits.

We noticed that women, when one met them in the road, had a modest demeanor and tended to ignore one. This is in keeping with early Maya custom. In the houses, the reverse is the case; they are much more lively than the men, readier to joke with a stranger, and seem to be less oppressed by the social distance between them and a Ladino. One gets the impression that they are quicker witted, and not at all suppressed.

The greetings between people are fixed. Two equals saluting will say *umna* to a man and *umni* to a woman. When saluting a person of superior station, or an older person, one says, *a-mam-in*, "ah, my father," to a man; and *a-mi-yai*, "ah, my mother," to a woman. To children the greeting is usually *he tsu'la*, "hé child." On entering a house one always asks, *ai-ic-mi?*, which means roughly, "is the lady in?" The answer to this is, *ai-yuñan*, *ok'añ mam-in*,

⁵⁶ See Chapter XIII.

"We are here, come in father" (or "mother," as the case may be). When one has entered one greets the various people whom one knows according to their position. *Compadres* and *comadres*⁵⁷ are greeted by the Spanish term. A chair or stool of some kind is usually offered with the word, *pisyañ*, "sit down." If one has come to get something or intends to ask some kind of a favor, one says, *niman tca-wuti a-kul*, "Make thy heart big," meaning "excuse me." *matc-mi awět tca-wa hunox tuctun wiyá?* "Hast thou a half a pesos' worth that thou wilt give in sale?" (This if one has come to buy something). The person addressed then asks, *tsět-yět?* "What thing?" One then gets down to ordinary business. This formula more or less is common when anything is to be asked and the Indians will translate it literally into Spanish when talking to a Ladino.

In place of the phrase, "Make big thy heart," or in addition to it, the expression, *yutcan-dyoc*, meaning literally "thank you," is regularly used for "please." An Indian speaking to one in Spanish will translate this, beginning some request with the words, *muchas gracias*. When something has been received, one says, *yutcan-dyoc*, to which the answer is "*matsět tca-la*," "say nothing of it," or "don't mention it."

The word *asi* means "go" or "get out!" but it is also used politely as giving permission to a visitor to leave. The general parting salutation is *hilkob:a*, or *helkob:a*, "We have seen each other." The Indians when parting from one will frequently say in Spanish, "We have spoken together." or "Now we have seen each other," which seem to be translations of this phrase. Even when merely passing each other on the road salutations are fairly elaborate. People often enquire solicitously after each others' health and warn each other to take care of themselves, to watch where they plant their feet, etc. It is almost universal to ask a person, "where are you going?" At first we would answer this question, although the eternal explaining was very fatiguing. We finally discovered, however, that it was amply sufficient to say, "Oh, just walking around." The question and answer are merely expressions of polite interest.

When the people of importance, or *principales*,⁵⁸ get together for the formal social gatherings which are known by the Spanish name of *asamblea*, the procedure is very formal. When all the proper greetings have been exchanged, a Mayor or other inferior person, passes a gourd of warm water and a towel. Everyone rinses his mouth. Then a gourd of cocoa on a napkin is offered to each one

⁵⁷ The parents of a child and its god-parents are *compadre* or *comadre* to each other (see Chapter X.)
⁵⁸ Chapter XVI.

in order of rank, with the phrase, "Will you take some hot water?" When all have received their gourds they drink together. The gourds are then collected in the same order and the hot water is passed again. Warm water is served for rinsing the mouth before and after all meals. The Ladino people only serve water after the meal, following the European custom.

Some of the *customs in connection with these assemblies have now distinctly lapsed. Formerly, one of the *Principales* or chief men would give such an entertainment, at which there would be a great deal of drinking and a very considerable feast. Those who had been invited would be required to entertain in return, the obligation being distinctly binding and in some cases, awkwardly expensive. Sometimes when these parties succeed rapidly on the heels of one another, many of the Chief Men would be drunk continuously over a period of a week or more.⁵⁹ At these assemblies formerly it was customary to chew a green leaf of the tobacco family, which was taken with another herb and lime. This was carried in a gourd by all the men of ceremonial rank.⁶⁰ Nowadays only cigarettes are used.

There are a certain number of standardized, more or less humorous, dialogues which are a form of greetings, usually between men and women. One of these, for instance, when a man meets a woman on the road, follows the usual greetings: "Where are you going?" asks the woman. The man tells her and adds, "Come along." The woman says, "I think I should like to go with you," and the man answers "No, I am afraid; you have a master." (*ahau*, meaning "husband"). With this, they separate. Some of these, of course, are formalized openings to one or another kind of love-making.

⁵⁹ Compare Landa: 1881, page 81, and Tozzer: 1915, p. 504.
⁶⁰ Compare Blom and La Farge: 1927, page 384.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social unit is the family, consisting, at its largest, of the father and mother, their children, and sometimes their grandchildren, when these live in the same house. Perhaps it might be said that it is the household that determines the unit. Those who marry into a house come under its head. The father is ordinarily the chief; at Puxup, where he had died and the mother had married again, it was she who had the command. There is no formal organization of the family, and no larger unit less than the municipality.⁶¹ Parental authority ceases when the children leave the parental roof. The exogamous rules were apparently only those of the Catholic Church, not very strictly applied, as the Indians do not seem to care about tracing relationships even in close degrees. Absolute incest, such as is found among the Tzeltal Bachajon,⁶² does not occur here.

The relationship terms which we obtained indicate that the "Classificatory System" is found here. Small children are referred to by the generic term *unin*, without distinction of sex unless it is necessary to specify, in which case the usual prefixes of gender are used. The oldest son and daughter of a house are distinguished by the prefix *babël* or *papël-*, which appears to mean "first," or "leading," and younger children by *tsuxan-*. A specific word for "son," without regard to age, is *kaHol*, and for "daughter," *k'ūtsin*. The older and younger brother and sister are distinguished in the same manner as for sons, *papël-wuctax*, "older brother," *tsuxan-wuctax*, "younger brother," *papël-wanap*, "older sister," etc. Grandchildren are simply, "my son's children," *y-uninal in-kaHol*. Uncles and aunts are called, simply "father" and "mother." One informant, for uncle on the father's side, gave *y-uctax hin-mam-an*, "my father's brother," and made the interesting remark that he was not really an uncle. This suggests some trace of the matrilineal idea, but further evidence is needed. Grandparents are called, "old father," and "old mother," *mam-itcam* and *mi-icnam*.

Parents-in-law are called simply, "my wife's father, my wife's mother," *s-mam w-ical*, *s-mi w-ical*. The word for wife, *ical*, is derived from the radicle *ic*, "woman." Husband is *itcamil*, for which

61 Termer (1930, pp. 377-379) describes a family organization among the Chuj almost amounting to the old Chinamit of the Quiché. We did not find any trace of it in Jacaltenango, but it may be that further investigation would show that it exists.

62 Blom and La Farge: 1927, p. 359.

one can only suggest the translation, "the old man." Brother and sister-in-law are both *p:ac*. Son and daughter-in-law, again, are simply, "daughter's husband," *y-itcamil k'utsin*, etc. The inheritance of family names appears to be purely a Spanish idea. As shown in Chapter X, page 86, for all native uses children inherit the first name of one or other parent as a last name, without regard to sex. One family, descended from "Doña Juana" (See Chapter XIII), keeps the Indian version, *cu ron'ya*, as a last name, which thus may be said to become a family name.

As in most parts of Guatemala, the Indian is considered to occupy the lowest position on the social scale. Above him are all the various grades of Ladinos whose superiority he frankly admits. He is trained from infancy to speak respectfully to them, to take off his hat to them and to step aside out of the road when they go by. He is accustomed to being despised and to receiving a good deal of unfair and discriminating treatment. All this shows very plainly in his manner and partly as a result of this the Indians are past-masters of passive resistance and assumed stupidity. Occasional uprisings and acts of overt resistance show that underneath their humility is a real determination to live out their lives according to their own plans.

Many are caught by an organized system of getting them in debt, which is more or less countenanced by the government. In many of these villages, men are sent whose business it is to encourage the Indians at times of festivals to buy liquor or other commodities on credit and who lend money freely to anyone who wants it. The Indian becoming thus indebted is forced to go down to the country of the big ranches to work out his debt. The system is held in check by the government; permanent indebtedness sometimes even handed on from one generation to another, which has in the past and still does in some places bind the peon to virtual slavery, does not exist here. The Indian goes down for a definite, limited time, usually a couple of months and may work his debt off in a few years. Sometimes a more open and honest system is used, such as was observed at the Finca Chanquejélvé near Nentón in the Chuj country. Here the Indians were allowed to settle on the rich land of the finca, in return for which they bound themselves to a certain amount of labor in the lowlands every year. They were free to give up their farms and move elsewhere whenever they chose. Most of the fincas in that section of the country were for this purpose.

However the labor may be obtained, the system is most demoralizing. Honest owners of big plantations will frankly describe

the big labor squads coming down from the highlands, with their women or alone; fine well set up men in their picturesque costumes, singing and joyful, as Indians always are when they get together in big crowds, and going back at the end of their time, ragged and sick, drunken, and often with newly acquired vices. It is in the lowlands only that these Indians have any knowledge of professional prostitutes, and it is there, too, that they mostly learn unnatural vice. Some owners of *fincas* do attempt to make things decent, providing the Indians with proper lodgings, dealing justly with them and watching over their welfare. Some of the best of these are the Germans. Others rob and cheat the Indian in every way they possibly can and take little or no care of him.

The Indian is a citizen of Guatemala. Citizens are divided into two classes, *milicianos*, or militia, and those subject only to the demands for labor. To become a militiaman, one must be able to read and write and signify one's willingness to accept the charge of compulsory military service. Formerly the Indians avoided this and when the press gangs were out looking for conscripts, would flee their villages to avoid them, as despite their supposed exemption, it is common practice to force them into the army in the place of Ladinos of the better class. Recently, the pay of soldiers has been increased and arrives with some regularity, and that, in combination with other advantages, has induced a good many Indians to become militia voluntarily. The bulk of them, however, are still liable for conscription for labor. This takes the regular form among the younger men of being called for a year to serve alternate weeks as *mayores*, a kind of general servant attached to the Town-Hall, who must be present there daily and who is called upon to carry the baggage of travellers and to do all the various odd jobs around town. They are also liable to being called for all kinds of community and special services. The service of *mayor* in itself, and many community works, such as bringing lumber for bridges, does not earn any money. However, all service for private individuals is paid on a reasonable scale and the *mayores* make something by selling fodder and firewood to travellers. The system does work some hardships, particularly when the Indians are drafted for service on road-building or public works at some distance from their homes; nevertheless, it is the only way in which the country could have obtained the surprisingly good roads which it has, and the system of providing porters for travellers undoubtedly is a tremendous help to trade and travel in the mountain country and tends to the general prosperity.

Except in the towns where there is a strong Ladino population, the Indians enjoy real self-government. In towns like Jacaltenango,

Indian Alcaldes are as common or commoner than Ladinos and the rest of the administration is usually entirely Indian. They have an effective vote. These elected officials are under the supervision of the very important Secretary, who is usually a Ladino of superior class, appointed by the Central Government. He really has the final power, and sees to it that the local officials, be they Indian or Ladino, live up to their requirements. Under him, the Indians really do very well. The whole system trains them in citizenship and responsibility in a manner much superior to the North American pauperizing reservations and agencies.

As will be seen later, this civil administration, which is approximately that introduced by the Spanish Conquerors, has strongly influenced some purely native religious offices, which will be discussed in Chapter XVI.

The modern political division of the *municipalidades*, or townships, has entirely replaced the concept of the tribe. Indians will recognize the common speech or customs of another town, or even that they originally belonged to it, but have no feeling of unity. Among the tribes of Chiapas, the various uprisings have shown that there is a real idea of common weal among widely separated villages of the same speech.⁶³ For instance, in the uprising of 1817, which started at the village of Cancuc, other Tzeltal Indians on reservations which were separated from that center by Ladino country, joined forces with them, while the Chol and Zotzil tribes, equally near, were reluctant to come in. A similar thing happened in the case of the Zotzil Chamula revolt of 1868.⁶⁴ It seems hardly possible that this united action could take place here. The few outbreaks that have been chronicled, such as that of San Juan Ixcuy⁶⁵ in 1898, have been confined to a single village. Similarly, there is little coöperation between the shamans of different towns, although they have identical practices.

There are no formally acknowledged social divisions among the Indians themselves; prominence is personal and is recognized by the grades of salutations given in the last chapter, however, the people do fall into two groups, one of which is relatively pure Indian in its customs, the other of which is trying as hard as it can to become Ladino. It is only in Jacaltenango itself that this two-fold division is at all marked. At San Antonio and Santa Ana Huista it has come to the point where many Indians have nearly lost their language, and all belong to the Ladino-ized group. In Jacaltenango, where the Indians are of mixed blood, it is frequently dif-

63 Pineda: 1888.

64 Ibid: p. 77, ff.

65 Recinos: 1913, p. 207.

difficult to tell whether one is dealing with an Indian or a Ladino. In fact, we thought a number of well-dressed and prosperous men with more or less blonde complexions belonged to the latter class until we found, by seeing them take part in the chicken pull at Carnival, or by the way in which known Ladinos spoke to them, that they were socially rated as Indians.

It is not uncommon for a well-to-do and educated man, having been pried loose from his deep-rooted attachment to the soil by military service, to move to another section and become Ladino. While living in their native villages, however, it is to be noticed that the men may dress and carry themselves like members of the higher class, but their women will wear only a more elaborate and expensive version of the Indian costume. This was very noticeable in the case of the two richest storekeepers in Jacaltenango and was curious in face of the fact that it was the women who spoke Spanish really well and that one of the storekeepers was particularly anxious for his daughters to marry Ladinos and even stated that he would give a rich dowry to such an one. Both he and his daughters were blonde and it would have been a simple matter of dress for the whole family to pass itself off as Ladino. Of course to get away with this they would have had to move to another place, and that is something that an Indian is very reluctant to do, although in this respect the Jacaltecos are more adventurous than most.

In each municipality the main village is the center of all activity and the Indians living in the various outlying settlements come there for all important ceremonies, often owning a house in the village as well. Originally much of that section was comprised in the municipality of Jacaltenango. Outlying settlements grew in size and eventually became independent municipalities with their own government and civil and religious administration. A portion of Jacaltenango was ceded to Mexico in the adjustment of the Mexican-Guatemalan boundary. The Indians of that part, in virtue of a document of Ferdinand VII, obtained a grant of land from the Mexican government which has become an important settlement called San José Montenegro. Curiously enough, the Indians regard this settlement as being allied to Jacaltenango much more than the neighboring villages, such as Concepción, of similar origin. Until recently the Indians of San José came to Jacaltenango for the Year Bearer ceremony,⁶⁶ but now have their own church of Candelaria, the same patron as that of the parent town. Indians who get into trouble in Jacaltenango, such as running off with somebody else's wife, frequently go to San José, and intercourse is maintained between the two villages.

⁶⁶ See Chapter XIX.

Old Jacaltenango, it is said, used to include territory running from near the village of San Miguel to the edge of the present village of San Marcos, up into the highlands to the edge of the present municipality of Chiantla and along the edge of Petatán and San Antonio Huista and so down to the Mexican border, including the territory of the present San José Montenegro. According to local tradition they once lived on top of the ridge Payá. Scattered Jacalteco settlements are found as far as Tapachula in Mexico.

Marriage, strictly speaking, should be listed under Social Organization, but will be taken up along with the other parts of the life course of the individual in the following chapter.

CHAPTER X

CRISES IN THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Birth is attended by relatively little ceremony. A woman of some experience attends the mother, who assumes a kneeling position. The father stays outside the house. The umbilical cord is cut with a scissors and the end scorched with a hot knife blade, it and the after-birth are burned. Sometimes the mother is anointed with an ointment of butter and camphor. The child is washed with water and wrapped in new swaddling clothes. Beads are put around its wrist as a prevention against "The Evil Eye." When the child is left alone for any reason an ear of corn is placed on each side of it, which may be of any color.⁶⁷ According to Señor Taracena, a Shaman is present at birth and also at christening but this was not substantiated by any other informant. Three days after birth the child is taken to the church with its family to pray there. At that time they dedicate it to their favorite saint. Baptism is obtained whenever the priest may come to the village.

We are told that the oldest son is named after his father and the next after the grandfather. It seemed, however, rather that some children took the first name of the father as their Indian last name while others took the first name of the mother. Their own first names in Indian are translations of their Spanish ones, for instance, *kac* for Gaspar, or *curwan* for Juan. Their Indian last names are, as stated, taken from a parent and have no connection with the family names which they carry in Spanish and which are of little use. Ordinarily it is no good to ask for an Indian by his Spanish name, which probably only he and his family knows, and which is used only for official purposes. If we went to the Town Hall and asked for Santos Camposeco, or Juan Cruz, the Second Alcalde and First Mayor, respectively, the very mayores lounging on the porch would say, "Well, who is that? Santos Camposeco?" When we then said, *santu polon'ia* or *curwan manël*, they would answer, "Oh! he's right in there."

There are no puberty ceremonies. There seems to be no trace of such ceremonies among any Mayan tribes, except the dedication of the young man's bow among the Lacandonnes.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Compare Blom and La Farge: 1927, p. 360 for a similar belief among the Bachajon, and also the "ceremonial mother" of the Southwest.

⁶⁸ Tozzer: 1907, p. 61.

Marriage, *mohilal*, is not really a religious function, as with us, but a social and economic matter. Formerly, we were told, the choice of a mate was largely controlled by the parents, but at present it is more common for the boy and girl to seek each other out. When the young man has made his selection, and presumably spoken to the girl on his own account his parents go together to her house. They bring various gifts, particularly bread, chocolate or mixed chocolate and *posol*, and liquor. If the parents of the girl accept the gifts it means that they accept the proposal. Formerly, twelve visits had to be made, these are sometimes replaced by letters, and the gifts by money, while the full number is seldom observed. The number of visits and amount of gifts may be reduced if the youth goes to the girl's house at night and makes the whole family drunk. The wedding gifts are called *cokask'ultahil*. After the first visit, the parents ask the girl whether she accepts the boy. If she does not, or if later she repents of the engagement, before the marriage, all the gifts must be returned or repaid. If all goes well, on the final visit the boy and some of his friends bring enormous loads of wood. Formerly, this last visit was quite an affair. The boy and his friends arrived as a crowd, and had to be entertained and fed by the girl's parents. The girl and her friends brought water. It should be noticed in the *Popol Vuh* and in other native documents how much emphasis is placed on the bringing of firewood as a gift. After this ceremony the couple are formal fiancés, *k'anap*.

Between the parents and the two principals a period is arranged after which the couple may become married, depending on financial and other considerations. The period of engagement is called *cok plas'o in-mohilal*. The actual marriage, *mohilal*, is preceded by the civil marriage. Then a feast with music, dancing and drinking is held at the boy's house and the couple goes to the church to pray, after which they are ready to set up housekeeping whether in a house of their own or that of the parents of one of them. When the parents of the girl are reluctant to have her leave the house, or the young man is not in a position to support her, the young man comes to live with them and work for them. They then pay for the wedding and he is bound to them for a number of years. This arrangement is called *a'lip*, a term used for various kinds of coöperative work. According to the more conservative custom, the woman does not come to live with her husband until three or four days after the marriage feast, when she does join him she resists him for some time on the basis that the two should become thoroughly accustomed to each other before having any extremely intimate contact. We were told that formerly the girl's mother used to be present to guide them in the first act of consummation.

If the parents refuse permission for the marriage the couple may elope to some distant place and live together without ceremony. after that the parents are likely to require a formal marriage.

Widows and widowers or others who have been previously married only remarry among themselves and come together with almost no ceremony. It is not uncommon for married people to separate and go off with someone else; sometimes this forms a permanent remarriage and sometimes the original couple comes together again.

The women are moderately virtuous. It appears that there is no great store set by virginity, and children born out of wedlock, though not common, do exist, nor does the possession of such a child interfere with the girl's eligibility for marriage. Some of this laxness is certainly due to the Ladinos, who habitually avail themselves of Indian women, paying sums equivalent to from eight to fifteen cents in American money. In almost all cases of adultery, recourse is had to the ordinary law. The case is tried at the Town Hall, and damages, seldom running higher than eight dollars American money, are assessed. Formerly the man used to be flogged also. The damages go to the father or husband of the erring woman.

In the event of a death, it is considered a prime necessity to put on the proper kind of celebration in honor of the deceased and for this the Indians will spend all their money, sell their goods or even bind themselves to labor in order to raise the price of a proper wake. The essential point is drinking, although if possible rockets are loosed off and music is obtained for dancing the simple dance known as the *soñ*. The corpse is laid out on a mat in the center of the room with feet toward the door and dressed, if possible in clean, new clothes. No cross is used. Each neighbor who comes brings some small gift of money or a candle or both. Usually on the same day as the death occurs, the body is taken to the cemetery, at the same time, the church bells are tolled. If the relatives can afford it, they hire the choristers to follow the corpse and sing Latin responses on the way to the cemetery and at the grave. This is observed only in Jacaltenango itself, where the priest who used to be there has trained a small group of choristers. When hired, these men are also provided with all the liquor they want. After this they return to the house and hold the main part of the wake which lasts all night, *ilo a'bal*, "to see the night." The women continue during the whole procedure a kind of wailing song or keening, which is called, *piit*, the general name for singing. Various funerals were observed in process; usually one sees the choristers going ahead singing, followed by four men carrying the pine box, sometimes painted, or the mat, in which the corpse is enclosed. After them immediately

follow the wife and nearest female relatives of the deceased, usually quite drunk, singing gruesomely and throwing themselves about, a most unpleasant sight. Some carry candles and a few women cover their heads with dark shawls. Other relatives and friends follow looking not particularly interested, but solemn. At the grave a smoky fire is sometimes made with green leaves. The wife puts the first handful of dirt onto the corpse. In the case of the son of the Captain of the Dance, who was drowned immediately before the Deer-Dance was held at San Marcos, the mourning went on in one corner of the Captain's house entirely independent of the main ceremony.⁶⁹ The Dance Captain himself was occupied exclusively in his mourning and took no part in the ceremony of the dance. In this case, the funeral was unusually elaborate. It was held just at dusk, with many candles, and the procession was accompanied by guitars. The funerals of women are chiefly attended by their own sex.

Graves are oriented roughly with feet towards the east, but many exceptions were noted. For the most part, they are about five feet deep and marked by wooden crosses which rapidly disintegrate, and by a low circle of small stones or sticks, a few centimeters high, outlining the mound. Offerings of flowers, food, and fruit broken up into small pieces, so that the soul can get at them, are left on the graves. Candy and incense are also offered. It is chiefly, although not entirely, women who visit the cemeteries. They weep, pray for their dead, and tell them the news, or ask for their advice. Saturday is said to be the day for visiting the children, and Monday for grown people.

Just before big ceremonies or festivals it is customary to call the souls to come and participate, *daxtik c-pican k'amon*, "to call the souls of the dead." On Hallowe'en and All Souls', (*to'ru santu*, from the Spanish *Todos Santos*) special offerings are made. Flowers are put on the graves, and at noon of All Souls' the altars in the houses are decorated and spread with food, the smell of which the souls are said to eat. Wild birds are particularly acceptable. The people stay up all the night before. The same offerings for the dead, broken food and wild birds, etc., are used at *Todos Santos* and in the Chuj Country.

There is much belief in visits of the dead in dreams, who usually come to tell of a forgotten debt, or express some need. Dead people are seen by moonlight. A typical experience is that of a boy who fell into a coma. When he came out he said that he had gone along a great plain where he met several of his dead relatives. An uncle

⁶⁹ La Farge: 1930 b.

rudely told him to get out of there and go back to earth, that his time had not yet come, so he returned. This kind of thing is common.

Nothing definite was obtained about belief in an after-life or clear conception of Heaven or Hell. They have learned about these things during their Catholic instructions, but they seem to have made no great impression on them. The word for Heaven is *sat-kan*; *sat* means face, or eye, *kan* is also the word for serpent and hence for the sky in Yucateco, and is cognate with Tzeltal *tcán*.

CHAPTER XI

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

Before we continue into the native folk-lore and religion, it seems to be the best plan to take up and finish with the purely Christian acts of worship. I specify acts of worship because, when we analyze the Jacalteca pantheon, it will be seen that many of the Christian beliefs are structurally essential, and cannot be considered out of their context.⁷⁰ The reverse is true of the ceremonies; in them the line is clearly drawn, as is emphatically shown by the distinction made between the two kinds of prayer. In Jacalteca, the verb *lëcar*, from the Spanish *rezar*, means ordinary prayer, with or without white candles; *tca'loa*, from the stem *tca'*, means to pray according to the old ritual, with black beeswax candles, offerings of incense and flowers, etc.

The Indians were converted to Christianity at the very beginning of the Spanish Conquest, and whatever the methods that may have been used, present evidence leaves no doubt that the conversions were genuine. Indian faith in the elements of Christianity is firmly fixed, and would continue even were all Christian priests to be removed. The very shamans, from whom we hoped to learn far other information, would ask us anxiously if we were "*Cristianos*," warning us that if we were "*evangélicos*," Protestant missionaries, there was no place for us here.

Where the old Frayles failed was in the elimination of previous beliefs. At first, there was conscious opposition to Christianity on the part of adherents to the old gods,⁷¹ as one might well expect, considering that, for the upper classes, their temporal power and the sway of the native gods must stand or fall together. This stopped in time, to be replaced by a process of adapting the two religions to suit each other. The tolerance of the Indian, and the facility with which he accepts beliefs from other creeds, are well known in all parts of the New World; he has what might be almost called a genius for adding new religions or parts of religions to his own. This happened here.

⁷⁰ See Chapters XVII et seq. The adaptations of Christianity *per se*, among these people, are discussed in detail in La Farge: 1927.

⁷¹ Nuñez de la Vega: 1708, Chap. 71; Gage: 1655, pp. 171-172.

The opposition of the clergy, and to some degree of the government, drove the older belief under cover; but to the Indians these ideas did not seem to oppose the Christianity which they had accepted as supreme, but became an integral part of it, and so in secret or in the open they survived. Much of this pre-Columbian worship remained, as it had always been, in the hands of the shamans, and probably the secrecy with which it had always been kept hidden from the laymen was increased under the pressure of official opposition. To a people accustomed to specialization or division of functions and powers among their religious leaders, there was nothing odd in maintaining one part of their religion against the open hostility of the Christian priests who were supreme in another part of it.

We are thus presented with a great number of practices and beliefs fundamentally antagonistic to strict Christianity, naïvely cherished by a people who are devotedly Christian, and all brought under the sanction of God Himself. Some of these are common property of the ordinary laymen; others, the ones which, above all, had brought us to Jacaltenango, were known only to the initiated, and for long defied our researches. Meantime, as might any other traveller, we could observe the open Christian worship that went on where all might see.

One is impressed immediately by the presence of a fairly good-sized church in every village, more or less well kept up. (See Fig. 3). Most of them were built under Spanish direction, although the one at San Miguel seems to represent the Indians' own evolution of Spanish architecture. (See Fig. 42). The church, *yatut dyoc* "God's house," and the presbytery are in charge of officials established by the early Spaniards—a *sacristán*, *mayores del convento*, and *mayores yatut dyoc*, who are elected annually and serve in shifts. At Jacaltenango there still are some choristers, *maestros de coro*, who sing chants on various feast days, and are in charge of instructing the children in the catechism—that instruction being carried on in Spanish, much to the detriment of the children's understanding. These choristers were trained by the priest who used to live here until about a decade ago. Repairs on the church are carried on by community effort. The whole town, or specialists such as carpenters, will be summoned and practically every man turns out for the work. It is conducted to the music of fife and drum, and generally appears to be occasion of considerable rejoicing. In this work the carpenters occupy a special position and while engaged upon it are fed by the community.

The church is divided into zones of prayer. In front of the altar is for the Virgin of Candelaria and for Christ. The central part of

the church is for the souls of the dead. Areas about their respective shrines are for various saints. The part just inside the door, is for the *naq-hustis'ia*, a kind of avenging angel.⁷² The doorway itself, and space from there to the great cross, is for the Year Bearer, and for general prayer. No single place is set aside for God, He may be addressed from anywhere, and usually is included in all prayers.

All the community acts of worship which one first sees, with the exception of the Year Bearer ceremony described in Chapter XVI, seem to be Christian, as in fact most of them are. It was not until later that we came in touch with the heathen side and found that behind Christian worship lay a controlling group of essentially non-Christian officials with non-Christian ideas.

The priest comes but rarely to these villages, all the area of the Cuchumatanes and a good deal of the Department of Huehuetenango to the south of them is in the cure of the curate of Chiantla, who would need at least an aeroplane to be able to visit all his villages regularly. Formerly, as has been shown, there were priests at Jacaltenango and one at Soloma. However, whether provided with priests or not, the Indians to a certain extent entrust the care of their religion to a group of men who seemed to us at first to be purely Christian in function, the Prayer Makers, *tca'lōm*. More will be said of these in Chapter XV. What may be seen by the casual visitor is that this group of men, elected annually, prays for the village at the church and at the various crosses and chapels. There are numerous days of public Catholic festivity, of which the chief is usually the feast of the Patron Saint, at Jacaltenango this falls on Candlemas (February Second) in honor of Our Lady of Purification. According to descriptions this is celebrated by one or other of the big traditional dances, and is probably much the same as the *fiesta* of San Marcos, which will be described later.⁷³ Before this feast they hold a novena: the marimba plays, and everyone sits up all night, burning candles. At 3:00 A. M. the people get the Sacristan and the Prayer Makers, shoot off rockets, and pray to the Virgin.

The first ceremony that we saw was the Carnival, *saxhatc*, immediately before Lent. On February 27th a procession was formed, headed by the principal ceremonial officials and accompanied with music, from the church to the house of the First Dance Captain, (Fig. 27), where they elected new Dance Captains for the coming

⁷² See Chapter XXI.
⁷³ Chapter XII.

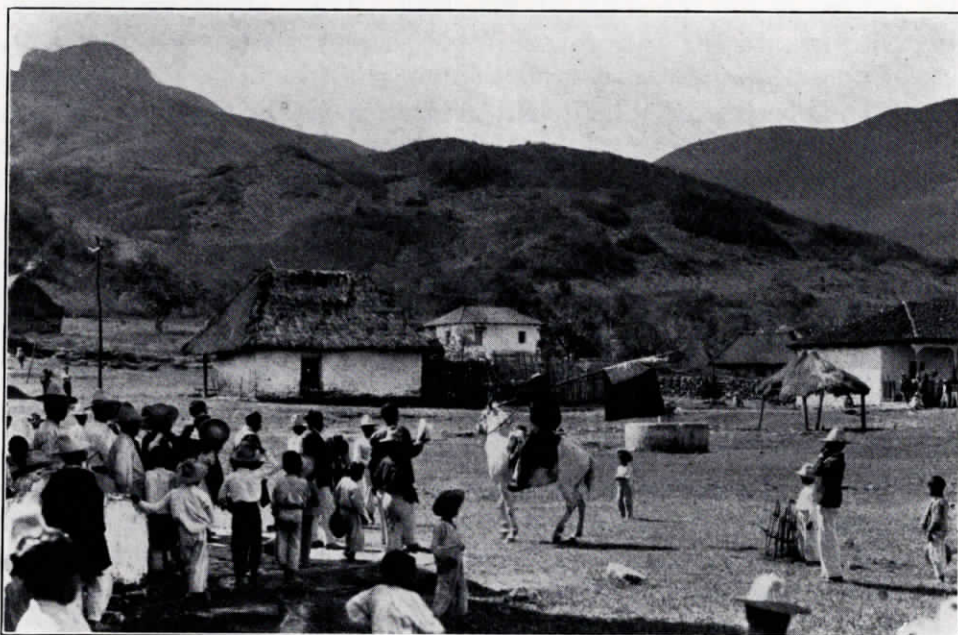


FIG. 26—Bringing out the Carnival Banners, Jacaltenango.



FIG. 27—Principals forming procession before electing Capitán del Baile, Jacaltenango.

year. On the same day, a bull which the Captains had bought was led through the town in a joyful procession, decked with flowers, and slaughtered at the municipal slaughter house. At dark the officials went in a parade to the house of a rich Indian, Antonio Roja (*antōn cuc lūtē*), who held the office of *poHom añne*, "who breaks the race," the head of the Carnival celebrations. The *poHom añne* is elected for life by the Indians, and must be a man of some means, or at least the owner of a horse. At his house, the First *watc winaq*⁷⁴ formally asked him to see to it that everything went correctly.

The next day was the first of their Carnival. At 9:00 A. M. the Dance Captains and other officials came to Roja's house with two drummers and a piper, bringing an old banner from the church. These, and a few other people sat inside the house, while about twenty or thirty more idled in his compound. The banner was left casually against the door outside his house, and was freely fingered by the children. About 10:15, Roja and his horse were ready. He was dressed in his best European clothes, but with sandals on. The horse was a fine white one, that had been meticulously washed and groomed, its tail braided, and adorned with its owner's best harness. Being ready, he mounted his horse and received the banner. He then led the way to the church, making his horse dance and waving the banner from side to side, while music and a rapidly increasing procession followed him. Before the church, he swung the flag about, in benediction, while the people removed their hats. (Fig. 26). He then led a parade around the whole town, with frequent stops, until nearly 3:00 p. m. At that time he, with the various religious officials and the municipal syndic, went to feast on the newly slaughtered bull at the house of the Head Dance Captain.

Meantime, two poles were set up in the plaza with a rope stretched between them, for the so-called race, *añne*, which is really a chicken-pull. About 5:15 the procession appeared again in the plaza, with most of the town trailing after it. The people massed all about the plaza, climbed up in trees or on the roofs of houses, to get a good view. When they were in a crowd like this, the general color of the women's costumes made them look picturesque and truly Indian.

The Race Breaker led some fifteen mounted Indians in a procession, galloping down the course and riding briskly in and out and around the poles. This "broke the race," that is to say, began it. From then until six fifteen there was a regulation chicken pull, in which only the mounted Indians took part. The horsemanship was very poor, save for one young man who pulled four out of the five

⁷⁴ *Watc winaq*, a kind of native priest. See Chapter XVI.

birds that were hung up, head down, on the string. Gage⁷⁵ speaks very highly of the skill on horseback of the Indians at Chiapa del Indio, but the exhibition witnessed at Jacaltenango would win no such praise. The Indians who had contributed the birds recovered their carcasses. The occasion was one of general gayness, but there was very little drinking.

That night there was more music, and a feast for the principal men at Roja's. At a house to the west of the Town Hall, dances for the next day were rehearsed by firelight, in ordinary clothes. The Prayer Makers prayed as late as eleven o'clock at night, but this may have been in connection with the coming of the Year Bearer, as much as with the Carnival.

Shrove Tuesday was March 1st. The morning was the same as on the day before, but at 11:15 the *cil*-Cortés dance was danced for about an hour, and from 12:45 to 1:15 they danced the *cil*-Marimba behind the Alcalde's house; these are parody dances, and will be described in Chapter XII. The procession with the banner was held again in the afternoon. The Prayer Makers went to pray inside the church, which is unusual. The late afternoon was about the same as before, save that there was a good deal of drunkenness, and that those dancers who were still on their feet continued performing in front of the Town Hall. The sugar cane beer, described above, was consumed in generous quantities. The Ladinos had a small celebration inside the Town Hall, which was the only observance of Carnival that they showed. At night there were festivities at the house where the dancers had rehearsed.

On Ash Wednesday and on Thursday, the choristers carried on responses and prayers inside the church. On Thursday the church was strewn with pine. The image of Christ bearing the cross was carried in procession through the village from 11:00 till 1:00, accompanied by the marimba, drum and fife. The Prayer Makers went with it, and their First Chief made a silent prayer to it before it left the church. The Ladinos took no part in all of this.

The fourth Thursday in Lent is the Fiesta of Santa Ana Huista, chiefly Ladino in character.

Easter Week is of great importance, and at this time the Ladinos do join in to some degree. The whole village is decorated with greens, branches about three feet high mark a path from the church

⁷⁵ Gage: 1655, p. 96.

to the main street, and line it as far as Las Cruces, forming a way along which various saints are carried in procession. During this time, in conformity with Catholic ritual, no bells are rung; instead of them a wooden triangular box with iron loop handles on it in place of clappers is shaken until the handles rattle. The Virgin of Candelaria is put on display, and carried through the village on Holy Saturday. The altar of the church is adorned with a kind of star made of palm leaves, and with cloths and various ornaments brought out from the church stores. All during this week there is constant singing in the church by the choristers, which did not add to the pleasures of our abode in the convent. These Indians appear to have no faintest idea of *vocal* music, though they can whistle or play instruments very nicely. In the church, they would take the tattered remnants of a religious chant and tear at it until it fairly screamed, forcing their voices through their noses, flattening, and cracking on high notes until it was a real agony to have to hear them. The noises that they made with their mouths were not to be compared with the crudest of North American Indian singing.

On Saturday, and Easter Day itself, the church is packed with Indians. Twelve children in gaily colored suits and tinsel crowns are seated in what corresponds to the choir, in conformity with an old Catholic custom. At the same time a figure of Judas, which has been made with Ladino clothes and an old wooden dance mask, is hanged from a dead tree set up outside the side door of the church, to the accompaniment of much merriment and shooting of rockets. Another Judas is hanged at the chapel of Saint Sebastian. This is a common practice throughout Latin America.

Thursday before Easter is particularly celebrated by the Ladinos. Everybody breakfasts on chocolate, sweet bread, and preserved fruits—a delicious meal—and it is customary to invite friends or to send them gifts of the food. We were asked to breakfast at two houses, and received dishes of fruit and bread from five families, much to our surprise and delight. But then, that is what those people are like. For the remainder of the week the preserved fruit is eaten in considerable quantities, and tamales abound.

The festival of the Cross on May 2nd is very widely observed by the Indians. At Jacaltenango, the large crosses of Las Cruces were adorned at their bases with palm branches and bunches of berries. Fires burned all night before all the crosses, and the *cofradías*, or societies in charge of them kept watch. Food and drink was brought them by various individuals. The marimba was playing all night at different places, and it appeared to be a time of general celebration and more or less drunkenness. The Prayer

Makers divided into two squads or groups under the First and Second Chief Prayer Makers, respectively; the first group, operating from the big cross as a base covered the western part of the town, while the second group worked the district to the eastward. They prayed at all the local crosses. It was noted later that remains of decorations from this day were to be seen on crosses in Todos Santos and on the way to Huehuetenango.

We attended the fiesta of Saint Mark, the Patron of San Marcos, which began on the night of April 12-13th, leading up to April 26th. This typical main fiesta in a purely Indian village was almost entirely a dance, and will accordingly be described in detail in Chapter XII.

The general term for any kind of a fiesta or religious celebration is *k'in* or *Qin*, which also means "time." In Tzeltal *k'in* also means fiesta, while in Yucatan Maya and in Yocotan (Chontal of Tabasco) it stands for "day" or "sun."

CHAPTER XII

DANCES

It is difficult to decide just where to take up the dances in the course of this discussion. They are both a ceremonial and an artistic expression, and, while their occurrence is only in connection with Christian festivals, at the same time it will be seen that their character places them in large degree among the pagan survivals. They are taken up here in a compromise position, after the Christian worship, and before moving on into the older folk-lore and religion, although this makes it necessary to reserve some points for later treatment, when certain parts of the esoteric religion have been made clear.

There can be no doubt, from our knowledge of Indians and the descriptions of the early Spaniards, that dances played an important part in the old worship. Early in the Conquest the priests, finding how wedded the Indians were to a practice which at once afforded them a means of religious and aesthetic expression, and an occasion of social celebration, substituted for them dances in honor of the Christian saints. Of these Gage says⁷⁶ that many are simply old heathen performances adapted, and specifies one, which may be the modern Deer Dance, as having originally showed the bringing of an offering to a heathen god. Among the modern Quiché, some of the dances have a very suspicious look.⁷⁷ At present, at Jacaltenango and in that district, the big serious dances are those which are known to Indians in most parts of Middle America — the Cortés relating to the Conquest of Mexico, the Moros telling of the wars between the Spaniards and the Moors, and the Venado, or Marimba, which depicts hunting, and has a distinctly Indian cast. The general name for a dance is *kañal*, their specific names were the Spanish ones, although we did hear the Deer Dance, which is always called “Marimba” in Spanish among these people, also referred to as *kañal-tce*, which would mean “Horse Dance” in modern Jacalteca, but “Deer Dance” in older times.

Dances as a whole are in charge of the Dance Captains, known by the Spanish name of *Capitán del Baile*, elected annually.⁷⁸ It is a curious thing that the officials in many parts of the area are

⁷⁶ Gage: 1655, p. 155.

⁷⁷ Lothrop: 1927 A.

⁷⁸ See Chapter XI.

known by Spanish military titles, just as at Tecojá and Tenango in Chiapas, where they are called Caporales.⁷⁹ At Jacaltenango there is a Chief Captain and three assistants. They must bear the expenses of the serious dances, and are responsible for bringing the costumes from San Cristóbal near Quetzaltenango. The Chief Captain is in charge of the drum called *s-tcam koñop*, "The Nose of the Village." This is one of those ancient drums of the type commonly called *tunkul*, *akte*. It is a wooden cylinder about 1.30 meters long by 0.60 in diameter. The ends are made of separate pieces of wood set in. It is very old, and mended at one end with metal strips. The Nose of the Village is brought out during the novena before Candelaria, and sometimes for the accompanying dance. It is beaten with sticks ending in crude rubber balls. According to the Indians, it is not so much a drum as a musical instrument, like the marimba, an idea arising, perhaps, from its two tones. It is kept under the altar in the Chief Dance Captain's house, and when we visited it, had an offering of cypress laid against it.

The translation "Nose of the Village," although generally accepted, does not give the true sense of *tcam*. When speaking of praying for "health and prosperity of the corn-field," they said "*s-kawil s-tcam patnabal*," "health and prosperity of *the nose* of the corn-field." It really is a Mames word meaning the front or forepart.

The office of the Chief Dance Captain suggests that of the *aholpop* of Yucatan, who, likewise, had charge of the *tunkul*.⁸⁰

The participants in the dances, we were told, are men who have made a vow to do so during the year. There did not appear to be any dance societies. However, in the case of the comic dances, the properties for which remain in the village, each outfit is kept in the house of some particular man.

We were able to observe the Marimba or *kañal-tce* at San Marcos, during the festival in honor of their patron. Some time before the dance a layman, who holds the office for life, went with six young men to San Cristóbal to rent the costumes. He carried measurements of all who were to dance. San Cristóbal and Totonicapán are the only two centers for renting out costumes. These dresses are not at all Indian in character, they are made more or less in imitation of 17th Century Spanish costumes, of cheap gaudy materials, decorated with imitation gold lace and small mirrors which serve as jewelry. (Fig. 30).⁸¹ The ceremony itself began on the night of April 12th-13th just after dark. The marimba from

⁷⁹ Blom and La Farge: 1927, p. 357.

⁸⁰ Landa: 1881; Cogolludo: 1867, Vol. I, p. 300.

⁸¹ Cf. Lothrop: 1927 A, for a general description of similar dances among the Quiché.

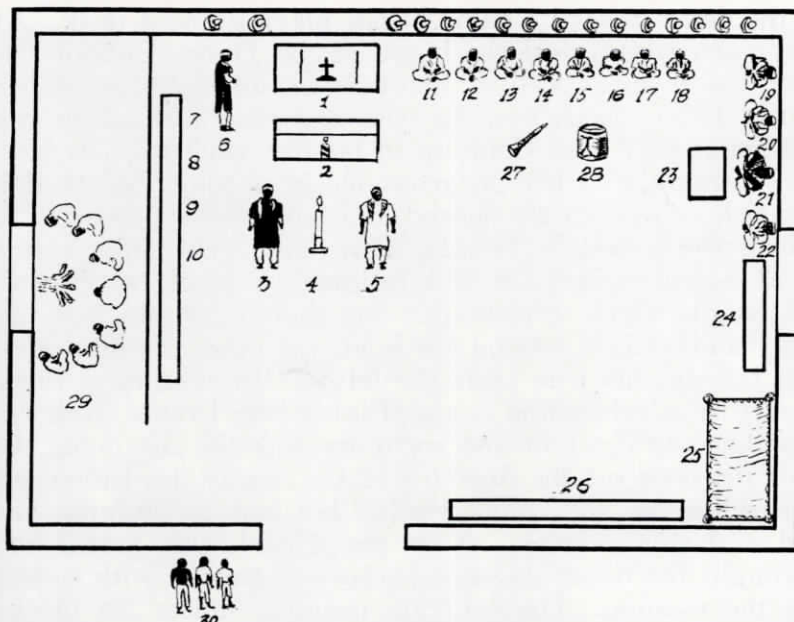


FIG. 28—Plan of First Chief Prayer-Maker's house during a *cahampal* ceremony: after J. M. Hernandez.

1. Altar. 2. The Great Chest. 3. 5. Officiating *watc-winaq*. 4. Candle. 6. First Chief Prayer-Maker. 7. Place of First Rigidor Prayer-Maker. 8, 9, 10. Places of lesser *watc-winaq*. 11. Second Chief Prayer-Maker. 12-14. Rigidor Prayer-Makers. 15-18. Mayordomos. 19, 20, 22. Alguaciles. 21. Soothsayer. 23. Soothsayer's table for divinations. 24, 26. Benches for old men, not officials. 25. Bed. 27, 28. Orchestra. 29. Women cooking. 30. Mayores in attendance.

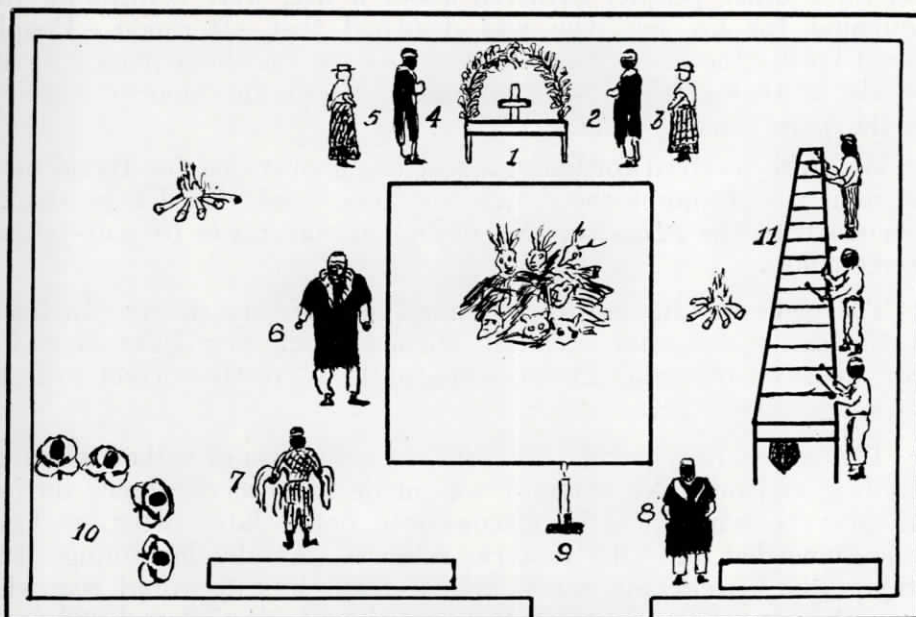


FIG. 29—Plan of Capitan del Baile's house at San Marcos during ceremony before deer dance.

1. Altar. 2-5. *Watc-winaq* and wives. 6. First Chief Prayer-Maker. 7. Man who brought the costumes. 8. Maestro of the dance. 9. Candle. 10. Dance-Captain's family, mourning. 11. Marimba.

which the dance takes its name began playing about dusk. At nine o'clock, when we reached the house of the Dance Captain, the Indians of the town as well as many from outside were gathered in the yard. Inside the house, the costumes were massed on two new striped mats; they were done up in bundles each with its headdress on top, forming a rather gorgeous block of color, before the table altar, which was profusely decked in a bower of cypress. The house was about thirty feet by twenty. (Fig. 29). On either side of the altar sat a *watc-winaq*, in full insignia of black wool tunic and striped handkerchief thrown over the shoulders; one wore a crimson silk handkerchief around his head, the other a white one. Next to each one sat his wife. On the left of the costumes, facing the altar, sat the Alcalde, who is also First Chief Prayer Maker in this village. On the right of the costumes was the marimba. On the right of the door sat the *Maestro* of the dance, the Indian charged with teaching the steps and words. He had no insignia and was dressed in Ladino clothes. Near the Alcalde was seated the man who brought the dance costumes, who was treated with some honor during the evening. He wore no insignia, unless his black tunic could be so construed, as at this time of the year very few Indians were wearing them. On benches against the wall and over behind the Alcalde there was just room for about twenty spectators to crowd in, all men. In one corner, the First Dance Captain, his wife, and three other people, gathered about a fire, were continuing the mourning for his son who was drowned that afternoon. People talked freely, the *watc-winaq* prayed and the marimba played at intervals, so that at times with all this and with the mourning going on the place was a bedlam.

We were received cordially, a seat being provided for Byers next the man who brought the dance costumes, while La Farge shared a bench with the *Maestro*. No objection was made to note-taking or sketching.

The place was lighted by two small fires of pine slivers. In front of the dance costumes a candle burned which may have been for light or as an offering. It was apparently perfectly correct to light one's cigarette at it.

The *watc-winaq* prayed in turns, in a sing-song, rather whining, chanting cadence. No attempt was made to observe silence during the prayers, which will be discussed in detail later after we have gone somewhat into the esoteric religion. At the beginning of a prayer, the *watc-winaq* would rise and all present would rise with him, while he addressed the village officials, both civil and religious, by their titles, and called many times on the *Maestro* with the honorific title of *kõ-mam Maestro*. At the end of the exhortation, all



FIG. 30—Dancers and *wate winaq*, deer dance, at San Marcos.



FIG. 31—*Wate winaq*, San Marcos.

present answer loudly, *ham!* This was repeated several times, then everybody sat down and returned to their talk and drinking while the rest of the prayer continued. Drinks and cigarettes were passed around at intervals, Comiteco being served instead of the sugar cane water of tradition. The *watc-winaq* interrupted himself when offered drinks and cigarettes. Toward the end of the praying, the *watc-winaq* and the *Maestro* were provided with a stock of liquor and cigarettes.

Shortly before twelve, the preliminaries having come to an end, the various participants came in for their clothes. For the children's, their mothers came. Two children were dressed there in the house, one by a woman and one by a man, cheerfully and without ceremony. The praying continued irregularly and the marimba was active. The removal of the costumes having made a clear space, the party of mourners appeared at intervals to dance the *sOñ*, being by now fairly drunk. Little attention was paid to them beyond a few remarks of pity.

Shortly after this the marimba was moved out to the porch of the house and a fire was made just in front. A chair was set for the *Maestro* in the center facing the yard. Just before leaving the house, and now again one of the *watc-winaq* came and knelt before him on one knee, making the formal prayer to see that the dance went well and "that the words came out equal." To this the *Maestro* replied in set terms. We were invited to sit with him.

The dance which now began was a dress rehearsal without masks, this was the first time the participants had worn their costumes. The characters were Old Man and Old Woman, six hunters, three deer, six monkeys, a lion, a jaguar and six women. Old Man wore a three-cornered hat with elaborate trimming, a cloak, doublet, fringed knee-breeches, sash and bandelero and carried a gaudy handkerchief. The hunters were dressed like him save for the addition of black stockings and shoes. Old Woman and the six women, the latter parts being enacted by boys, were dressed about alike save that here again, Old Woman wore no shoes. They wore flat brimmed hats covered with artificial flowers and bits of cloth, elaborate bodices and stiffish skirts coming down nearly to their ankles, all most unlike anything that the Indians wear. The monkeys were acted both by men and boys. They wore clothes of apparently military origin, long dark blue trousers with broad red stripes, jackets with elaborate chevrons and imitations of orders and epaulettes. They had pointed particolored caps, and long black tails coming out from under their jackets. The lion wore a dingy red orange suit which covered him from head to foot more or less like the pajamas put on very small children. The jaguar was similarly

dressed, but the color was bright yellow with black spots. Both had tails and wore crowns. The three deer were dressed like the hunters, save for very gorgeous cloaks, which from their shape faintly appeared to represent deer-skins, and their head-dresses which were papier maché deer's heads. In the morning performance, the male characters wore masks of papier maché. Old Man's had a black beard and moustache and long black hair, the hunters were almost offensively blonde. The monkey masks and the lion and jaguar were reasonable representations of the animals intended. The deers' head-dress took the place of a mask, although it sat up on the head and their faces, like those of the women, were covered with a handkerchief. (Figs. 30, 32). They used the dance step which is universal for all occasions, commonly known as the *zapatea* in Spanish and in Jacalteca as the *sOñ*. This step may be seen practiced in all parts of Southern Mexico, Yucatan and Guatemala. Old Man leant on a silver-headed official cane, put one hand on his hip and danced with an imitation of a rheumatic limp that gave the effect of a drunken sailor doing the hornpipe.

The action of the dance itself chiefly consists in formal evolutions to the music of the marimba and accompanied irregularly by the music of tin rattles carried by the dancers. At fixed intervals they lined up in two rows facing each other and made set speeches to the effect that they were gathered together in a solemn celebration in honor of their patron, Saint Mark. These words, as the rest of the dance, are absolutely set and are written down in Spanish in a book in possession of the *Maestro*. He told us that these instructions, which he had obtained from his predecessor, came originally from the town of Mazatenango. The office of the *Maestro* and many details of the dance were evidently established in early times.⁸²

During all this performance, the mother of the boy who had been drowned and some other members of the funeral party danced among the other dancers, apparently ignoring them and getting very much in their way. They made a most pathetic spectacle; the old woman's face was stupid with drink and sorrow, it was quite evident that she was not fully aware of her actions, and one could well understand the sympathetic and pitying attitude of the Indians who made no objection to her performance, but only caught her when she stumbled and set her back on her feet.

In so far as the dance is a drama, it represents the finding of the deer, which belong to Old Man and Old Woman, and their being pursued by the animals and by the hunters. In answer to a direct

⁸² Gage: 1655, p. 154.

question, the *Maestro* agreed that Old Man and Old Woman correspond to *hite-mame* and *hite-mi*.⁸³ It is tentatively suggested that there may be behind this dance a faint reflection of the old and widespread North American myth of Releasing the Deer. This rehearsal kept up until nearly before dawn.

The formal dance with masks was begun at dawn in front of the church, lasting until a little after 8:00 A. M. This may be said to be the main object of the ceremony, and the official offering to the saint. A good sized crowd was watching the dance, and the Prayer Makers, *Maestro* and *wate-winaq* were seated against the facade of the church.

Having accomplished this main purpose, the dance was then held in the yard of the Alcalde's house, in conformity with the custom of dancing for private individuals, which traces back to the days of the early church,⁸⁴ and in Yucatan at least to times before the Conquest.⁸⁵ The various officials again lined up in the porch of the Alcalde's house where the marimba was also played (Fig. 31) and the dance went on in the yard until eleven o'clock, when things were over for that day. The marimba went to another house and continued playing afterwards but the formal dancing did not go on. At the Alcalde's house we were given every possible help for photographing and drawing, portions of the dance even being held over again at our request. A number of women were occupied inside the house in making *posol* for the officials and participants. At times individual dancers would drop out, take off their masks, to breathe or to be fed or to take a drink. We were treated with all possible hospitality. A third *wate-winaq* had joined the two who took part in the night ceremony. All three of these men were now pretty well intoxicated, but grave. They prayed at irregular intervals, apparently exactly the same prayers that were made inside the house the night before. By the time the dance had ended, most of the spectators had gone about their business. No difficulty was experienced in obtaining perfectly sober *mayores* to carry our luggage back to Jacaltenango.

We passed through the village again ten days later, shortly before the day of the saint's feast itself. At that time merchants were beginning to arrive from other villages and booths were being set up. At ten o'clock in the morning the dance was going on in front of the Alcalde's house in a languid and disjointed manner, a good many of the dancers resting or asleep in corners, and only the Alcalde and the three *wate-winaq* present as spectators.

⁸³ Ancestors of the people, see next chapter.

⁸⁴ Gage: 1655, p. 154.

⁸⁵ Landa: 1881, p. 100.

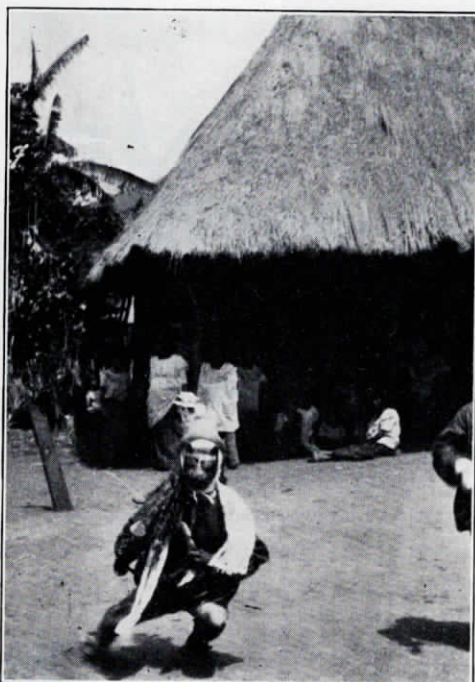


FIG. 32—Solo dance by Lion, Deer Dance at San Marcos.



FIG. 33—*Cil-Marimba* dancers, deer in foreground, Jacaltenango.



FIG. 34—*Cil-Cortés* dancers, Jacaltenango.



FIG. 35—Indio, Alvarado and Cortés, *Cil-Cortés* dance, Jacaltenango.

This is probably typical of many of the big serious dance festivals. The Deer Dance differs from the others in having a relatively slight narrative content. We found that the Indians regard the Cortés and Moros as a form of instruction or historical drama as much as a dance. When discussing the Conquest of Mexico before some Indians, they interrupted us to remark that the Cortés dance had acquainted them with most of what we said, and it appeared to be very vivid to them. Interestingly, when we were talking one time about the war in the Rif and the courage of the Berbers, an Indian who was listening remarked, "Why of course, the Christians win in the dance, but the Moors always die fighting."

In addition to these dances of more or less Spanish origin, there is a large group of humorous dances which seem to be much more purely Indian in nature. According to Landa (1881, p. 100) comic dances were held in Yucatan before the Conquest and then, as now, they were held in the houses of all those who wished to pay the dancers. The ones that were witnessed during Carnival were take-offs on the Cortés and Deer Dances respectively, as shown by their names *cil*-Cortés and *cil*-marimba. *cil* is a word meaning rags or old clothes or anything old, and refers to the costumes. In the *cil*-Cortés, Cortés was dressed in a khaki military coat, ordinary trousers, leather puttees, sandals, with part of an old mat and a straw raincoat for a cloak. He carried a baton about a half meter long with a spiral whittled around it. (Fig. 35). Colored rags tied to his wrists imitated the lace of the serious costumes.

Alvarado was dressed in miscellaneous rags with a cloak made out of an old and very dirty mat and had a helmet made out of part of a battered gasoline can. He carried a stick and a kind of hafted iron celt or primitive hatchet (Fig. 35) similar to the one described previously, used for chopping up chile.

Montezuma wore a hat covered with greens, a burlap cloak supplemented with an old wreck of a tunic and carried a banner of rags and a rattle made out of an old coffee-pot. (Fig. 35).

Monarca, who probably represents one of the Quiché kings, also had a helmet made out of a battered gasoline can, with colored plumes. A rusty black sheet was belted around him like a kind of kimono, with a mat cloak and a grass mantle, a colored rag about his throat and bare feet. He carried in his right hand a piece of twisted tin in the form of a hatchet, in the left, a sort of wooden tomahawk about 40 cm. long and a stick with rags tied to it (Frontispiece).

Three Indians were dressed in rags with mat cloaks, grass and flowers in their hats and coffee-pot rattles. Nine Malinches (the common name for Marina, Cortés' famous mistress) were acted by boys who, as in the serious dances, wore cloths over their faces instead of masks. They had on women's clothes over their ordinary men's dress. The skirts were pleated after the Ladino manner instead of being simply wrapped in a sheath.

The male characters wore wooden masks of local manufacture, showing more than a little sense of humor on the part of the artists. Monarca's mask, the face of an old man, was particularly notable. The music was provided at times by two drums and a wooden fife and at times by the orchestra, belonging to the Dance Captains, of two drums and a reed flute.

Between the moments of dancing there was a great deal of dialogue in Jacalteca, which caused much laughter among the spectators. This dialogue had been written out previously, and was rehearsed amid great merriment on the night before the dance.

The other dance observed was the parody of the Deer Dance, *cil-Marimba*. The marimba was played for this as for its original. There were three men with wooden masks. One boy in a monkey mask carried a pine branch, two deer wore chaplets of withes and deer's horns, a deer skin hanging down behind and their faces covered with handkerchiefs. One of them had a string of small shells between the horns in imitation of the gilded tinklers hanging between the horns of the deer in the serious dance. Three men acting the part of women were as before. There was no visible plot to this dance, it was also accompanied by a great deal of humorous dialogue in Jacalteca. (Fig. 33).

Beside these some other dances are held at less frequent intervals. One is called *masaiH* or *kañal hiq* (neither of these names could be translated. *kañal* means dance, and *hiq* may be the day name). In this dance a bull is made with two wooden arcs about 80 cm. high bound together with a long pole and covered with mats. A head with real bull's horns is put on one end of the pole and a tail fixed to the other. A man gets inside of this. There are several other actors, but the only definite statement we could get was that there was a woman in it, who had some sort of dealings with the bull.

The trouble with finding out about these dances was that the Indians would become excited and take to laughing so hard that, while they put on quite an amusing show, they gave no coherent idea of what they were talking about. In the *masaiH* they paint their faces black. The actors wear old Ladino clothes and cylindri-

cal hats. The use of black paint for ceremonial was important in ancient times.⁸⁶ Pineda⁸⁷ tells of the survival of a sort of black-face dance in Chiapas. Lothrop⁸⁸ summarizes the significance of the color black in ancient and modern times, and speaks of a black dance among the Quiché, of interesting appearance.

In the dance known by the Spanish name of *La Vera*, men take off the amorous adventures of the Indians, and general personal incidents in the village.

We received very confusing and vague accounts of a dance or ceremony called *peluq*, which also involved black painting. This seems to have been exclusive to one family in the village, and is now extinct. A man, his wife, and son, we were told, fought cocks on Ash Wednesday, and drank the blood of birds decapitated in the chicken pull. Their actions seem to have had some ceremonial importance which is now forgotten.

⁸⁶ Las Casas: 1909, p. 465; Tozzer: 1913, p. 500.

⁸⁷ Pineda: 1888.

⁸⁸ Lothrop: 1927 A.

CHAPTER XIII

MYTHOLOGY

As was remarked before, the Indians are very fond of telling stories, particularly around the fire at night. Certain ones enjoy a reputation as story-tellers, either from their knowledge of old myths, or lively style in narrating recent incidents. Probably tales are told in their homes, certainly whenever they are away from home the men turn immediately to that occupation to while away the time between supper and sleep. It is a very pleasant sight, when one's self is about to drop off, to see his porters or workmen sprawling picturesquely or half sitting, half squatting on a piece of wood, the warm light painting the interested, dark faces, while the voice of one goes on, not monotonous, but lively and with plenty of expression, punctuated by laughter or comment that interrupts the attentive listening.

It was difficult to get texts or even abstracts of stories. Not every one is competent to tell them, and most of the Indians held back from false shame, or sometimes because the tale was "delicate," a word used to indicate anything that must, for ceremonial reasons, be approached with care. It was very hard for them, too, to talk slowly enough for us to write it down, and going over the written Jacalteca to get its meaning in Spanish was really painful to them. Most of what we got in the language, we owe to Señor Hernández; the texts themselves will be published in the succeeding section on Jacalteca linguistics.

The Origin Legend, if it may be so called, shows a curious combination of Old Maya and Christian beliefs, plus some Indian variations added since the conquest. It makes no attempt to account for the creation of the world. When one asked them about that, they answered:

"We do not know about that."

Part of this story was told us by Kash Pelip, some additions were made by Shuwan Manel, and Manel Mikin dictated the parting speech of Old Father, with a little coaching from a raw-boned young fellow whose name we did not obtain. Kash and Manel, though both young, appear to have some standing as story tellers. The former has already been mentioned as our friend; towards the

end of our stay we had his confidence, and by getting him into conversation about the subject in general, he could be lead into narration. The latter was brought over by Señor Hernández, along with a raft of small children and several young men, one idle day in Easter Week. They occupied our hammocks and sprawled on the horses' fodder and ate our candy while he showed off by telling us the story.

JACALTECA GENESIS

At first it was dark. The Spaniards and the Old Fathers of the different people existed. They did not know where God, Jesus Christ was. The Spaniards were looking for God; they said there was a sorcerer with Him. First a star appeared, and so on for nine months, until there was one for each month Jesus was in Mary's womb. After the stars came the moon. The Spaniards went on looking for God. They were looking for God to kill Him; He was in His mother. Now when God was born the sun came and killed the Spaniards. The Spaniards hid themselves in the caves and under the water and began to see the rays of the sun and so they were killed.

The Old Father was alone here. He called to Christ and talked with Him. He said he was sad alone. Christ asked what he wanted and he answered, "I am afraid and have been sad alone, I just want you to give me a wife for myself." Jesus put him to sleep and made a wife from a rib, so they say. [Laughing]. They say men have one less than women. He contented himself with her.

[This was followed by a close version of the story of Adam and Eve and the apple up to the origin of the Adam's apple, but without the expulsion from Eden].

They had children. When there got to be too many people they disappeared. Before they went, they said,⁸⁹ "We cannot stay here among these our children, because they are chatterers and talkers. So now we leave it all arranged where they shall stay. Now, therefore, let us go. Now we have arranged everything and we have marked the boundaries completely. We have left a trail to the cornfields for these our children, and a place where they shall eat."

The Old Father had allotted the land and bounded the town of Jacaltenango, which was the center from which the other villages went out.

⁸⁹ See p. 301, Text III.

They went up to the high ridge of Ajul, where they still are. It is called *saq-ba-k'u*, for that reason. He first held the Year Bearer ceremony and ate the sacrifice, hence they burn the blood there.

The idea of the world having been all dark, and of the first people having been turned to stone when the sun rose, is found among the Yucatecos to this day.⁹⁰ A variant on it is brought out in the Popol Vuh and Titulo de Totonicapán, in which at first the people are looking for the place where the sun shall rise, and receive the morning star as a sign of the sun's approach. The gods asked to be hidden before the sun comes up, and from the dawn dates the existence of stone idols. This belief is probably connected with the general use among the Highland people, at least, of idols hidden in the woods or in caves.⁹¹ Evidently some priest has seized on the search for the sunrise and the appearance of the morning star as a fine analogy for the condition of the benighted world before Christ, and His birth. The substitution of the Spaniards for the gods or first people is the product of the priests' teaching that those old deities were bad, plus the tradition of Spanish cruelty and wickedness that has been handed down to this day—a tradition which does not in any way connect them with the modern Ladino. More will be seen of this in the story of Chiapa and the Tiltik.

The Old Father, *hitc-mame*, and his wife, *hitc-mi*, "Old Mother," are the ancestors of the people. Their true names, which are not known to the laymen, are *palun (9) kana'* and *palun (9) imuc*, respectively, both of which are day names. *balun kanaan*, the Tzeltal equivalent, is the old name for the city of Comitán in Mexico. *hitc-mame* is derived from *mam*, "father," with the prefix *hitc-* or *itc-*, "old," used in an honorific sense, as, for instance, they refer to the priest as *itc-pale*, which might be freely translated "the venerable priest." "Old father," literally, is found in *mam-itcam*, "grandfather," with its equivalent *mi-icnam*, "grandmother." The suffix *-e* is a contraction of the *-ël* found in many Mayan languages, and is also honorific in this use.

The creation of women while men sleep is found in the Popol Vuh, where they were made for the four ancestors of the Quiché. The rib, of course, has been added from the Christian tale, and from here on, evidently, the story of Adam and Eve conquered the native imagination. We were told by various Indians that *hitc-mame* was Adam, but there is not one forebear for all the people in the world, each village or at least each tribe being supposed to have its own.

⁹⁰ Tozzer: 1907, p. 153.

⁹¹ Gage: 1653, p. 173; Scherzer: 1856, p. 12; and cf. Tozzer: 1913, pp. 504-506; and Lothrop: 1927 A.

There is said to be a ruin near Ajul. The meaning of *saq-ba-k'u* is not clear. *k'u* means "thunderbolt," and *saq* may mean "white." "Eating the sacrifice" refers to the important rite of *cahampal*, described in Chapter XVI, which includes the killing of turkeys.

hitc-mame is thought of as still guarding the village. In this connection, Manel Mikin dictated part of another myth. It will be noticed that he always confined himself to speeches. No amount of explaining could get him to understand our desire for the intervening narration.

HITC-MAME AND THE ENEMY⁹²

The enemy came into Jacaltenango from Mexico. When they were just over the border, *hitc-mame* met them and said, "Now then where are you going or what are you thinking about here?"

"Nothing, we are just coming a little way into Jacaltenango here to go to Guatemala City. For that then we shall enter Jacaltenango here," said these men.

"Good, if you enter then listen—do not think in your hearts that you will return from where any of you may go. You will remain here finished, because I myself am Jacaltenango."

They said to each other, "We shall go back therefore, for this man here is the Father of the men of Jacaltenango."

This simple story really requires no comment.

A longer and more elaborate tale was told to us in Jacalteca by Baltazar Silvestre (*maltic malin nikol*), an old and experienced story-teller. It is essentially Indian in its subject, but shows again the impression which the Spanish in Alvarado's time left on the Indians. First, it must be explained that there is a current, rather vague, belief in a supernatural people called the *tiltik*, a name probably deriving from *teñl*, woods, and translated in Spanish *selvage*, "the savage." The Tiltik are either men or monsters, who are to be found in the woods particularly when there is a great deal of fog. Some Indians report that men become deaf-mute after meeting them. Kash Pelip spoke of them as being a kind of magician. From what he said it could be gathered that they are simply living human beings with magical powers, but it seems more probable that they are a distinctly supernatural people. He said that the center of the Tiltik was in Antigua, Guatemala, and that they went about as if looking for workmen, then grabbed people and flew off with

⁹² The text is given on p. 302.

them. He also said that they have none any longer because nowadays the people are too clever for them. It will be seen that all this fits in very well with the myth.

CHIAPA AND THE TILTIK⁹³

They say that long ago there were many deaths on account of the Tiltik.

Thus thought a man called Chiapa: "I am going to see a little if this is true. I am going to leave one little token here."

He left a little ear of corn standing up on the altar table.

"If I am well that little ear of corn will stand up; if it falls it will be a sign that I have died."

After he went, then, the little ear of corn moved and fell over.

"Then my husband has died," said his wife.

She went to tell it to his brother.

"If that is so then my brother has died," he said. "I am going to see what happened to my brother. Let this hen be cooked and make tortillas. After the animal is cooked put it inside the tortillas. I shall take it."

They put it in a big napkin. He came then, he arrived along a small road in the place Pisallá (*tcikaiyōh*). There was the old Tiltik in a cave. His little burro that carried him was tied [nearby].

"What has come over thee that thou shouldst come here?" said the Tiltik. "Perhaps thou dost not know that it is 'delicate' here. Now thou shalt be very much mine."

"Don't speak of it, I shall be thine for ever, but thou art going to eat some tortillas with me."

"Well, I am very hungry," said that Tiltik.

The steam came forth violently from the tortillas. He had arrived, that man who came from Chiapa. That man Chiapa rolled up his chamora blanket—"Do not sit on the grass; place thyself on my chamora."

It kept growing under the Tiltik. It became a stone that would roll easily; already the feet of the Tiltik hung above the ground on top of this chamora.

⁹³ The text is given on pp. 296, 309.

"Many thanks, I have eaten with thee, thou shalt be always mine," said that Tiltik.

He put his hands on the rock; he remained stuck.

"What art thou doing to me? Set my hands free."

"Well then, thou wilt give me back my brother?"

"It is not possible since he has already died some time ago," he said.

He put a crow-bar under the stone; the Tiltik fell over, he died completely.

The little burro went into the hills to tell the king, "Now then my master has died," it said.

People who seize [policemen] came to seize him [Chiapa] for the killing, because that was his own Tiltik [the king's]. He was arrested, he went. He arrived at Antigua; he entered the jail.

He got out all by himself. He was in the market-place. He played his guitar.

When they saw him: "What is that man?" said they.

He entered into that jail again [was put in]. He got out alone again. He sang his verse with that guitar of his.

"He goes into jail, he manages to come out right off." Now they did nothing to him.

He made earthquakes. Thus then he made the village of Antigua disappear. For that reason, the capital was moved to Root of Fire [Guatemala City].

Then the king knelt to the man. "Do not finish all the village; poor little children and old people are dying. I give thee as much money as thou askest to pay for thy brother so that thou wilt leave seed for my people."

"I cannot say how much money I ask."

They gave him twenty horseloads of money. He came. Thus it was then that the matter grew cold concerning them. [The trouble was abated]. He went back, this man Chiapa. Thus then when there were earthquakes were born reeds in Antigua. [The reeds began to grow in Antigua].

The idea of the Tiltik must be compared to the Cakchiquel *Zakiqoxol*, the spirit in the woods.⁹⁴ There seems to be no good

94 Brinton: 1885, p. 87.

reason why the man who slew the Tiltik should come from Chiapa, unless the whole legend is of Chiapas origin. In view of the fact that Alvarado's kind ministrations were confined to Guatemala, and in view of the general locale of the story, this does not seem likely. The Chuj believe in a legendary magician called Chapa (*tcap'a*), who has no connection with the town. The placing of the life token, such as an ear of corn which may fall over, a plant which will wither or flourish, a fire which will burn or go out according to the fate of the person whom it represents, is an almost universal myth element. Mrs. Maudslay gives a modern instance in Guatemala.⁹⁵ Pisallá is said to be a ford of a river near Guatemala City somewhere in the region of Chimaltenango, which was notorious for Tiltiks. Dr. Termer suggests that this may be the Pixcayá River, a tributary of the Motagua near Mixco Viejo. The trick with the growing rock or tree, used to remove an enemy is not at all uncommon. It is widespread, for instance, among the Athabascans. The *chamora* blanket is of very heavy wool, woven near Quetzaltenango and of course only known since the Conquest. The destruction of Antigua by earthquake refers to the famous event which wiped out the first Spanish capital. The request to Chiapa to leave seed for the people will be seen repeated in the following story. Seed is given as a translation for a special word, *yikal*, which is only used in this connection of enough survivals to carry on a tribe; the ordinary word for seed is *agwal* or *hiñat*.

The name for Guatemala City, *ce-k'a'*, meaning Root of Fire should be compared with the Quiché *Chikak* and Chakchiquel *Chigag*, both names for a volcano near that city.⁹⁶ It might be suggested that there was some distant connection between Chiapa's various entrances into jail and the adventures of Hun Ahpu and his brother among the people of Xibalba in the Popol Vuh, but this seems a little far-fetched.

Evidently this whole belief in the Tiltik has been colored by the period of slavery under Alvarado and his early seizures when the Indians were carried off in such great numbers to work in gold mines. It is to be noticed that the king lives inside the hill, a belief that will be considered more fully in another chapter.

A very interesting legend is that of Juan Mendoza, and one which we had some difficulty in obtaining. Shuwan Manel admitted frankly that he was afraid to tell it to us for fear of its hero who today inhabits the big hill that dominates the western view.

⁹⁵ Maudslay: 1889, pp. 51-52.

⁹⁶ Raynaud: 1925, p. 14; Brinton: 1885, p. 192.

Other informants would hurry through it or tell only some fragment. Two versions are given here; the first was told us completely by Kash Pelip in Spanish and written down verbatim, the second is compiled from a long version by Señor Hernández, a shorter one by Señor Taracena, fragmentary accounts by Santos Camposeco, Shuwan Manel, and the children of Señor Martínez with some dialogue dictated in Jacalteca by Manel Mikin.⁹⁷ It was thought at first to give the Pelip version in Spanish as taken down, the nature of his Spanish having a charm of its own. However, as given, much of it is evidently literal translation from the Jacalteca and it does not seem that incorrect and mispronounced Spanish gives a fair idea of a story which should be told in the language which he speaks correctly. Accordingly I give a close English translation related wherever possible to the probable original Jacalteca idioms, omitting only a number of "*buenos*," which were thrown in undoubtedly on account of interruptions when he talked too fast to take it down.

CUWAN K'ANIL

The war began. Now there were no more soldiers to fight in Guatemala, so the President called out the people here in the village. The day that they left here, the soothsayers tried to see who it was that should end the war. Soldiers left, who were just soldiers. Those two went, the Señor Juan, they were porters, sappers (*zapadores*). Good, and they went then. And the soothsayers never said who was the most man of all. And the soothsayers said that always there was one, but they did not say clearly who. But yes, the porters they are the most men of all. Only the Señor Juan is the most man. The other his companion, that one was a man too. He had been dumb always. He said that he was sorry for those people who must die.

He said then—"My heart is sad for the poor people. If only I knew something, right now I should finish with the enemy," said he to the better man.

And then said the Señor, "Is it true, that now thou dost not think about thy family?" He said to the other, "For now *we* are going to finish the enemy, but we shall not go back to live in the village itself. If thou wishest to have a hand in this, then in a moment we shall end the enemy. Not thou alone art sorry for our country: I too," said the Señor Juan.

And he said, "Go then, lie down and I shall jump over thee four times," he said.

⁹⁷ Text I, p. 295.

And he jumped four times over the other. He rose a man: now he knew something. Afterwards when he had risen, then said the Señor Juan, "Now try thyself on that oak tree, uproot that oak tree, buzz it to where thou wilt, and let nothing be left of it."

When they had tried themselves, they had come beyond Huehuetenango. There is a cross called *komam kulus tēnam*, (Our Father Cross of the Cliff) a league beyond San Lorenzo. They came to eat here, all the soldiers at this cross and the two went to bring water then; when they heard the noise that there was, "What is that?" said the soldiers.

"There are our fathers with us," said the soothsayers.

They knew that the two porters were men.

At last, when they came to leave the water, then they were, then. But not all the people had seen them when they borrowed their banner and weapon to fight, from the hill *itc kaQe*. [*itc kaQe* is a lightning. Later he said that they got the banner from *itc kaHe* and the bolts from *kaq itcam*, which is another rock where the lightning lives]. They came to live there later. They saw that they were there and they made a noise like the noise of thunderbolts. There, yes, the soldiers knew that they had their fathers among them all. And they went on then; now they knew, those two, that they should conquer the enemies.

They went out from where they ate, and the soldiers said that they themselves should carry the packs, "We must carry the packs to Guatemala for we know nothing."

"Children, in the end, when we come to Guatemala we shall see how we stand," they said to all the people then.

They came to Guatemala then, and they talked to the President: "Now Señor Presidente, all the soldiers must not go with us, only those who know where are the enemy. Let six or seven go with us, not more," he said. Only those soldiers they asked. All the soldiers did not go, they stayed in Guatemala and showed them where the enemy was, no more.

And the Señor Presidente said, "With pleasure (*con mucho gusto*) since you are men, I can order the soldiers to go to show you where those enemies are."

They went off to show them, then. They came to where the enemies were. In the middle of the sea, within the sea, they are shooting. They asked for only two soldiers to give the signal that the soldiers had come, that the warriors had come then. At the

moment that they gave the signal, the assistant, the assistant of Señor Juan, then he struck first; to strike the water, that the river might dry up and kill the enemies. The assistant killed half, and then the Señor Juan went; he finished them all. The river dried up, the river came out pure blood. They finished all the enemy.

Afterwards the *hitc-mame* came to kneel before the two, then, "Do not finish them all, leave some seed, for they make the clothes," said the *hitc-mame* to the two.

So it was that the seed was left still because the *hitc-mame* said that they make the clothes, that there is nowhere else to bring clothes from for the children, he said.

The day that they arrived in Guatemala, he told the Señor Presidente, "Now the enemies are killed. It is finished with the whole people, now there is nothing," he said.

The soldiers came with the food; now they did not want food, because now they are of another kind. [They said] that now they do not want food, candles they want; and the soldiers gave them their candles. And afterwards then they said good-bye to the other soldiers: "Children, we shall say good-bye here. We shall come to be known in our village, but now we shall not live in our village," he spoke thus to the soldiers.

They came then, now they did not enter the village itself. The first who went into the fight, they shot him, they say a ball hit him in the belt, he did not die.

[Juan said], "But the day when you shall have something else, the instant you know it tell us. We shall stop on the edge of the village."

They are still alive. One stone has a hole through it, one looks south, the other, east. They are together in *curwan k'anil*. Only the Prayer Makers go there.

curwan is the Jacalteca for Juan, the man's name is said to be Juan Mendoza. *k'anil* may be derived from the root *kan*, meaning to stay or leave something, in which case the name, which is the name of the hill, would mean "Where Juan stayed." *k'anil* also suggests the day name, which will be discussed later, of the chief and most powerful of the Year Bearers. It may well be that this myth, which has taken on so many features that are purely modern, traces back to pre-Columbian times and refers to a man who originally had a day name.

The reference to being the most man, of course, means who has the greatest magical power. The name of Juan's assistant is

never given, one Indian said that he was also called Juan. The hills, or stones inhabited by lightnings or thunderbolts will be discussed later. These two are near the village on its north-western edge, one passes them going toward the hill of *curwan k'anil*.

The enemy, *hēp-naq enemigo*, are given no other name in this story or in the one previously related. It is said that these ones came from over the ocean.

Kash said that he thought they probably were Germans, as the Germans make most of the cheap Ladino clothes, and as he once met a Chinaman in Tapachula who told him that a great many nations were fighting the Germans, and that his father had been killed where the Japanese were bombarding a German town.

Notice again the request of the *hitc-mame* of the enemy to leave a little seed. Kash used the Spanish word, *semilla*. In the next version, Manel Mikin gives this conversation with the word *yikal*. Kash explained the statement about the clothes to mean the ordinary cheap Ladino clothes. It will be seen below that it is taken as meaning the costumes for the dance, and is said to explain why the people go all the way to San Cristóbal near Quetzaltenango to hire their costumes.

He said afterward, and many others made the same statement, that Juan's picture is hanging in the cathedral in Guatemala City, in his Indian costume with his water gourd and tobacco pouch.

On their change of condition Kash comments, "*Se volvieron santos será*, they became saints, it will be."

The last speech of Juan was repeated twice, to make sure that it was put down correctly. It was evidently considered very important. Another Indian remarked that this story explained why the Jacaltecos were "*muy listos*" for a fight.

The statement about the stones refers to two natural stones which stand at the top of *curwan k'anil*. The Prayer Makers make offerings there when there is danger of war, and probably on other ceremonial occasions. A great many people, including the First Chief Prayer Maker, went out of their way to warn us not to go up the hill.

CUWAN K'ANIL (Second Version)

They say that long ago there was a war between the village of Guatemala and the enemy who came over the sea. They had machines to go on the water. The government sent to Jacaltenango for its best men.

The men said, "I shall become a wasp and sting them, I shall become a snake and sting them. I shall become a lion and tear out their throats."

They were magicians. But the best of them all was Juan, who went as porter, "under the pack," with a companion; he said nothing.

They went past Huehuetenango, to *hulakaha* and to *těmpalmá*, where they stopped to chew tobacco with lime. Juan and his companion were sent to get water.

When they got to the spring the other said, "Now then, what says thy heart, what wants thy heart, shall we make ourselves famous a little in our village? Look now, we came under the pack, but it makes me sad to think how many people will die; it is better that we put an end to it. If only there was some little thing I knew—but then, I am very stupid."

Juan answered, "Is it true what thou sayst? Art thou not sad on account of thy family? [*i. e.*, because you will have to leave your family]."

"Do not say that. If there was some little thing I knew——"

"In that case, let us prove ourselves a little then."

The other squatted and Juan leapfrogged over him four times.

"Prove thyself here then."

Then they tried themselves, throwing lightning (or converting themselves into thunderbolts), and destroyed two pine trees.

On returning, the captain asked why they had taken so long. They said that the water was far. He answered that it was near. They said that some lightning struck near them and pointed out trees that it had destroyed.

The armies came together, the enemy was much stronger. They destroyed the enemy with bolts; the sea was red with their blood. The bolts went "ploong, ploong."

Juan said to the other, "Leave half for me."

Then came the *hitc-mame* of the enemies; "Now then, please, leave us a little seed of the people. From here will go dance clothes for the Easter festival in your village. Thus then we shall do for you, if it is enough; leave a little seed please."

When they came near to Jacaltenango, they told the others that they would not come into the village. Juan stayed up on *curwan k'anil* and buried himself there, the other buried himself at the light-

ning, *in-tcēn*, only his hat shows. For this reason the Jacaltecos are very ready for a fight.

Juan's picture is in the church at Guatemala.

This version, which is on the whole much more summarized than the other, shows even less of the early Indian ideas, with the exception of the remarks about turning themselves into animals, and the incident of chewing tobacco with lime. The former refers to the presence of many sorcerers in the army.⁹⁸ It was obtained only from Remberto Martínez at the time, but Señor Hernández has since been able to confirm it. The tobacco chewing refers to an old custom, now almost or quite dead, that formerly existed among shamans.

It seems probable that the myth as a whole, for all its modern dressing, dates back to pre-Columbian times. It is possible, of course, that two Indians drafted for service in one of the many conflicts that have taken place since the Republic was founded might have performed some deed of valour, and thus started the story; however, their deification would seem to require a longer time. The definite statement of the man's name, Juan Mendoza, sounds modern, but is no more dependable than the fact that his helper has no name at all. The possibility of his having had a day name, *k'anil*, which would be meaningless to the modern laymen, gives evidence toward antiquity. It is possible that Indians went forth from here to help the Mames kings in pre-Columbian times; we do know that men from the Cuchumatanes came down to the plain of Huehuetenango to help Caibilbalán, the last Mames king, against Gonzalo de Alvarado.⁹⁹ Again, the whole story might have been built up to explain the stones.

Señor Hernández, after our departure, collected the following story, which we translate direct, with his comment, from his letter. The alphabet used with native names is the Spanish, equivalents according to the phonetic system of this report are given in parentheses.

LEGEND OF DOÑA JUANA¹⁰⁰

This was a beautiful Jacalteca woman who had a fervent suitor to whose wishes she never consented to comply. The name of this lover is not remembered, but they say that in that remote time the episode of his attempting to marry the lovely Juana Muñoz, for that was the name of the charming Jacalteca, became famous.

⁹⁸ See Chapter XVI.

⁹⁹ See Chapter I.

¹⁰⁰ The text is given on p. 305.

The suitor, seeing in the end how impossible was the realization of his desires, since his constant pleas could not win him Juana's heart, disappointed and sad, decided to go to a place where there is a sink hole from which a river comes out, and there turned himself into a sheet of stone and closed the river.

The waters rose until they formed a flood which went on stretching out over all the country. The afflicted people, knowing the cause of this trouble, began to beg Juana to intervene to avert the disaster that threatened the villages.

She, not wanting to bear the blame, came one day to ask her disappointed lover to give up his fatal undertaking, and offered in return to give herself up to his love. But the lover refused to accept Juana's beautiful offering, for now it was too late for his blighted hopes. Then she said to him:

"At least grant me that you take out your head, that I may kiss it."

He agreed, and came above the waters as far as his neck. Juana, who also had physical and spiritual power, embracing her lover's head, strangled him, and, casting him into the sink-hole, unstopped the river and avoided the disaster.

The grateful people from then on called their saviour "Doña Juana."

In Jacalteca language they say *Xuin* (*curwin*) and also *Xu* (*cu*), so that, according to usage, Doña Juana is translated *Xu Doña*, and by a vice of dialect, is actually pronounced *Xu Roña*. This name has been saved and transmitted to the descendants of Doña Juana, so that at present there live two people of that family, called by the names "*Cux Xu Roña*" and "*Mat Xu Roña*." (*kuc cu ron'ya, mat cu ron'ya*). *Cux* means Marcos and *Mat*, Mateo. (These are Marcos and Mateo Muñoz).

It is supposed that the sink-hole of the legend is that of the river of Santa Ana Huista which disappears at a short distance from the village in the place called El Tabloncito . . . As for the beauty of Doña Juana, one cannot doubt it: there are and have been among the Jacalteca women really entrancing types, as much in the truly aboriginal race as among that resulting from crossing with the discoverers and conquerors of America . . .

We are also indebted to Señor Hernández for the following which we give according to his translation:

ORIGIN OF THE LOCUSTS¹⁰¹

There was a man who was very ill-disposed towards his mother. Once, when corn was dear, after having looked for someone to sell her what she needed for food, in vain, she came to her son's door to ask him to sell her a little corn. That man, although he had a well-filled crib, from which he sold to other people, refused. Seeing that there was no use, she went back, saddened by the lack of corn, and said:

"Now then, it does not matter that my son would neither give nor sell me corn, but what he has must become nothing, and he shall not gain more money with it."

When the son returned to the crib and opened the door to go on selling he was astonished to see the great number of locusts that came out flying rapidly, until the crib was left empty without a single grain, all being changed into that animal.

Thus it is that the locust came among us and we all must pay the ingratitude of that son, since that animal seeks by preference to destroy the cornfields wheresoever it may pass.

Beside the stories which we set down as being Indian in origin, there are many which may be recognized as European, some of which are told by both the Ladinos and the Indians. The way in which they have been localized and brought up to date, affords a good check on the modernization of stories like *curwan k'anil*. One of these is given here, in outline, as a sample. It was told to us by Remberto Martinez as being an Indian story, and was familiar to Indians who were listening.

THE STORY OF THE TWO BROTHERS

There once was a man who wished to take advantage of a certain woman, who was with child at the time, and about to give birth. She had a strong inclination to eat anything that she happened to think of. The man prayed to God to be turned into a fish which she would want to eat. He turned into a very large and fine fish. She sent her husband to kill the fish with his machete, but he went to the market and bought another. Seeing that this was not the fish she wanted, she sent him off again telling him to be sure and bring back the right one.

When the fish saw the man coming with his machete he spoke to him, telling him he was rich, but would go with the man on the condition that after he had been eaten the man should gather all

¹⁰¹ The text is given on p. 303.

his bones together and bury them. The man complied with his request, gathering all the bones and burying them in the yard.

Shortly after this the woman gave birth. A month after giving birth she gave birth again to twin boys, who grew to good size in three months.

The boys prayed to the bones of their fish father and were given equipment for a journey by them. They went to Tapachula where they parted. Each one took the other's water gourd, agreeing that when it turned black it would be a sign that the other one was dead.

One brother reached the village at the end of the world. He went down the road beyond where the people went to die, and came to a house where an old woman lived, who was an ogress. He asked her for a drink of water. She told him to come in, but instead of giving him water she pushed him into a large pit in the floor.

The other one travelled until he reached a town where there was a dragon that exacted tribute. The king's daughter was to be sacrificed that day. Seeing the poor girl in tears, he went out to meet the dragon and slew it with the help of his dog.

He cut out the tongue of each of its seven heads. No sooner had he done this than he saw that his water gourd was black.

Asking everywhere for his brother, he travelled to the end of the world where he met the old woman. She told him his brother was inside. As he came in she tried to push him in the pit, but he swung at her with his machete, grabbed her arm and threw her in. To her pleas that he pull her out, he replied that he would if she would give him back his brother. She gave him his brother, now four days dead, and then he threw rocks on her and killed her.

The dog jumped over the brother four times and he came to life. Travelling together they reached the palace of the king where a great feast was being prepared. They sent the dog in to get some food, which he stole, and the king ordered him and the two brothers to be killed. This the daughter forbade, saying that one of the men with his dog had killed the dragon, and not Pedro Ordinales who claimed to have done so, in whose honor the feast was spread and whose bride she was to be.

As proof of his feat, Pedro produced the seven heads, but the brother challenged him to show the tongues. Then he took the tongues from his belt and laid them on the table one by one. This convinced the king who ordered Pedro to be killed. The two brothers married daughters of the king.

The main body of this story will be recognized as an old European favorite; particularly the parts about the end of the world, the dragon slaying, and the old dramatic climax of fitting the tongues into the heads, are familiar to most people who were told fairy stories in their infancy. The early incident of the fish is a variant on an idea of fertilization of a woman by causing her to eat some magic animal found widely distributed throughout North America. The life token appears again; it will be noticed that here, as in many other details such as the use of the machete and the boys going to Tapachula, the story has been adapted to present times and localized. The Indian ceremonial number four appears in the incident of the dog jumping over the dead brother, which also suggests the jumping in the legend of *curwan k'anil*. To be consistent, the time required by the two brothers to grow up should have been four months, but here possibly the fact that our story teller was a Ladino brought in the European three. No significance can be attached to the seven heads of the dragon, as seven is an important number in both worlds. Pedro Ordinales is a mythical character who undoubtedly originated among the Ladinos or in Spain, concerning whom many stories are told, and about whom there is a tendency to gather stories with which he originally had nothing to do. He always appears in an unfavorable light, usually that of a trickster like the North American coyote. The Indians have adopted him and tell of him under the name of *naq-pegru*.

It has been suggested that the manner of birth of the two boys and the incident of the brother's death and return to life may be traced back to the Xibalba story in the Popol Vuh, but this seems to be rather far-fetched, as these ideas are so very common and so widely distributed that it would be dangerous to try to point out any specific origin for them.

CHAPTER XIV

FOLK LORE

A large group of beliefs and practices known to all the Indians, deals with supernatural matters, yet cannot be strictly classed under religion. This is being grouped here as folk-lore. Much of the magic is more conveniently discussed in connection with the shamans who practice it.

There is widespread belief in a variety of portents, mostly harbingers of evil. This belief is interesting in itself, but doubly so far the way it brings out a most important character of the Indian, his liability to suggestion, particularly auto-suggestion, and the way in which he surrenders without struggle to a force which he believes stronger than himself. It is not fatalism, but has a fatalistic cast that has been noted about Indians in many parts of the New World. He will fight valiantly while there is reason to fight, but when the case is hopeless, he usually sits down passively to await his end.

The portents that were listed to us are as follows:

kaq tä'in, a red "coral snake" seldom seen. If it is encountered, something bad is going to happen. If it is seen in the house, someone must die.

tco'l ba', a dark snake with black spots; the same as the above.

sib cahau, a snake with dark black and yellow belly, the same as the above. In this case an instance was cited to us. A man called *manël*, and his wife *roswalic* saw one in their house, behind the water jar. Knowing that one of them must die, they both made their preparations. *manël* died.

t'aHincic, a very large "walking stick" about 25 cm. long, which is rarely seen, is a sign of death.

If a falling star—*tahurwi*—falls near a house, it is regarded as a sign of sickness. If it bursts over a house, someone will die.

pickoi is a red bird. If it calls on the left or behind, it is a bad sign, if in front or on the right, it is good.

Some incomprehensible phenomenon may be taken as a portent. A man called Cristóbal *ictupëlwin* was working in his field when a

piece of wood fell beside him. There was nowhere for a piece of wood to fall from, so he decided that it must be a sign of death. He went straight home and told his wife that he "had to die." He made his arrangements, sickened, and died.

These portents are matters of common knowledge, they are not to be confused with the various divinations and prophecies made by the soothsayers according to regular formulae.

The sun is regarded as male (*kōmam tsaiik*, our father sun), the moon as female (*kōmi cahau*, our mother moon). In ancient times it is said, the sun and moon had a fight, during which the sun knocked out one of the moon's eyes; for which reason the moon gives less light than the sun. Eclipses, *k'ai tsaiik*, *k'ai cahau* are regarded with great dread, being thought to be a renewal of the fights between the two. An eclipse of the sun, naturally, is considered as more serious than one of the moon. In either case the people make every noise possible, to aid the one threatened, shoot off guns, scream, whistle, beat drums and tin pans. For the moon, they will cry out "*miyai'-ya! miyai'-ya! pacantik miyai'-ya!*" "Mother, Mother! Go back, Mother!" When the sun is threatened they also pray in Spanish in the church. This practice is common in many parts of the world. It is a little different from the idea, reported for various parts of the Maya Area, that the moon or sun is being eaten.¹⁰²

The stars and planets do not play much part, in fact, but few of them are named. They recognize the Pleiades, *mots*; Orion's Belt, *ocēp tcumēl*, "Three Stars," or *lōkic*, "The Brand"; Gemini (?) *manya' tcumēl*; the Southern Cross, *kūlus tcumēl*, "Star Cross"; the morning and evening stars, *sax'bes*; and the Milky Way, *s-be lēnte'y'u*, "Dew Road." The name *mots*, for the Pleiades, means "the group," and is the same as that given in the Popol Vuh,¹⁰³ where it is associated with the legend of the Four Hundred Young Men. We were not able to find any trace of that legend here. The Morning and Evening Stars are thought to be the same. The North Star is not recognized, and indeed, the Indians have no name for North or South.

Sunset and dawn are called *ts'a asūn*, "the clouds burn."

The souls of the ancestors of the people are to be found, or may be communicated with, at the springs surrounding Jacaltenango. It could not be definitely ascertained whether they believed the souls themselves to be present. But then, as has been said, the beliefs concerning the habitat of souls after death are very vague and con-

¹⁰² Las Casas: 1909, p. 620; Saville: 1921, pp. 82, 204.

¹⁰³ Raynaud: 1925, p. 21.

fused. A given family always prays at the spring at which its forebears in the paternal line prayed. Springs are presided over by "guardians" or "lords," *ahau*, who may apparently be either male or female. It is said that because these have not been properly propitiated, the town fountains, which draw their water from one or another spring, run badly. There has been consistent trouble in piping water from the springs to the fountains; probably owing to crude methods, the water by and by works around the pipes and evades them. At present only one out of four is working, and that one feebly. The Indians show no reluctance to make use of the one, but oppose any attempts at repair of the others. When Señor Hernández was Alcalde, he ordered an attempt at piping water from a new spring, or rather one which had evaded the pipes some time before. According to the Indians, the guardian of the spring had deliberately moved, and would only be made angry, possibly caused to dry up, by renewed attempts to capture his water. Señor Hernández summoned the Prayer Makers, and offered to pay all necessary expenses for incense, candles, etc., if they would hold a ceremony of propitiation. The shamans avoided it on various pretexts.

Above Jacaltenango on the road to Concepción is a brook that is always muddy. The Indians explain that the guardian of this stream, or of the hill from which it comes, is always wading around in the spring, inside the hill, and hence muddies it.

As may be seen in this last instance, there is a little confusion between the guardians of the springs and of the hills, although on the whole they may be regarded as quite separate. These guardians of the hills, *y-ahau hwitz*, or *hěp-naq hwitz*, "men of the hills," are of more than slight importance. The Mayan peoples seem always to have ascribed power and influence of one kind or another to the hills. Among the moderns, one may refer to the Kekchi legend of the "Hills and the Corn," recorded by Burkitt (1920). With them the hills and the thunderbolts are connected; the Jacaltecos, in associating the thunderbolts with cliffs and rocks, perhaps reflect a similar fundamental idea. In the Titulo de Totonicapán, the disappearance of captives stolen for sacrifice is at first ascribed by the Indians to the hills. "*La cause de nos malheurs, dirent-elles, serait-ce la colline même que nous habitons; serait-ce elle qui nous cause tous ces dommages?*"¹⁰⁴

Inside the hills are the abodes of their guardians; there are big houses, all kinds of corn in abundance, and piles of money. A man will sometimes go to a hill and make an agreement with it, after

104 Titulo de Totonicapán: 1885, p. 19.

which he appears to die, and having been buried, passes into its service in the beautiful inner country. This explains the willingness of the hunter to enter into the agreement, by which, after a period of very prosperous hunting, he must die and go to the hill.

An Indian goes to the hills, and makes a prayer with incense and candles, closing an agreement with the hills by means of which they assure him a fixed number of animals—he does not know how many. When he has killed them, he appears to die, and he passes into the hills' service. Many cases were cited to us of hunters who made such agreements, and died after some years of unusual luck in the chase. One of the present Dance Captains has made such a contract. He goes out every evening "to get my deer," and certainly has phenomenal success. It is generally conceded that his time is nearly up, and he will die during the next few years.

The Guardians have the appearance of men, being very richly dressed, who ride about on horses or upon their deer. (It may be mentioned that the modern word for "horse," *tce*, is the old one for "deer"). About the only way to be sure of recognizing them, is that their hats are red underneath. According to the soothsayer Antel, the "men" from whom the days are named, or who are days, are now guardians of hills.

The following story is told of an Indian now living; we could not find out for sure who it was, possibly a man called *niclën tca*: He was near a place called *satca'*, just on the west edge of the village, when a man came by on horseback.

The man asked, "What are you doing?"

"Nothing."

"Will you come with me?"

"Where?"

"Just come with me for a trip around (*pasear*). I shall take you."

He consented. The man told him to mount behind, and shut his eyes until told to open them. He did so, and felt that they were travelling. Then the man told him to open his eyes. He found they were inside a hill. He saw some of his friends, thought to be dead, and saw the fine houses, the silver, and the corn. He was taken out in the same manner, and warned not to tell a soul. In a "*momento de descuido*" he let the story out.

Where the range of hills on the west of the Rio Azul breaks down into the Hot Country, there is round hill with a bald crown, called the *pal'e hwits*, "Priest Hill," probably because of its re-

semblance to a tonsure. The guardian is said by some to be a priest. People and cattle are said to disappear there.

Behind the settlement of *ts'isba'* is a hill, (called *ts'isba'?*) the guardian of which is a naked little boy about 4 or 5 years old, who is often seen but does no harm. An Indian working at Señor Hernández' sugar mill reported seeing him this year, in the moonlight, wandering around in front of the house. This particular individual suggests the dwarf-like *alux* of modern Yucatan.¹⁰⁵ They, however, do harm.

With the exception of this one, it is very dangerous to see a guardian of the hills. People who see them are likely to die and pass into their service. (The experience of *ničlën tca* was exceptional). At Carnival time they go about on the roads, and for this reason people are very reluctant to undertake a journey at that time.

Most important, and interesting for purposes of comparison, are the ideas that come under the general set of beliefs commonly known as nagualism. This complex has been given an excellent brief definition by Raynaud (1925, p. XV), "*Pour être bref, c'est la croyance à un esprit gardien individuel et secondairement aux métamorphoses.*" One might, perhaps, object to the term "*gardien.*" Brinton, in his exhaustive "Nagualism," gives the word a rather wider meaning, including under that head a great deal of associated magic, and placing strong emphasis on the belief in metamorphoses. At least as far as the Maya Area is concerned, the central, constant belief seems to be in the individual *companion* spirit, or better, animal whose spirit seems to be one with the individual's and, *secondarily*, in metamorphosis. Given a belief that one's vital essence is inalienably linked with some particular animal or object, it seems possible that from it might have arisen the idea that one could change into such an animal. The power of changing thus is particularly the property of the sorcerer, to whom the Indian word *nagwal* is applied.¹⁰⁶ This must be remembered, or confusion will result. According to Sapper,¹⁰⁷ the Indians around Quetzaltenango believe that they derive some quality from their naguals, as do the modern Tzeltals.¹⁰⁸ Sapper says that the shaman assigns the nagual, according to the day of one's birth, and that the Indian is introduced to the animal. The same practice was current in Guatemala in early times,¹⁰⁹ and in Chiapas.¹¹⁰ In comparison, the Jacalteco idea seems to be an incomplete survival, or partial borrowing of an alien idea.

¹⁰⁵ Saville: 1921, 169-170.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. The Second Version, Legend of *cuwan k'anil*, Chapter XIII.

¹⁰⁷ Sapper: 1925.

¹⁰⁸ Blom and La Farge: 1927, pp. 369-370.

¹⁰⁹ Fuentes y Guzman: 1882-83, Vol. II, p. 45.

¹¹⁰ Nuñez de la Vega: 1702.

The nagual is called in Jacalteca the *iqōm pican*, "Soul Bearer." The word *pican* is the same as that used for the soul in the Christian sense. According to them, one does not know one's nagual, or derive character from it, save for the sorcerers who can turn themselves into their animal. When sickness is thought to be caused by harm done to the nagual, the soothsayer, or the *ilum picañe*, "soul watcher" who is a specialist in this branch, is called in to "look and see" what the nagual is, and what is wrong with it. The soothsayers denied specifically that the choice of a nagual had any connection with the calendar or with the day of one's birth. Owing to this ignorance it was not possible to get any good list of what kind of creatures could be naguals, but the general consensus of opinion was that they might be animals or butterflies.

The *ilum picañe* mentioned above has an innate ability to know about and treat naguals. Other shamans, we were told, might do one harm; the very one to whom one applied for a cure might be plotting one's death, but "the *ilum picañe* only does good." When the soul-watcher has "looked and seen" what has happened, then he or she places a candle in the church, and goes to find and cure the animal. Shuwan Manel narrated to us a good example of this, which he had direct from the soul-watcher.

A woman *ilum picañe* of considerable reputation was called from Jacaltenango to San Antonio to see a dying baby. The inside of its mouth was black, like smoke. She said someone had its nagual walled up in a hole, and was smoking it. (Gesture of fanning smoke with his hat into a hole in the wall). She said that the child would live if it began to suckle. She said that anyone might follow her who liked, so the baby's god-father stuck with her. She went just a little distance, to a hole in a rock. Part of the hole had been closed with stones, and there was small fire-wood there, and traces of fire. Inside was a little snake, so long, (holding his hands about 12 cm. apart), nearly scorched to death. She placed a candle and prayed, then she took it out, and carried it to another place to cure it. Just about this time the baby began to suckle. "*Y estava mameando contento, contento.*"

One other instance may be cited. A well-known Indian went with some friends into the Hot Country. He stopped at a ranch, where a lion which the owner had just shot was hung up. He told his friends at once that this animal was his nagual, and now he "had to die." Shortly after this he fell sick and died. No explanation was given of how he recognized the animal; he just knew when he saw it.

The Ladinos gave us some conflicting testimony to the effect that the selection of the nagual was controlled by the shamans at

birth, or that the date of birth had some effect. A woman who was supposed to be wise in these things told Señor Taracena that it was good that his child was born in June, as then "the sun had three faces," and the child would get a good soul bearer. As said above, this was specifically denied by the soothsayers.

At the time of the Year Bearer, the Indians go to the springs where they may communicate with their ancestral spirits, and pray for the naguals' protection. One such prayer was recited to Señor Hernández by one of his workmen. The translation is as follows:

PRAYER FOR PROTECTION OF NAGUAL¹¹¹

Hide them for me: guard them for me: do not let them come into the open. If there is any sorcerer, if there is any man who thinks evil against these, our spirits, in you we have hope for these little ones, oh our fathers and mothers, for our little fathers and mothers that nothing shall happen to them, that we shall have life and happiness.

Perhaps the "lightnings" or "thunderbolts," *kōmam k'u*, "Our Father Thunderbolt," who live in certain rocks or parts of the cliffs around the town, come under religion rather than folk-lore, but probably they belong here. We have already seen mention of them in the legend of *cuwan k'anil*. The term *kōmam* is usually only applied to divine beings. These lightnings protect the village. At Jacaltenango they are:

<i>yalan kulus</i>	"Under the cross," at the cross on the trail to San Marcos.
<i>yahol</i>	North of this, where a stream comes out.
<i>kaq itcam</i>	"Old Red," from which <i>cuwan</i> obtained weapons, on the north edge of the cliffs, overlooking the valley of the Rio Azul.
<i>tsulbal</i>	Not translated or located surely.
<i>sa'ton k'u</i>	A ledge of the cliff behind the church.
<i>yahpal kaQe</i>	"Air Rushes Out" or <i>itc kaQe</i> , "Old Air" or "Wind," north of the village on the trail to <i>cuwan k'anil</i> . It helped him, and is related to <i>kaq itcam</i> .
<i>in-tcēn</i>	No translation. <i>tcēn</i> means "stone." On the trail to the hill <i>hwirwits</i> .
<i>itc tēnam</i>	"Old Cliff," not located.
<i>s-wi' kēx bats</i>	"Black Monkey's Head," not located.
<i>hulwi</i>	No translation. A rock on a hill at the southern edge of the village. <i>-wi'</i> means head.
<i>aHbal tco'</i>	No translation, may mean "Young Darkness." A hill on the Southeast edge of the village.

¹¹¹ The text is given on p. 303.

These lightnings are usually worshipped with incense burned on a fire, at no set time. At most of them, traces of these small fires can be seen.

What information we have on medicine comes under the head of folk-lore. Although probably the shamans have some knowledge, perhaps a good deal, of the curative properties of various plants, to an outsider only the magical practice is visible.

Those who cure sickness belong to the general class of *nagwal*, "magicians." As healers, they are called *an-lōm*, from *añ-*, "a remedy," plus *-lōm*, the *nomen actoris*. They, or a soothsayer, will determine whether the sickness is "from God," that is whether it is natural, or a curse. In the latter case, the procedure is purely shamanistic.¹¹²

If the sickness is natural, *yab:il*, the shaman brings his medicines all prepared, and just enough for one dose, unless it be some concoction which could not possibly be recognized when examined. Massage and blood-letting are also much used.

There is a curious reverence for small-pox, which is known by the highly honorific title of *kōman tcaq*, "Our Father Red." In San Marcos small-pox and pock-marks are regarded as signs of God's favor, and the disease is courted. When such an epidemic disease has passed through a house, the ceremony of *cahamp:al* is held. (See Chapter XIX).

Fright, or being startled, is regarded as unnatural (but not fear). From this has grown up a belief in a disease of fright, *cuyub kilal*. One gets it by being startled, or, perhaps, "a river drags at one when one is crossing it." Later on, the patient has shivering fits and goes into a decline. A specialist, often a woman, is called in. The patient bathes himself on Friday with an odorous grass called *y-añ-al cuyub kilal*. Sometimes the magician takes some kernels of red corn and a little water into his mouth, and with these applies suction to the temples, heart, back of neck, top of head, wrists, and over biceps. Some people use *pimiento de Chiapas* peppers, or bits of thatch from the four corners of the house for this purpose.

The hunger disease, *tci*, consists in being always hungry and thinking of food. The hair becomes soft and silky. It is cured by massage with secret lotions.

Colds are treated with snake-fats applied hot, wrapped in tobacco-leaves. Fats are also used in massage. The name for fat is

¹¹² See Chapter XVI.

Spanish; *y-unto k'an-itcam*, viper fat, *y-unto alnolab:a*, rattlesnake fat.

The lancets for bleeding, *tcai*, are made of a chip of glass, bound in place and set in wax to a handle like a small axe, as shown in Figure 36. The lancet is held over the spot to be perforated and driven in by a snap of the finger.

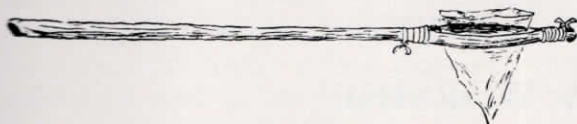


FIG. 36.

The carotid arteries as well as those of the arms and legs are bled. They cure a horse of blind staggers by opening an artery behind the ear, and not, as we do, under the tongue.

CHAPTER XV

LAY WORSHIP

There is a small amount of miscellaneous non-Christian worship which may be put out of the way before we turn to the initiated shamans and the esoteric religion. The little that there is, and the large amount which cannot be understood without such initiation, shows strikingly how the religion lies in the hands of a small group, much as it must have in the days before the Conquest.

There are a few set prayers and invocations, like the one quoted in the last chapter, but most of them are rather conversations with some deity. The Indian speaks half aloud, telling about his troubles and affairs in detail, and asking for what he wants. He does not hesitate to request that God or the Virgin bring ruin on an enemy, or even help him in some piece of black magic. The "*Deprecación de un Ajquij en favor de N. Zep,*" recorded by Hernández Spina,¹¹³ is a beautiful example of this same mixture of Christianity, paganism, and black magic. We overheard a *watc winaq* praying one time, and Señor Hernández translated the gist of his prayer for us. Someone had accused him of sorcery, and he was telling God all about it. He explained that the charge was unjust, that he had no knowledge of these things, and only prayed in the correct and formal manner. He pointed out to God that He knew the truth of this, and called upon Him to bear witness and still the scandalous tongues of his neighbors and if necessary, to discipline them by visiting some evil upon them.

It was thought at first to place flagellation in the category of Christian worship; its form, at least, is European. Indians at prayer will pull up their shirts over their backs, and strike themselves three or four times with a broad leather strap, in such a manner as to make a good noise, but not hurt themselves. This is thought to attract the deity's attention. Gage¹¹⁴ tells of the willingness of the Indians to be flogged in church, in the belief that, even when the flogging is a punishment for a crime, they acquire merit thereby. It seems to be a half-breed of the old Maya blood offering, and European penance.

¹¹³ Hernández Spina: MS.

¹¹⁴ Gage: 1655, p. 146.

Although he needs him for *guidance*, the Indian is not dependent upon the shaman as an *intermediary* between himself and the gods, as far as his individual affairs are concerned, save in the Christian baptism and non-Christian rite of *cahampal*. In all else he is competent to pray for himself, the head of the family probably having some extra power as intermediary for his people. Each house has its little table-altar, with a cross and picture of a saint, where small offerings, such as candles and flowers are placed. In addition, they are constant at the Church. One almost never passes its door to find it deserted. The men come there in considerable numbers about dawn, on their way to work, and at sunset when returning. The women turn up at all hours of the day. This is true of all the villages we visited. The people also pray at the lightnings,¹¹⁵ and at the way-side crosses.¹¹⁶

When the first heavy rain falls, in the end of May or in early June, the water is collected and used to make *posol*, which everybody consumes with some celebration. At the same time, the Prayer Makers have a *cahampal*, but this does not concern the laymen.

About September 14th, we were told, is held the ceremony of the "flute tamales," *pitc-cuheVu*, or of the "new beans." At this time the new beans are ripe, and they are made into a special tamale with corn meal and an herb called *tsitsañ*. On the eve of this fiesta, a flute is made and played as the tamales are cooking. When they are done, the flute is broken into the pot. According to some informants the flute should be made of clay. There is an interchange of gifts of tamales, and some are taken to the cemetery for the dead. Candles are burned in the church. In this connection one may point out the importance of tamales made with beans in some of the ceremonies of the Lacandones¹¹⁷ and among the Mayas of Yucatan.¹¹⁸

This, with the Christian worship, is about all that can be dealt with before we turn to the esoteric religion in the following chapters.

115 See preceding chapter, pp. 135-136.

116 See Chapter XX.

117 Tozzer: 1907, pp. 52 and 102.

118 Saville: 1921, p. 169.

CHAPTER XVI

SHAMANS OR RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS

Before going further into ceremonial or folk-lore, it will be necessary to describe the shamans and religious officials of the village. With the public acts of worship previously described, we leave behind all pretense at Christianity, except such as is implied in the general belief in God and in the power of saints and of the patron of the village.

We shall take up first the class that may be called born or natural shamans, who have certain powers but do not belong in the group known as *Principales*. It may be said in general that magical power of whatever kind is regarded as a charge or burden from God himself (*s-kalañ tioc*, "God's burden"), and that it is believed that, whatever the nature of one's gifts, to refuse to use them is to incur God's wrath and lay one's self open to punishment, possibly to death, from the *naq-justicia*.¹¹⁹ A good example of this may be cited in the case of a woman living in Jacaltenango. The story was told by her to Señor Hernández. She was sick, and went to *ahbe* Nicolas Delgado to find out what was the matter with her. He told her that she and her husband had committed faults when he was First Chief Prayer Maker. He said that she would have to die within six months and told her to make ready. She made her arrangements, but came back and asked if there was no way out, as her daughter was young and needed her care. The soothsayer then told her that she had a charge upon her to cure sick and had refused medicine to people. She must now become a medicine woman and must refuse no one. She did so and is today well and fairly famous.

The different kinds of magicians seem to be specialized, or rather there is a distinction drawn between different forms of magic: curing sickness, causing sickness or casting curses, and divination. The general word for one who has magical power or knowledge of any kind is *tsax-an-s-kül*, a word which on analysis appears to mean "his heart is white." The heart is considered to be the seat of thought as well as emotion. One may point out the significance of white as meaning power or sanctity in the Popol Vuh.

¹¹⁹ See Chapter XX.

Magicians are called *nagwal*. This is a widespread and much discussed word which probably as Brinton (1894, p. 22) points out derives from an ancient root, *NA* "to know."¹²⁰ The chief attribute that distinguishes a *nagwal* in Jacaltenango appears to be his power to turn himself into any given kind of an animal. Some men are merely *nagwals*, but usually a shaman adds this to some other gift. Many stories were told us both by Ladinos and by Indians of the acts of these people; Ladinos and Indians alike believe implicitly in their power. The magicians will cause leaves, flowers, greens, corn, larvae, bits of cloth, etc., to come from the ears and noses of sick people who are said to have been cursed. Señor Hernández told us he personally had seen a Ladino woman in great pain whom a *nagwal* cured by causing such things to come out. In another instance, a *nagwal* was arrested by a policeman. He did not resist arrest, but seized the policeman's arm. The arm began to ache and became useless. The Alcalde sent for the shaman and told him to cure it. He rubbed the arm and caused a grain of corn to come forth which he said he had placed there and which had caused the pain. In another case, Señor Hernández was in the house of a Ladino who was having a fight with a *nagwal* over the rights to a well. The *nagwal* placed a curse on the house, and went about it in the shape of a small animal at night. He caused stones to fall inside the house whenever the light was put out, and had the family terrorized so that they kept candles burning all night. Many other Ladinos came to watch with them and endeavored to catch the Indian, but in the end they were forced to make terms with him. These are merely a few instances of the kind of story we were continually being told.

This ability to lay curses is just as much a charge from God as any other. The Indians think nothing of hiring a man to lay a curse on some enemy. The victim will then hire another to cure him. (Curse is *kun*, and one who is accursed, *kuñ^eyebil*).

When so hired, he is working in his capacity of *curandero*, or medicine man, *añ-lōm*; this is a distinct capacity in the minds of the people, and apparently a distinct gift but is usually the property of the same individual.¹²¹ It involves some knowledge of herb medicines. Sick people, when they are convinced that they cannot get well just by waiting, will go either to a medicine man or to a soothsayer to find out if their sickness is "from God," that is to say natural, or whether it is a curse, as described in Chapter XIV. The soothsayer may be a medicine man himself or he may send them to another. If the sickness is due to a curse or is punishment

¹²⁰ Just as the Yucatecan name for seer, *men*, and Jacalteca, *ahbe*, mean "to know" or "understand." In these two cases the reference seems to be to their power of *soothsaying*.

¹²¹ Cf. Chapter XIV.

for some offense, ceremonial acts, such as burning candles, are prescribed. An instance of sickness as punishment for sin was found in the case of a woman who was with child and suffered the birth pangs repeatedly, but could not deliver. The soothsayer told her that this was a punishment from the *naq-justicia* because of the great rudeness she had always shown to her parents, her grandparents and her mother-in-law. She was required to pray in the church and burn candles in the section of the *naq-justicia* and to apologize on her knees to her various relatives.

A very noted medicine man lives in San Antonio Huista. He is now quite rich and lives as a Ladino, Indians come to him from all parts for consultation. Like many medicine men he will first look a patient over and tell him whether he can be cured or not. For instance, a woman from Jacaltenango went to him asking for a cure for her second husband who was dying (he has since died). The medicine man said, "I could cure him, only that it is your husband (*i. e.*, her first one to whom she was married by legal marriage) who is causing the sickness and he is in Tapachula where I cannot get at him."

This man is said to be particularly good at curing sickness caused by torturing a wax image of the victim. He will put a bowl upside down on the ground and cause the damaged figure to "come through the ground" to him, and appear under the bowl. Nothing was said about how these shamans were instructed. Of course, there can be no doubt that traditional knowledge is actually passed on from one to another, along with tricks of sleight-of-hand, etc., but as far as the public attitude is concerned, all their knowledge is supposed to be by direct inspiration from God, plus what they learn by practice. This idea will be yet more fully brought out when speaking of the soothsayers or *ahbe*.

A very curious type of shaman, and one to which no parallel among the Maya or other modern Mayan Indians offers itself, is the *ilum k'in*, "time watcher." (*ilum*, "one who watches," *k'in*, "time"). Of these there are now several in Jacaltenango, among them one of the present civil Regidores. They are men who have an innate virtue, apparently vaguely localized in their gaze, by means of which they protect the village and its people from harm. The act of looking at some danger is thought to exorcise it. Due to the power of the *ilum k'in* at Jacaltenango, we were told, fewer Jacaltecos were killed than any other Indians among the men drafted for work on the Quetzaltenango railway.

Juan Cruz said, of them, "For instance, if it rains hard, hard, for days, the *ilum k'in* go out and look."

These "born shamans," with the exception of the *ilum k'inál*, may be said to serve the people as individuals. Another group of elected or selected shamans, with the soothsayers who must be taken up separately, serve the community as a whole. These are the *watc winaq* and *tca'lom* or "Prayer Makers." With the soothsayers and Dance Captains, they make up the group to which I have referred as "Ceremonial Officials," and which is known in the village by the Spanish name of "*Principales*."

watc winaq can probably be translated "good man." *winaq* means man. *watc* in the San Miguel dialect and in Chuj means "good," and at Concepción, "right" (*derecha*). At present in Jacaltenango itself the word is meaningless. It suggests a derivation from the wide-spread Mayan *uts*, "good." At Jacaltenango there are theoretically eight of these officials, although just now the number is short. They are not elected by the public at large, but either are chosen by the other *watc winaq's*, or else by the whole body of *Principales*; statements on the subject vary. They hold their office for life. Their insignia is like that of the Chief Prayer Makers, a black tunic of extra length, left open at the sides, and a handkerchief of the conventional suppressed plaid design worn over the shoulders. They carry staves, and, in addition to the Prayer Makers' costume, usually wear a handkerchief of some kind about their heads.

At first we thought that they were not to be classed as shamans. At ordinary times their prayer is entirely that of a private individual, and they possess no magical power. As known to the Ladinos, their chief function is that of pulling the wires in elections, and of making the set speeches on formal occasions, such as the induction into office of a new civil Alcalde. The speeches or invocations are of considerable length, and must be listened to "whether the Alcalde is Ladino or Indian." We were assured that the vocabulary of one of these men in full swing of a speech was as different from the everyday talk as is the vocabulary of a Spanish or English orator at such a time. Their speeches are formally divided into exordium, main body, and peroration. During the exordium they stand, and everybody rises, during the rest of the speech they sit. It will be at once recognized that this procedure was that of the prayers observed at San Marcos, and indeed, it soon became obvious that their speech-making office was merely a function of their position as leaders of prayer. They are the nearest approach that there is to a permanent and definite priesthood. It is they, and they alone, who can perform the *cahampal* sacrifice. Their prayers are necessary at weddings and other special occasions. Not even the Prayer Makers can function without them. Although not soothsayers

themselves, they evidently possess no small share of the soothsayer's knowledge, and are thoroughly acquainted with the esoteric side of the religion. The ordinary drudgery of prayer for the village is performed by the Prayer Makers, while these men, holding their offices for life and more or less self-perpetuating, come forth for the really "delicate times."

The Prayer Makers, *tca'lōm*, "one who prays," known in Spanish as *Rezadores*, are elected annually by the village as a whole, and take office, like the civil authorities, at the Christian New Year. Amusingly enough, they are organized exactly as the civil officials. There is a "head alcalde Prayer Maker," *sat alkal tca'*, called here the Head Chief Prayer Maker, a "second alcalde Prayer Maker," *kap alkal tca'*, four Regidores, *lěctol tca'*, and two Judges, *curves tca'*. *lěctol* and *curves* are derived respectively from *Regidor* and *Juez*. They are attended by *mayores*, who serve exactly as for the civil administration. Four auxiliary officials are known by the Spanish name of *mayordomos*, whose business it is to provide turkeys for sacrifice, candles, etc. Chief of all is the Head Chief, and next to him the Head Regidor, *mayor lěctol*; those two alone may hold the *cahampal* sacrifices in their house. Their houses are gathering places for the others, the Head Chief's particularly serving that purpose. In the Head Chief's house are kept various pieces of paraphernalia; the staves of the *mayores*, a chest, under the altar, containing the old titles and documents of the town, some old and badly damaged wooden candle-sticks, once gilt, and an old bench. The bench has an illegible inscription on it. (Fig. 37). Formerly the chest contained some ancient clothing, said to have belonged to *hitc mame*. Señor Hernández, who had

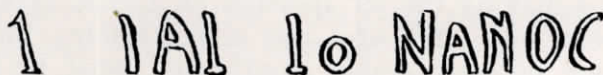


FIG. 37—Inscription on Prayer-Maker's bench.

occasion to examine the contents of the chest in connection with a dispute about the territory of the municipality, assured us that there was nothing of this sort there now. An Indian told us, however, that he had seen *hitc mame's* trousers when he was *mayor* to the Prayer Makers, describing them as being like broad running drawers. Such trousers were common among the Indians shortly after the conquest.¹²²

If the Head Chief's house is not already big enough, the community will build him a new one, and he is also provided with benches which he retains after his term of office expires. Since his duties prevent his tending to his cornfield, the community cultivates

¹²² Juarros: 1810, II, 28-29.

one for him and his companions. These considerations amply repay his troubles.

The Second Chief and the Regidores are subordinate to the Head Chief. When, as often happens, it is necessary to divide the town into two districts for prayer, the Head Regidor takes the one centering about the cross of Las Cruces, the Head Chief that centering about the great cross.

The judges are distinguished by wearing plain white handkerchiefs instead of plaid ones over their shoulders. Their duty is to call the carpenters for work on the church, etc., and to collect money for candles for the church at times of festivals. They often lend their help in assisting municipal work, and the municipal syndie in turn will aid them.

At San Marcos and at San Andrés the civil and religious "administrations" were one; in both places the civil alcalde was also Head Alcalde Prayer Maker. Some of the other offices differed, and the *mayores* were of necessity kept apart. At San Marcos, which is a very religious town, famous for its magicians, and very conservative, it was notorious that the Alcalde's constant religious duties interfered materially with his civil functions.

At San Marcos the insignia was the same as at Jacaltenango, save that no special handkerchief for the judges was observed. At San Andrés they wore purple, commercial handkerchiefs. At San Mateo Ixtatán, Santa Eulalia, San Miguel Acatán, Concepción, and Todos Santos, there appeared to be no insignia, although we were told that at Santa Eulalia the Prayer Makers carried a roll of cloth over one shoulder. San Juan Ixcoy, Soloma, and Petatán, the only other towns said to have Prayer Makers, were not visited. At Santa Eulalia we were told that the Prayer Makers did not wash during their year of office.

Termer's description of the installation of the Prayer Makers at Santa Eulalia is so interesting, that I quote one paragraph in full:¹²³

"Ich konnte die beiden Gruppen gelegentlich des Dorffestes in Santa Eulalia im Februar 1927 sehen, wo sie in corpore am Vortag des Festes vor dem Juzgado versammelt waren, die meisten mit weissen Tüchern auf dem Haupte, nur wenige mit bunten bedeckt. [The reverse of the situation at Jacaltenango]. Würdevoll sassen sie auf Bänken in offenem Viereck ohne ein Wort zu wechseln. Branntwein und Speisen wurden zu den Klängen einer Marimba herungereicht. Da nahte eine Prozession aus dem benachbarten

123 Termer: 1930, p. 432.

Kirche, in der das Bild der Schutzheiligen getragen wurde, die Figur unter einem schmucklosen Baldachin. Unter Abbrennen von Racketen und Bomben wurde der Thronhimmel in die Mitte des offenen Vierecks gestellt und nun begann die Tätigkeit der 'rezadores.' Jeder bekam eine gewisse Menge von Agavebast und musste auf seinem Oberschenkel daraus Fäden drehen. In diese wurden Pfauenfedern und andere bunte Federn eingeknotet und damit das Bild der Heiligen geschmückt. Die Zeremonie galt also eine der wichtigsten des Festes."

This has little in common with the same event at Jacaltenango in detail, but it is evident from Termer's descriptions, as from what the Indians themselves told us, that the functions of the Prayer Makers are similar in both towns. Termer expresses himself as uncertain of the differentiation between Prayer Makers and *brujos* at Santa Eulalia. At Jacaltenango and San Marcos, at least, this distinction is quite clear.

It will be noted that all of the towns listed here, which are also the towns that observe the Year-Bearer ceremony, are of Chuj or Jacalteca speech, with the exception of Todos Santos, which is Mames. Adding to this the Jacalteca colony of San José Montenegro, previously described, which duplicates the practices of Jacaltenango, one has listed all the predominantly Indian towns in the Chuj and Jacalteca country.

The duties of the Prayer Makers as a body are, roughly, to pray and sacrifice for the community as a whole. The head Chief prays a certain amount almost every day. We calculated that during a term of office totalling four hundred days, they were called on for upwards of two hundred days of intensive prayer, requiring rising or staying up till late at night, and being on hand again shortly before dawn. Twenty days before induction, they begin praying in company with their predecessors, and continue for twenty days afterwards. At Jacaltenango, this is followed immediately by a similar period before and after the festival of Candelaria. Right after this comes the all-important Year Bearer ceremony. In the end of April begins another twenty days, leading up to a sacrifice for rain, and followed again by twenty days. Then there appears to be an interregnum, until the time of the sacrifice of the Boundaries and All Saints' Day. At the end of the year they pray for twenty days with their successors, before they come into office, and for twenty days after. This list does not account for unusual crises that may call for prayer, or for periods of shorter prayer like Easter. In the end of July, 1925, the full corps of Prayer Makers was seen holding early morning prayer before the church and cross,

but the occasion was not determined. It will be remembered that twenty days is the length of a month in the Maya ceremonial calendar, still in use among these people.

During these periods, continence must be observed, although apparently there was little restriction as to food. Before assuming office, each Prayer Maker and his wife confess to each other all their sins. The insistence on abstinence was common among the Mayas, both in Yucatan and Guatemala¹²⁴ and then, as now, a breach of it might cause death.¹²⁵ Confession of this sort was very widely practiced. The power of sexual intercourse to weaken ceremonial strength is strongly brought out in the *Popol Vuh*.¹²⁶ The idea is widely spread among many peoples all over the earth.

An instance of the delicacy of ceremonial purity is brought out in a curious story narrated by a former *mayor* of the Prayer Makers. The Prayer Makers were having a soothsayer make a divination as to whether all of them were ceremonially pure before embarking on an important ceremony. The soothsayer found that that *mayor* had a fault, and went on to say that the fault had been committed by his mother. He could not specify what it was.

The *mayor* became angry and said, "What do you mean by placing my mother's fault upon me? Why can't you say clearly what it is?" And so on.

The soothsayer was ashamed, and hid his face in his arms. Now they sent for another soothsayer, Nicolas Delgado. He made his divination and said that the *mayor* had drawn blood. It was true, he had come home that day, and found his wife unconscious from drink. In his rage he had hit her in the face with his sandal, and drawn blood. Accordingly he was instructed to burn candles and pray in the church.

The Prayer Makers as men do not seem to receive any special reverence, the feeling is more for their office. However, the handkerchief which had been worn by last year's Head Chief was sold to us at a higher price than was asked for handkerchiefs woven new and especially for us by the same woman, "because it has its virtue." It is very dangerous, almost surely fatal, to refuse election to the office of Prayer Maker or *watc winaq*. A Prayer Maker who goes about his duties with an ill grace endangers the village and is himself certain to fall ill.

124 Landa: 1881, pp. 83, 84; Las Casas: 1909, pp. 465, 466.

125 Las Casas: 1909, p. 466.

126 Raynaud: 1925, *passim*.

Although the soothsayers are to be taken up along with the esoteric religion, their place in the official system must be mentioned here. One soothsayer is formally associated with the Prayer Makers. For many years at Jacaltenango this was Nicolas Delgado, but recently he has been replaced by Andrés (*antēl tco'*). It is hard to say if the soothsayer is in command of the Prayer Makers, or their servant. They send for him at any time, to make the necessary divinations for them. Nothing can be begun without consulting him. He alone, being acquainted with the ceremonial calendar, can say when it is time for the Year-Bearer, when it is a good day to begin the prayer for rain, or warn them of the arrival of a day that calls for a ceremony in itself.

If we consider the evidence of such incidents as that in the Popol Vuh, when the Lords of Xibalba sent for their soothsayer to advise them as to the way to dispose of the divine brothers, one is inclined to rate the soothsayers as servants, with the proviso that, in this democratic day when socially they are on an equal footing with the Prayer Makers and *watc-winaq*, their partial monopoly of certain essential knowledge gives them amazing power.

The nature of Prayer Makers, elected annually by the people, entirely a democratic body, as distinct from the closed corporation of the *watc winaq* and mystic knowledge of the soothsayers, does most strongly suggest the office of the *Chac* of the Maya of Yucatan. Like them, they were elected by the people, and like them, probably, they were ignorant of the inner religious controls, although the modern officials do acquire some indefinite knowledge of the virtues of certain important days in the course of their ministry. The old *Chac* worked under the aristocratic priests, just as the Prayer Makers, insufficient in themselves, must have a *watc winaq* to make their sacrifices, and a soothsayer to guide them. The native name, moreover, is suggestive. The generic *tca'lōm*, as has been seen, drops its suffix of the *nomen actoris* when compounded with the specific titles, giving simply the root *TCA'*, in such phrases as *sat alkal tca'*. As has been said, this root signifies prayer according to the old formula, with black wax candles, incense, and flower offerings. It is nearly the same as the Yucateco *Chac* (*tcak* in this alphabet), differing from it in a change from *k* to *'*, which is frequently found in comparing Jacalteca and Maya. The two words look to be the same. Possibly the original meaning of the Yucateco is preserved here, or perhaps the Jacalteca meaning is derivative from the office of which it is the name. More will be said of this when discussing the day *kaq*. At any rate, the evidence leads one

to think that we may have preserved here, in modified form, an old pre-Conquest priestly office.

The Spanish scythe brought down the heads of the lofty; these humbler ministrants might well have been overlooked. They may, on the other hand, trace back to some lay institution founded by the Spanish priests, which, in time, took over the still-remembered functions of heathen days, but it seems too much of a coincidence, that in all of the Year Bearer towns such a group of men should have been established, and not in the others. The evidence favors survival.

It may well be objected that it is dangerous to draw parallels at one moment with the Quiché of the Popol Vuh, in respect to the soothsayers, and at the next to turn to Yucatan for our Prayer Makers; there were some deep differences between the ceremonial hierarchies in those two parts of the Maya Area. One can only admit the danger, and answer that here, in Jacaltenango, we are at a meeting place, not very far from the country of the old Lacandonés, not at all far from the last Old Empire monuments, and on the edge of the Highland Mames kingdom, a few days from Quiché country. It will be seen later how much the calendar and its ceremonial tends to the Highland type, although Tzeltal in the main. At the same time, many other things look toward the North.

Negative evidence leads one to think that the relatively humble shaman, the "nagualist," with a knowledge of the simpler aspect of the calendar, did not exist in Yucatan. There the Calendar was exclusively in the hands of the nobility. In the South, as has been pointed out, there is reason to think that the men who handled the divinatory calendar, at least, were somewhat inferior. The offices of the great Quiché and Cakchiquel houses of the Popol Vuh and the Annals of the Cakchiquels were not primarily priestly. There probably were priests of very high rank, but there probably also existed these shamans of a lower social plane. Such men were likely to survive the zeal of the Christian priests from the mere fact of obscurity, sinking quickly into the mass of the population with the destruction of the old social order. This might well have happened at Jacaltenango. The soothsayers themselves do not in any sense act as priests.

It is more difficult to relate the *watc winaq* to any part of the ancient hierarchy. In the sense that they are intermediaries between the people and the Gods, they are true priests, far more so than the Prayer Makers. The latter do pray for the village, but only as representatives of it as a community. They have no special

virtue which puts them in contact with the divinities; any man may pray personally as they do for the whole. The *watc winaq* have their special virtue, for it is they, and they alone, who "have permission" (the word is the Spanish, *licencia*), to perform the rite of *cahampal*. Nor is their power simply for one year as chosen representatives of the village; they hold office for life, a closed corporation, essentially undemocratic and non-representative. They possess considerable knowledge, possibly all the lore of the soothsayer, less only his mystic gift of divination, of "speaking clear." All this suggests the old, aristocratic priesthood. The only trouble is that they are not in any sense aristocratic. They may use some criterion of family relationship or inheritance in their selections, but if so, it is not avowed. They are entitled to respect as men of position in themselves. Their mode of living differs in no sense from that of the other Indians.

There is one important difference between them and other shamans of all classes. In conformity with the general pattern of these villages, they cannot refuse their services when asked, but the Indian does not simply come to them, as he does to other shamans, and pay a tiny sum as a "gift," *matan*; they must be summoned with the ritualistic present of the ball of cocoa formed in the center of a gourd of *cocoa-posol* when it is well stirred. They must be entertained with honor. Consultation with a soothsayer, or employment of a magician, proceeds as a simple matter of services rendered and paid; the calling of a *watc winaq* is more of a polite request, with a suggestion of his superiority. This may or may not be an indication of a former relatively aristocratic position. The statement of the early Lacandonos that they had no kings, but only rather humble Cacique-Priests¹²⁷ may refer to just such a group of men as these, with added temporal powers.

Even today, although technically devoid of it, as far as the outside world is concerned, actually their temporal power is considerable. At Jacaltenango there is a semi-skeptical progressive group, as well as the Ladinos, to vote independently of them, but at such towns as San Marcos there is no doubt that they, really, control the temporal offices.

If the individual groups of elected shamans and soothsayers show some interesting resemblances to the pre-Conquest groups, so do the functions of the body of *Principales* as a whole, the Dance Captains, Prayer Makers, *watc winaq*, and associated soothsayers. Their "assemblies," and now disappearing custom of interchange of hospitality has already been compared with the banquets of Yucatan

¹²⁷ Tozzer: 1913, p. 503.

described by Landa (1881, p. 81). The Caciques of the Lacandonos, in old times, had similar feasts, and, like the *Principales*, controlled the ceremonies.¹²⁸ Las Casas (1909, p. 465) speaks of the council of chiefs for whom the soothsayer cast lots to determine the day of the ceremony.

The imposition of the Spanish system of government automatically brought to an end the temporal power of the old chiefs. That, with the poverty and oppression that was shortly their lot, might well have reduced them socially to the level of the commoners, and, since there was nothing material to inherit, have put an end in time to succession. We may imagine, too, that as many of the old chiefs came to an untimely end here as elsewhere. Meantime the relatively spiritual side of their offices might have been continued in secret. When we consider that Jacaltenango was the seat of a convent of Our Lady of Mercy, it is indeed remarkable that anything at all should survive, and we cannot but expect that whatever has survived must be greatly changed. The organization of the Prayer Makers along the lines of the purely Spanish civil administration is merely amusing.

¹²⁸ Tozzer: 1913, pp. 504-505.

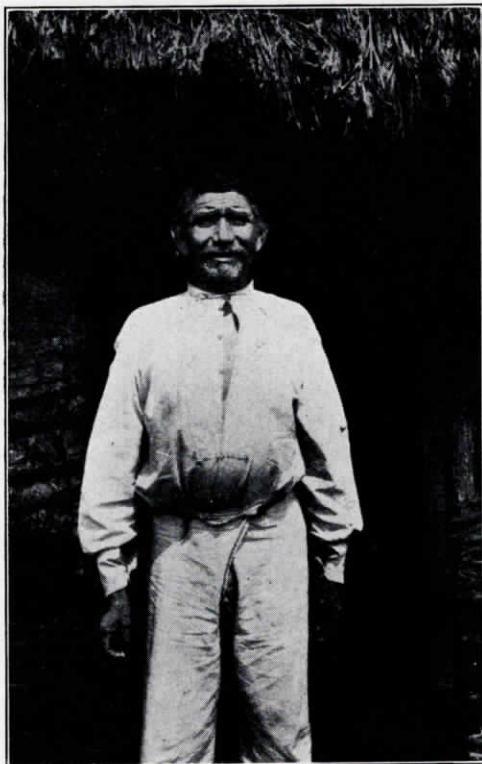


FIG. 38 (Left)
Antel Cho', Soothsayer

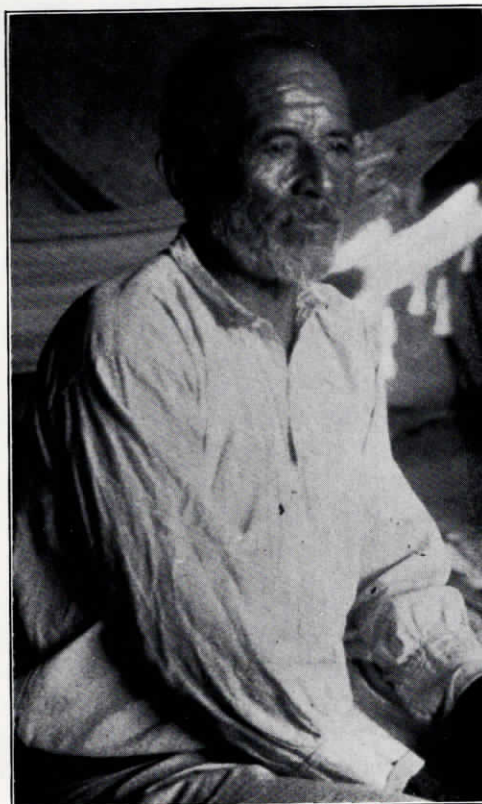


FIG. 39 (Right)
Maltish Malin Nikol
Story-teller

CHAPTER XVII

BEGINNING ESOTERIC RELIGION
SOOTHSAYERS AND THE CALENDAR

What has previously been discussed completes the religious knowledge and beliefs of the laymen in this district, and the general organization of the religious hierarchy. There remains the vast body of esoteric or secret religion which absolutely dominates and controls the rest, and may be said to be the moving factor behind the whole lives of these people. The best way to present this is much as it was studied in the field, through the medium of the soothsayers and our conferences with them.

The name for the soothsayers is *ahbe*, a word meaning "to know."¹²⁹ The Indians themselves say that the *ahbe* is one "who speaks clear, *que habla claro*." Their general position has already been discussed. Though often said to be magicians as well, they indignantly deny this, and will not tolerate being called "*brujo*" or "*echicero*" in Spanish, insisting always on the term "*zahorin*."

Our efforts were directed towards the soothsayer Andrés (*antēl tco'*, "Andrés the Lame"), a friend of Señor Taracena, Nicolas Delgado (*niqol palas lamun*) and Baltazar Sylvestre (*maltic tik*), friends of Señor Hernández. The first two were eventually won over, while Señor Hernández has subsequently sent us notes on an interview with the third.

Antel was then the *ahbe* in consultation with the Prayer Makers, having been selected, we were told, by some sort of a test of magical power. He is a nice old man, typical of the pure-blooded Jacalteca, small, slightly shrivelled, with a straggly, scrubby beard and mustache. (Fig. 38). He is intelligent, and has a truly delightful smile.

We went to him first to have him make a divination for us in respect to a lost article. When we arrived a man was there receiving advice as to how to pray during the Year Bearer ceremony. Andrés performed the same kind of divination as for us, apparently reaching the day 7 *ic*, and then advised the man. Señor Taracena, who was with us, spoke very little Jacalteca, and was not able to tell us

¹²⁹ See p. 141, footnote 120.

what was said. We then asked our question. At Señor Taracena's advice, we took a few notes which turned out to be a serious error.

Antel asked on what day we had lost the object, a small notebook. He thought for a moment, and began. He had his black tunic laid on the floor in front of him. On this was a pile of little red seeds, *axte* or *akte*, which are obtained in the low country, and some small bits of crystal. Similar red seeds were used by the early Lacandones,¹³⁰ and this type of divination is shown in the Codex Magliabecchiano. (Fig. 40). He touched this pile of seeds, crossed himself, faced the household cross on his altar, and began to pray. His prayer was addressed to God, the Virgin of Candelaria, patron of the village, Saint Thomas, and to the hill behind his house. The Spanish words "*paciencia*" and "*perdón*" occurred several times.

Having finished his prayer, he turned to the seeds, of which there were about a double handful, and subtracted a pile at random. Meantime he counted backward to find the ceremonial name of the



FIG. 40—Divination, from the Codex Magliabecchiano.

day on which the book had been lost, reaching *3 mulu'*. From the selected group he took seeds by threes, placing them in a circle, twelve groups of three and one of two left over. Seeds left over were usually placed in the middle. No distinction was made between seeds and crystals. The groups of odd numbers were counted with the others. He counted his piles by day-names and numbers, coming to *2 imuc*. Then he swept the seeds back into the main pile and began again. A second set of thirteen brought him to *2 ic*. After this the rapidity of his work and his low voice prevented our following him with any precision. Twelve piles brought him to *13 aH*, which seems entirely wrong, and cannot be checked with the

¹³⁰ Tozzer: 1913.

calendar; probably we heard him incorrectly. He then reached 13 *eVup*, then counted thirteen to a day not heard, and eleven to a day that sounded like 12 *wakainil*; 12 *watañ* or 12 *k'anil*. He stopped to ask had we been here when the book was lost, or away. Then twelve piles brought him to 1 *k'anil*. He told us that the book was in our lodgings, and we should find it, secretly coming to the entirely incorrect conclusion that we had not lost the book at all.

The answer which a soothsayer gives is called *te'um-lux*; the act of casting lots, *tcin-tcum-li* ("I cast lots").

The result of this conference was to convince us of the existence of the *tzolkin* of twenty day names and thirteen numbers at Jacaltenango, a most encouraging conclusion, as the best survival that had been reported heretofore included only the names. (Sapper: 1925; Brinton: 1893). Unhappily, it also served to frighten Andrés and seriously hinder our work. The man has twice been in jail, at times when Indians were civil Alcaldes, on complaint of witchcraft. He concluded from our note-taking that we had been sent by the President of Guatemala to spy on him, and was dead scared of being sent to prison, perhaps away at Quetzaltenango. He communicated his fears to the other soothsayers, and for a time both he and Nikol frankly ran away from us. At one time his wife reported that he was hiding in the woods, and weeping. We succeeded in winning over their wives, and then, by means of presents of very large colored pictures of saints, plentifully adorned with raised gilt, persuaded them to help us.

The first conference was held with him in the end of March, at Señor Taracena's house. He came after dark, not wishing it to be known, and for the same reason chose the house of a third person, rather than his or ours. La Farge went to the conference alone. Señor Taracena and his wife served as interpreters, but were most unsatisfactory, both from lack of knowledge of Jacalteca and from inability to grasp the purpose of the investigation.

Previous to this Señor Hernández had succeeded in obtaining a list of the twenty day names from Nikol. By this, and knowing that 7 *aH*, the Year Bearer, fell upon March 15, we had been able to correlate the ceremonial calendar with the current year. The day names were written under the codex glyphs in a copy of Morley's "Introduction to Maya Hieroglyphs." La Farge explained to Antel that he was himself a soothsayer, or learning to be one, in the United States, and had been sent here by the *Principales* of his village because it appeared that the soothsayers of Jacaltenango knew more than we did, and also because it surprised us to know that other people observed the Year Bearer. (The Indians always

expressed great surprise at our knowledge of this custom, and also at seeing the words *cargador del año* printed in our linguistic lists). He then showed his copy of Morley, explaining that the glyphs were writing of the Old People, by means of which we knew these things.

Antel was not in the least interested in the glyphs, remarking merely that a German had been through Jacaltenango a few months before, with some little pictures like that, and had tried to question him about the calendar. This was probably Dr. F. Termer. He said that the fact that we had prayed and burned candles to the Year Bearer convinced him that we were all right. La Farge then read off the day-names, and numbers, beginning with the current day, March 28, *6 ab:ak* as alleged to be known in the United States. Difficulties of pronunciation gave them a convincingly foreign sound, while remaining recognizable. The shaman was pleased, surprised and excited. He corrected pronunciations, and finally joined in, so that about five twenty-day months were counted together. After this, finding the interpreters a hindrance, he talked direct in Spanish to La Farge, as much as he could, the latter's slight knowledge of Jacalteca helping a little.

The twenty day-names, as he gave them, and the nature of the days, is as follows:

<i>h̄imoc</i> or	
<i>imoc</i>	Weavers pray for knowledge of their craft.
<i>iq</i> or <i>ik'</i>	Pray that wind and animals shall not harm the fields.
<i>watañ</i>	A Year Bearer, pray for life and health.
<i>kana'</i>	For preservation from ill-will. He has ill-will.
<i>ab:ak</i>	For anise and chile.
<i>toc</i>	Pray to <i>naq-justicia</i> against sickness.
<i>tce</i>	Pray for abundance of animals.
<i>k'anil</i>	"The very Year Bearer, the head," pray for life and health.
<i>mulu'</i>	Pray for turkeys.
<i>elak</i>	Day of <i>naq-justicia</i> .
<i>bats</i>	Do not pray, except if a child is born.
<i>eVup</i>	Is for pigs. "Has pigs."
<i>aH</i>	Present Year Bearer. Pray for grace and miracles.
<i>hic</i>	Is for money.
<i>tsikin</i>	Is for roosters and hens.
<i>tcabin</i>	Pray to be preserved from bad tongues and hearts.
<i>noh</i>	Pray for grace.
<i>tcinac</i>	Year Bearer, pray for life and health.
<i>kaq</i>	For the cornfields.
<i>ahau</i>	For cattle. A day for ceremonies.

Particularly good days are 8 *aH*, 8 *ic*, 8 *kaq*, 8 *ahau*, 8 *watañ*, 8 *tce*; 6 *ab:ak*, the day of the first conference, is negative. 8 *toc*, 8 *tce*, 8 *k'anil* are good. *kana'* and *clak* are bad. One should not pray to *kana'*, despite the fact that *hitc mame's* name is 9 *kana'* (*b:alun kana'*). His wife's name is 9 *imoc*.

The following information on the manipulation of the calendar is condensed from all the conferences, with some explanatory material from other sources. The days are the same, whatever their numbers, that is, 8 *ahau* and 3 *ahau* are still *ahau*. The cardinal numbers are used, without affixes, and not, as Brinton gives (1882, etc.), ordinal numbers, i. e., eight *ahau*, not eighth *ahau*. They do not seem to be adjectives qualifying the days, but a record of a separate cycle associated with them. It might be said that a day, 7 *aH*, is to be regarded as being 7 and being *aH*, stated for brevity as 7 *aH*. The coincidence of a good name and a good number gives a particularly good day. Of the numbers the best is eight; one, four, eight and thirteen are important. When these numbers fall on *ahau*, the Prayer Makers place candles before the church and the crosses, and burn two candles to *hitc mame*. They pray for fruits, and that the flowers may bloom. After contradicting himself several times, he finally concluded that the *cahampal* was only held on the Year Bearer, but this, on other evidence, is not the case. 8 *ahau* is particularly important. This year it marked the opening of the San Marcos saint's day festival, and a *cahampal* by the *watc winaq* and Prayer Makers, in connection with the beginning of prayer for rain.

The twenty days form a month, *cahau*, "moon," the same word used by laymen for the thirty day period. Months are counted with the ordinary numeral suffix, *-ëp*, as "*ocep cahau*," three months, except that one month is counted with *-i*, *huni cahau*. These months have no name and no apparent significance, except insofar as concerns the days, which begin again. The whole system, indeed, is concentrated on the procession of twenty days and thirteen numbers inside the year, *hab:il*. Eighteen months, 360 days, complete the year, and then there are four or five days over. Both he and others were confused on this point, depending on whether they considered the year to end with the 360th day, or with the last recurrence on the current year-bearer, on the 361st. The extra period is called *hō-p-ic*, "five women?" It was stated to be "delicate," largely because of the absence of the souls of the grown people at that time, and as the climax of the preparations for the ceremony.

The occurrence of the Year Bearer again, with the same number, 260 days later, is recognized, and various confused statements are

made as to its being a "new year." He also recognized the occurrence of the next Year Bearer beforehand, but remarked that "any day comes back with the same number in 260 days." Nikol was unwilling to count out a year beyond the 260th day at one sitting. This did not worry Antel.

The only subdivision of the year which has any name is the "feet of the year," *y-ok hab:il*. This is based on a fact which is obvious if one arranges a day-count in columns of forty, that every second time a day occurs it has a number one higher. Thus, counting by twenties, we have this year (1927), the Year Bearer, 7 *aH*, 1 *aH*, 8 *aH*, 2 *aH*, 9 *aH*, 3 *aH*, and so on until, having passed 13 and come again to one, the year ends on 3 *aH*. The recurrence of the Year Bearer with a number one higher than it bore on opening the year (in this case 8 *aH*) is "one foot of the year." The next, 9 *aH*, is two feet, and so on until we reach 2 *aH*, making 320 days and eight feet. This count is then complete, the last forty days, which bring the year to an end at 3 *aH*, not being considered as adding a foot. It could not be found out what significance this had, if any. It was stated simply as an interesting mathematical fact.

In regard to larger units of time, he remarked that every 50 years was 7 *aH* again. When corrected to 52, he thought a moment, and then agreed that this was so. The other *ahbe* had no idea of this, it seemed to be his personal discovery. It was notable that he was a thoughtful man, who had evidently analyzed the mutations of the calendar to some degree for himself, and was unusually capable of discussing its mechanical side.

Questions concerning the correlation of the *hab:il* with the solar or Gregorian year, received vague and confused answers. None of the Indians have a satisfactory idea of our calendar; an old conservative such as this was acquainted only with saint's days and festivals. Indian testimony was unanimous that the Year Bearer always came on the same day, Ladinos said that it moved, but could not tell how much. The presumption is the leap years are ignored. In 1928, the Year Bearer slipped back a day, just as we should expect.

The change of our years, with their leap years, was explained to Antel as well as possible, to which he made the remarkable answer that "some (Gregorian) years are short, and we adjust them, others are longer, and we pass over the extra days." This sounded as though some adjustment were made between the *hab:il* and Easter, but in view of our own data, and the fact that the Jacalteca dates correlate so exactly with those of other tribes, and of the past (see

below) it is almost certain that a rigid 365-year is maintained without variation.

k'anil, the Yucateco *Lamat*, is the chief of the Year Bearers, and hence more "delicate." However, no special ceremonies are made to placate him. It was to be noticed that in discussing the days, he referred to them with the prefix of male beings, *naq-*; e. g. *naq-oc mulu'*, or *naq-k'anil*. For the Year Bearers, he sometimes used the highly honorific *komam*. Similarly, Nikol's first calendar given to Señor Hernández contained several errors. We corrected these, and had Señor Hernández take the corrected count to him. He acknowledged the errors, and remarked that "these men slipped out from the rest." (*tciloꝝ sbai winaq*). More will be said of these errors later. The *watc winaq* at San Marcos, at the ceremony before the Deer Dance, prayed to "*komam k'anil*" and to "*komam wacac (8) ahau*."

All informants agreed that at the New Year one prayed to the Year Bearer for all things for the year.

Antel said that the days used to be men, who lived on the earth. They used to be rulers, and protected the village, or divided the land. At this point he could not express himself in Spanish, and the interpreting was extremely bad. They are now the guardians of the hills, and can be told because their hats are red underneath. He did not know which day was in which hill. When he prayed to the hill before making his divination, he said simply, "*kõmam hwcits*; our father the hill."

In regard to divination, he said that his detection of the *nagual* had no calendrical connection, when he is called to a patient he sees it. He said that he came to the answers to questions simply by a voice in his mind. The count of beans had nothing to do with it, that was only to keep his clients happy. At this point he may have been guarding business secrets, as there was some suspicion that we, and particularly Señor Hernández, having learned the shaman's business, might enter into competition. He said that he was not taught the calendar by anyone, but learned it in one night of prayer, from God. His power was a "charge from God," like that of the magicians previously discussed.

At the last session he counted through the whole year. Questions as to ceremonies on *ahau* days, etc., threw him off the track once or twice, but on the whole it was a good performance. When he got through he was quite pleased with himself, pointing out that he had no books or writing to help him.

In answer to a question about "the four corners," he said that they were called the *kanëp oix*, "four posts (that hold up the roof of a house)". This conforms with an old Maya belief. He said that

in the morning, on rising, one should pray to the cross on which Christ was crucified, and to the *kanēp oia*. The possible connection between the cross and the corner-posts is suggestive.

He concluded by remarking that all this was coming to an end soon. The younger Indians, who went to school, read and wrote, and spoke Spanish, did not care for these things.

His pay for the first conference was two drinks, four cigarettes, and two pesos (three cents U. S.) For the others it was similar.

The *ahbe* Nikol Palas Lamun was won over by a similar gift, and by the happy accident that (after receiving the picture of the saint) he made a divination which told him to confer with us. Before that he gave Señor Hernández the first list of day names and numbers, supposedly reciting through to the tzolkin completion at 7 *aH*. Actually, instead of 260 days he counted 165, skipping numbers at some places, days at others, to reach the desired day. This may have been deliberate, to come quickly to an end, or accidental. There were people in his house at the time, and he was nervous and confused.

Nikol is likewise an old Indian of pure type, with a strong, intolerant face, strong way of expressing himself, and considerable conceit. He was quite incapable of analyzing the calendar, as Antel had done. It will be noticed that he lists more bad days. He used to be consultant to the Prayer Makers.

The conference was held at Señor Hernández' house on April 10, 1927. At first La Farge was there with Señor Hernández, later Byers came for a short time. Nikol did not seem at all disturbed at the presence of an additional auditor. Señor Hernández was an excellent interpreter; as has been said, he was thoroughly at home in the language and with the Indians, and he understood our aims and methods.

Nikol listed the days as follows:

<i>imuc</i>	A good day, grants prayers.
<i>iq</i>	The same. When asked whether anything should be done to placate <i>k'anil</i> on <i>k'anil</i> years, he said that one "must consider <i>iq</i> ."
<i>watañ</i>	Year Bearer, is for all.
<i>kana'</i>	Bad news and calumnies.
<i>ab:a</i>	Anise and chile.
<i>toc</i>	Calumnies and intrigues. But it is a day like <i>iq</i> above.
<i>tce</i>	Bad day, for nothing.
<i>k'anil</i>	The chief Year Bearer. He is a merchant, not good for farmers. (This information was also given by a former Prayer Maker.) He is "bravo." If he wants to, he gives a good year, but if he feels cross, "that man ruins everything." Pray for everything.

<i>mulu'</i>	A bad day, for nothing.
<i>elak</i>	For <i>naq-justicia</i> , intrigues, and magic.
<i>bats</i>	A bad day, for nothing.
<i>ewup</i>	For all, particularly animals.
<i>aH</i>	Present Year Bearer. For the cornfields, etc.
<i>hic</i>	For money.
<i>tsikin</i>	A bad day, for nothing.
<i>tcap:in</i>	In charge of the <i>naq-justicia</i> .
<i>noh</i>	For the earth.
<i>tcinac</i>	Year Bearer. For the earth.
<i>kaq</i>	For cornfields.
<i>ahau</i>	For animals; 1, 8, 13, <i>ahau</i> , <i>cahampal</i> .

The other three Year Bearers, beside *k'anil*, are workers and farmers. In a previous talk with Señor Hernández, he had said something about former Year Bearers, or "days who could be Year Bearers," but were forbidden, because they were bad. He named *tcab:in*, *toc*, and *elak'*, which, at this time again, he stated to be bad. However, he now denied that any other days could be or ever had been Year Bearers. The three named, and the presumable fourth, *imuc*, do not correspond either with Year Bearers of the Old Empire or of Yucatan.

He had no name for the 260 day period completing the tzolkin of the Year Bearer, but attached some importance to it, more than Antel. He had previously said that he was unwilling to recite the year beyond that point, and now told us that at this time one should make a *cahampal* to thank the Bearer, "as one thanks one's parents after eating." No attention was paid to the occurrence of the Year Bearer and number 260 days beforehand; "any day comes three times in two years." He had no idea of the Uayeb or of the 52 year cycle.

He said that at the *cahampal* one should sacrifice a male and a female turkey.

He then made a divination as to the health of La Farge's family, and as to his safe return. He asked first if there was a cross in his house, as his divinations are made by conversing with crosses. He then began counting seeds on his black tunic, which he took off and laid on a chair before him, exactly as described for Antel. It was possible to take down part of his preliminary prayer. He crossed himself when he mentioned God.

<i>ai mam dyos,</i>	<i>ahau dyos,</i>	<i>niman tca-watc</i>	<i>a-kul</i>
Ai father God,	Lord God,	big make	thy heart
<i>wiñan</i>	<i>tcin-a-wa</i>	<i>perdon</i>	<i>kõ-mi</i> Candelaria,
towards me	thou give	pardon	our mother Candelaria,

<i>san'tus</i>	<i>apos'tulus,</i>	<i>san'tu</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>Peg'ru</i>	<i>ha</i>
holy	Apostles,	holy	Saint	Peter (Pedro.)	there is
<i>unix</i>	<i>rason</i>	<i>cQa-be-an</i>	<i>cQoq-an-be-an</i>	<i>yiñ</i>	<i>s-mi</i>
an	information	we wish to know	about	his mother	
<i>yiñ</i>	<i>s-mam</i>	<i>yiñ</i>	<i>s-famil'ia,</i>	<i>ta k'ul</i>	<i>ye'-i ta</i>
about	his father	about	his family,	if well	it is if
<i>matsět</i>	<i>i-ye'-i</i>	<i>yax-tcin-awa'.</i>	<i>niman</i>	<i>kul-al . . .</i>	
nothing	has happened	tell.	Big	heart . . .	
<i>hatic</i>	<i>cQa-be-an</i>	<i>yaxati'</i>	<i>tcaqala . . .</i>		
therefore	we wish to know	thou tell(?)	thou givest.		

"Oh our Father God, our Lord God, forgive this molestation . . . Forgive us, our Mother Candelaria, holy Apostles, holy Saint Peter . . . There is something we want to know about his mother, about his father, about his family; if it is well with them, if nothing has happened to them: tell. Forgive . . . Tell us, then, what we wish to know, give it."

His count of the days was impossible to follow; he deliberately made it difficult. As he counted them he would speak to various ones, "*ya yēl tawala? kau haktu-cin?*" "Is this true (what) thou givest? Absolutely, then?" "*mak-yiñ aya?*" "In whom is it?" He said it took him a long time to get into touch with so distant a cross. Other crosses on the way helped him. Apparently the days were a medium of communication, giving the message from the cross. At one point he stopped suddenly to ask if La Farge were thinking of someone who was dead. No reason was assigned for asking this. His final answer was very satisfactory, good health, safe return, etc., etc.

He said that, although La Farge had prayed for himself at the Year Bearer, he had not given thanks on his arrival in the village, and must burn candles in the place of the souls, in the church, before he left. He also said he should burn candles to his house-cross on returning. These might be white or black, and as many as his heart dictated, since the offering must be made with a willing heart.

Later, Señor Hernández wrote, after we had left he made a divination in which he found that, because La Farge had not burnt the candles, the *naq-justicia* had killed a member of his family! He seemed to be a ferocious-minded old man.

Since our departure from Jacaltenango, Señor Hernández finally obtained an interview with the *ahbe Maltic Tik* (Baltazar Diez). We

translate his information in full; the spelling of the day-names is according to the Spanish alphabet, save for the use of w.

<i>Imux</i>	Day of weavers and good for all.
<i>Hic</i>	Day for justice, and the wind. Protects cornfields.
<i>Watan</i>	For grace, life and health, and the cornfields.
<i>Caná</i>	The same as <i>Hic</i> , and for calumnies and intrigues.
<i>Apac</i>	For plantings (<i>siembras</i> ,) anise and chile.
<i>Tox</i>	The same as <i>Hic</i> , and for calumnies and intrigues.
<i>Che</i>	For abundance of animals.
<i>Canil</i>	Good for all, on account of being Bearer.
<i>Mulu</i>	Good for abundance of turkeys.
<i>Elac</i>	Good for dogs, justice.
<i>Batz</i>	" <i>Principal del Canil.</i> "
<i>Ebup</i>	For pigs.
<i>Há</i>	Prayer for grace and miracles.
<i>Hic</i>	For money
<i>Tziquin</i>	For poultry. A good day to ask grace.
<i>Chapin</i>	For the earth.
<i>Noh</i>	The same as <i>Chapin</i> .
<i>Chinax</i>	For the earth, day of grace and miracles.
<i>Caj</i>	For the cornfields, beans, and other plantings.
<i>Ajau</i>	For cattle.

Tox, *Elac*, and *Chapin* are "*abogados*" who protect from sicknesses when one goes to them to ask their favor. He says that 9 *Caná* is a Conqueror (*Conquistador*). The art of the *ahbe* is not taught to all, because it is a very delicate and sacred thing, according to Baltazar; only the old *ahbe* have the permission to teach, and he who learns, if this grace should be accorded him, must make a vow of chastity, renounce the carnal sin almost entirely, and solicitously serve all those who consult him and spend his time thinking about his profession without absenting himself from the house for a long space of time, better he should be there every day, so as not to miss any consultation. Baltazar says that on account of not having paid attention to these conditions, and having gone to work in his fields when he had already become an *ahbe*, he had to miss many people who sought him, and as a punishment he immediately lost his right eye, and he might well have died. This learning is not acquired for pleasure to amuse oneself, but is a serious matter which one adopts as a delicate obligation which one must fulfill well.

The statement about learning to be a soothsayer are much what one would expect. Antel's claim of divine inspiration is, of course,

absurd; still, one is glad to have a definite statement of teaching. The serious obligations which this knowledge entails are in keeping with the general "charge from God" complex. The doctors can get out of it by saying that the patient is beyond cure, or that the sickness is not his specialty, but there is no relief for the soothsayer. From other statements it appears that the soothsayer is predestined from birth.

It will be seen that the opinions as to the nature of the days, and times of ceremonies, although agreeing in the main, differ somewhat. Nikol and Antel, who are or have been consultants to the Prayer Makers, would cause distinct variations in their work. This might easily pass unnoticed, with a new set of Prayer Makers elected every year, but probably the *watc winaq* form a check. Antel, moreover, was visibly trying to minimize the *cahampal*, and tried to avoid the subject, while Nikol discussed it freely.

Since completion of this report, Señor Hernández has written me an account of an interview with the female *ahbe*, Manuela Hurtada, or *Nël Ties*. In most things her information agrees with that already given, save that she makes *toc*, *elak*, and *mulu'* good for driving off witchcraft of the *nagwal* type. She also states definitely that one must pray on the day of San Andrés, November 30, in connection with the coming of the new Year Bearer, and completion of the term of the old. This confirms Nikol's statements, that there is a recognition of the close of the Year Bearer's *tzolkin*. At that time they pray with candles for rain and felicity and the coming of the Year Bearer. She had begun her prayer for this by November 24th. The existence of a female *ahbe* emphasizes the "born shaman" character of the office, in contrast to the elective or appointive ones.

Also since the completion of this report, Termer¹³¹ has published four sets of day-names from the Chuj and Santa Eulalia, all closely allied to those given here and in Table II. He also obtained a list of month-names from Santa Eulalia.¹³² He did not, unfortunately, receive any statements concerning the use of numbers, or recognition of the Year Bearer. From what we were told, however, there can be little doubt that these exist.

The accompanying table (Table I) will show the agreements and disagreements of our various informants.

¹³¹ Termer: 1930, pp. 385-386.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 391.

TABLE I. COMPARISON OF STATEMENTS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF DAYS—JACALTENANGO

Day Name	Andrés	Nikol	Maitie	Nel Tien	Chuj	Quiché ¹ (Sapper, 1925)	Day Name
<i>imac</i> <i>imux</i> <i>hmac</i>	Weavers pray for knowledge of their craft.	A good day, grants prayers.	Days of weavers, and grants prayers of all.	Weaving.	Bad.	Bad.	<i>imac</i>
<i>iq</i> <i>ik'</i> <i>hiq</i>	Pray that wind and animals shall not harm the cornfields.	Same as <i>imac</i> . It is a protector.	Justice and wind, defends cornfields.	Same as <i>imac</i> .	Bad, for wind.	Bad.	<i>iq</i>
<i>swatan</i> Year Bearer	Life and health.	Is for all.	For grace, life and health, for rains.	For all.	Good.	Bad.	<i>swatan</i>
<i>kana'</i>	Pray for preservation from ill will. It has ill will. <i>kana'</i> is <i>hic mame</i> .	Bad news, calumnies.	Same as <i>iq</i> , and for ill will. <i>kana'</i> is "conquistador."	Ill will and calumny.	Bad.	Bad.	<i>kana'</i>
<i>ab:ak</i> <i>ap:a</i>	Anise and chile.	Anise and chile.	For plantings (<i>siembras</i>), anise and chile.	Anise and chile.	Good.	Bad.	<i>ab:ak</i>
<i>loc</i>	Pray to <i>naq-justicia</i> against sickness.	Calumnies and intrigue, but it is like <i>iq</i> .	Calumny and intrigue. Same as <i>iq</i> and see <i>elak</i> .	Against sorcerers.	Good.	Bad.	<i>loc</i>
<i>ice</i>	For abundance of animals	Bad day, nothing.	Abundance of animals.	For animals.	Bad.	Good.	<i>ice</i>
<i>k'anil</i> Year Bearer	" <i>el mero</i> iquum haabil, <i>la cabela</i> ." Life and health.	Is for all. "Sometimes he is ugly, then he ruins everything." A merchant, not a farmer.	Good for all, on account of being <i>Cargador</i> .	Chief of the Year Bearers.	Good.	Good.	<i>k'anil</i>
<i>mulu'</i>	Pray for turkeys.	Bad day, nothing.	Abundance of turkeys.	Against sorcerers, and for pigs.	Good.	Bad.	<i>mulu'</i>
<i>elak</i>	<i>naq-justicia</i>	<i>naq-justicia</i> , intrigues, good for <i>brujeria</i> .	Dogs, justice. An "abogado", prevents sickness.	Same as <i>mulu'</i> and for <i>naq-justicia</i> .	Bad.	Bad.	<i>elak</i>
<i>bats</i>	Pray for nothing, unless a child is born. "Has nothing."	Bad day, nothing.	" <i>Principal del k'anil</i> ".	Life and health.	Bad, howler monkey	Bad.	<i>bats</i>
<i>e'vup</i>	For pigs. "Has pigs."	For all, especially animals	For pigs.	For pigs.	Bad.	Good.	<i>e'vup</i>
<i>aH</i> <i>ha'</i> Year Bearer	Grace and miracles.	For cornfields, etc.	A farmer, for cornfields and miracles.	Farmer, is for all.	Good.	Good.	<i>aH</i>
<i>hic</i>	Money.	Money.	Money.	Money.	Bad, a woman.	Good.	<i>hic</i>
<i>tsikin</i>	Roosters and hens.	A bad day, do not pray.	For chickens, good day to ask grace.	Poultry.	Good.	Good.	<i>tsikin</i>
<i>icabin</i> <i>icap:in</i>	Against bad tongues and hearts.	Is in charge of <i>naq-justicia</i>	For the earth. See <i>elak</i> .	Evil tongues.	Bad, spider monkey.	Bad.	<i>icabin</i>
<i>noh</i>	Grace.	The earth.	Same as <i>icabin</i> .	Earth, good for all.	Bad, earth-quake.	Bad.	<i>noh</i>
<i>icnac</i> Year Bearer	Life and health.	The earth.	The earth. Day of grace and miracles.	Same as <i>noh</i> .	Good.	Bad.	<i>icnac</i>
<i>kaq</i> <i>kax</i>	Grace for the cornfields.	Cornfields.	Cornfields, beans, and other plantings.	Cornfields and clearings.	Good. Is used as a name	Indifferent.	<i>kaq</i>
<i>ahau</i>	Cattle. Day for ceremonies, 1, 4, 8, 13.	Same as Andrés.	For cattle.	Domestic animals, protection against savage animals, for making <i>cahampal</i> .	Very good, for planting or praying.	Indifferent.	<i>ahau</i>

CHAPTER XVIII

CONTINUING ESOTERIC RELIGION:
DISCUSSION OF CALENDAR

The knowledge of the calendar found at Jacaltenango seems to be a really remarkable survival of the old ceremonial, both in itself and in the organization which serves it. Certain factors, it must be admitted, are entirely lacking, the months (which Termer found at Santa Eulalia), any count of years, writing, and to a great degree the tzolkin or 260-day ceremonial period. Of these, the year count might well be lost with the loss of writing, and the reduction of the Indians to becoming a people who had but little to record. The month names, with their significances, have always varied from group to group even within the Maya area; the Yucatán, Tzeltal, and Quiché lists have little in common. Their loss does not seem to take anything fundamental from the functioning of the calendar. The case of the tzolkin is different. In regard to it, it may be said that the most striking statements that we have as to its use are concerned with the people of Mexico proper, and have been applied somewhat by inference to the Maya. This period is recorded many times in the three Mayan codices, but it is just possible that that may be merely because, if one desires to make a table for calculating the mutations of a given set of day-names and numbers, it is unnecessary to list a longer series, as at the end of that space the cycle duplicates itself.

In any case, we have here the calendar controlling the whole life of the people in two ways. First, indirectly, through the religious organization, as only the *ahbe* can name the time when a ceremony should begin, the nature of it, and when it is over; only he, by a divination which necessitates at least the mechanical ability to recite the days, can say whether it has been successful or not. Secondly, directly, by the same divination he controls almost every action of the common people, advising them whether they should marry, if the site for a new house is well-chosen, what kind of a year they are going to have, what kind of a sickness they are suffering, where a lost turkey is, whether a distant relative is well, whether their prayers have been properly made, and so on *ad infinitum*.

Sapper (1925) and Hernández Spina (MS.) have recorded lists of Quiché day-names with elaborate statements as to their values, comparable to those we received here. While the two Quiché lists agree pretty well with each other, they show nothing in common with ours, neither in the selection of good and bad days, nor in their specific uses. Similarly, analyses of the day-names and glyphs have lead to conclusions differing entirely from what was found here—for instance, Brinton¹³³ makes *kan*, Jacalteca *kana'*, a symbol of plenty, riches and fertility, while both the Quiché and Jacalteca make it a bad day. In this matter, comparisons merely show diversity. In the same way, the Jacalteca differs entirely from the Chuj of San Mateo, and that of El Quetzal differs from both again!¹³⁴

There is a marked difference in the general tone of the Jacalteca and Quiché lists. The latter contain twelve evil days, and only six definitely good, the former names ten very good days and only three or possibly four bad ones. Moreover, the Quiché lists seem to be for the magician alone, their uses being chiefly for performing different kinds of magic, with only the six good days serving the ordinary uses of life. The Jacalteca list, even as given by the pessimistic Nikol, is concerned with all the daily needs of the people, as one would expect from a calendar which controlled their lives. Magic is mentioned only in connection with *elak*. Roughly speaking, the one is a magical, the other a religious instrument.

Only *iq*, with its winds, and *ahau* as a day for ceremonies show any connection with the supposed older significances of the days.

The names in themselves, as might be expected from the geographical position of the Jacalteca, are chiefly of the Tzeltal type with some important variations towards Quiché and Yucatán.

imuc or *imoc* is closest to Tzeltal Imox (*imoc*) (Yucatán, Imix; Quiché-Cakchiquel Omox or Imox).

iq or *ik'*, in the former variant, is perhaps closest to Tzeltal "Igh." (Yucatán Ik, Quiché-Cakchiquel Ik).

watañ resembles only the Tzeltal Votan, a resemblance which supports Brinton's derivation from Tzeltal "uotan." (1893, p. 24). (Yucatán Akbal, Quiché-Cakchiquel Agbal).

kana' is nearer Yucatán Kan or Kanan than Tzeltal Ghanaan. (Quiché-Cakchiquel Kat).

ab:ak or *ab:a* or *ab:ac* resembles Tzeltal Abagh. (Yucatán Chicchan, Quiché-Cakchiquel Kan). In regard to Brinton's sugges-

133 Brinton: 1895, p. 111; 1893, p. 24.

134 Termer: 1930, p. 386.

tion that this day is connected with a snake (1893, p. 25) compare Jacalteca *lab:ah*, "a snake."

toc is identical with Tzeltal Tox (*toc*). (Yucatán Cimi, Quiché-Cakchiquel Camey).

tce is closest to Quiché-Cakchiquel Queh, the latter means deer, as did *tce* formerly. (Yucatán Manik; Tzeltal Moxic).

k'anil resembles the Quiché-Cakchiquel Canel (*kanel*), said by Brinton to be the Guardian of the Sown Seed, the day in general being connected with good crops. Here again, the Jacalteca reverse the case, making him the one Year Bearer who is not good for crops, and generally a difficult customer. *k'anel* is one of Sapper's good days.

mulu' is closest to the Yucatán Muluc.

elak is very like the Tzeltal Elab. Brinton (1893, p. 28) shows that if Elab can be connected with elec (*elek*), the name will fit into the general meaning of that day. Perhaps the Jacalteca form provides the missing link. In the Chuj and Santa Eulalia forms, however, it is uniformly *elab*.

bats is found both among the Tzeltal and Quiché.

eVup or *ewup* is closest to Tzeltal Euop.

aH, which the Jacalteca say means "reed," is similar to the Quiché Ah, also a "reed."

hic or *ic* is Tzeltal Hix (*hic*) or Yucateca Ix (*ic*). In Jacalteca *ic* means woman.

tsikin is the same as both Tzeltal and Quiché Tziquin. In Jacalteca it means a bird.

tcabin or *tcap:in* is close to Tzeltal Chabin or identical with it. According to the Chuj it means "spider monkey," as against *baats* (*bats* above), "howler monkey."

noh is the Quiché form.

tcinac is the same as the Tzeltal Chinax (*tcinac*), the day name and hero mentioned by Nuñez de la Vega.

kaq, which means red, is fairly similar to Yucatán Cauac, Tzeltal Cahogh, and Quiché Caok, but cannot be definitely assigned to one of the groups.

ahau is the Yucatán Ahau, and like it means chief.

The Jacalteca names, such few of them as have any meaning at present, tend to support the conclusions as to the fundamental mean-



FIG. 41—Prayer-Makers in front of the church at the beginning of the Year-Bearer ceremonial, Jacaltenango.

ings of the days reached by Brinton (1893), with the exception of *ic*, the generic term for women, and *noh*, for animals; both these words are nouns and also affixes of gender. In the latter case, the statements of Nel Ties that it is "for the earth" supports Brinton. It is interesting that the five variations toward the Quiché should include two Year Bearers, *aH* and *k'anil* "the old man himself," chief of the Year Bearers. They are not Year Bearers in the Quiché-Cakchiquel system. *ahau*, which is the Yucatán form, may be explained by the existence of the word *ahau*, with its original meaning of Chief or Lord, now-a-days "*patrón*," "*jefe*," or "*dueño*," in Jacalteca. The Tzeltal Aghual is simply a poor attempt at writing the word as it occurs in that language, which would be spelt in our alphabet *aHwal*, and has the same meaning.¹³⁵ Two prayers and various statements noted down in 1925 at the Finca Encanto¹³⁶ give slight evidence that the name *ahau* was known to the Tzeltal in earlier times, as also the *ycal ahau* recorded by Nuñez de la Vega, page 10. It is within the range of possibility that when their calendar was written down, the informant, coming to that day, said, perhaps as an explanation, "The Chief," in modern Tzeltal, instead of giving the archaic name.

The Jacalteca day-name *kaq* is obviously from the same source as the cognate Cauac, Cahogh, and Caok, names of the same day in the other systems. The Quiché-Cakchiquel means, directly, "down-pour."¹³⁷ This derives from a widespread Mayan root, occurring variously as *kahok*, *tcawuk* (the Tzeltal given by Brinton as *chauc*),¹³⁸ *tsok*, and so on, with a meaning of heavy rain or thunder shower, or thunder. The Chuj, *tcawōk*, (or *tcawuk* according to Termer), while meaningless in that dialect, is almost identical with the Tzeltal word above. In Maya of Yucatán we find the word *tcak*, meaning red, and intimately connected with rain and rain ceremonial, although the day-name has lost its meaning. In the form *tcaak* this word is given specifically for rain.¹³⁹ The Jacalteca form, *kaq*, means red in that dialect. (Rain is *ñap*, and lightning, *k'u*). The *kaok* or *tcawuk* root seems to have been lost from ordinary speech. Termer gives *kak'* and *k'ak* for this day in Santa Eulalia and El Quetzal respectively, and points out that the two words mean fire. He also shows (pp. 387-388) that in several languages "fiery water" (*fewiges wasser*) and similar compounds of the local word for fire, replace this root in terms for storm.

Knowing that there has gone on in the Mayan languages an irregular shift between initial *k*, *tc*, and *ts*, and that in modern times,

135 Blom and La Farge: 1927, p. 503.

136 Ibid: pp. 373, 374, et passim.

137 Spinden: 1924, p. 128; Beuchat: 1913, p. 90.

138 Brinton: 1893, p. 33.

139 Tozzer: 1922, vocabulary.

and probably in ancient times as well, day-names lost their meaning and then received new ones by folk-etymology, it seems to the writer that we have here a fine example of such a process on a large scale. We have here three roots, which we may call *KAOK*, thunder-storm, *K'AK*, fire, and *TCAK*, red (we cannot, at this time, form an opinion as to which form, the *tc* or the *k*, is the original). In the course of time one or another of these became confused, with the development of the sound-shift, so that in one place a thunder-storm became a fire-storm, in another the day-name was assimilated to the word fire, and at Jacaltenango it was identified with red. In Yucatán the day-name was preserved in its distinctive form, but in common speech the roots *KAOK* and *TCAK* were confounded, and to them was added as a third homophone, *TCA*, to pray, which we see preserved as separate in Jacalteca.

This identification, on the part of the Mayas, of the three roots as being one, would undoubtedly have an effect on their association of the things for which the words stand—rain, red, and prayer—causing, or at least, furthering, the association of the rain-god Chacs, the color red, and the Chac priests of Yucatán.

The four Year Bearers, *watañ*, *k'anil*, *aH*, and *tcinac*, correspond to the Tzeltal Votan, Lambat, Been and Chinax, the latter of whom the Tzeltal regarded as a mighty warrior.¹⁴⁰ At Santa Eulalia, *tcinac* was linked with *ahau* as a day for ceremonies.

In trying to analyze or compare these words, one is enormously handicapped by the way in which the older lists were recorded, with an insufficient alphabet which for instance consistently ignored or exaggerated the very important glottal stop, ' , and usually managed to maul the consonantal *w*. These lists are usually accepted at their face value, and more recent records add to the confusion by sticking to the conventional Spanish spelling. It is no easy task, we ourselves found, to be sure of getting the pronunciation of these words correctly, even with willing informants correcting our errors, and the problem was not simplified by the individual variation.

There is also a bare possibility, suggested by the occurrence of Quiché *kan* one day after the similar names in the other systems, that some of the days may have slipped a peg, although Brinton (1893) and others in analyzing the names seem to have been able successfully to ignore this.

The Jacalteca days begin at sunset, as was probably the case with the old Maya.¹⁴¹ There was a great deal of confusion between

¹⁴⁰ Nuñez de la Vega: 1702, p. 10.

¹⁴¹ Spinden: 1924, p. 125.

Ladino and Indian statements as to the exact date of the Year Bearer, and as to the length of time elapsing between two events, etc. The Ladinos warned us of this, in a general way, saying that the Indians counted by nights, and that their ideas of time were very confused. The former statement is partly correct, the latter is not. Some of the confusion arose from having the day begin at sunset. Indians all agreed, for instance, that March 16 was *7 aH*, while the Ladinos insisted that the Year Bearer day was March 15, and on that day the ceremonies began. On that day, too, the Indians told us most perplexingly that the Year Bearer was coming in. Comparison with other similar occasions made it clear that we had a simple case of counting in elapsed time, just as in olden days. For us, it is correct to speak of March 15 as being *7 aH*, that was his day, during that time he took charge, just as on March 16 *8 ic* was in charge of the day, but for the Indians, while the facts were the same, this way of speaking would be incorrect, as the *name* could not be applied until, at sunset, the *day* had been completed.

When speaking of these day-names, I have called them "he" instead of "it," and referred to them as being "in charge" of a day, or in the case of the Year Bearer, "coming into office." This is in strict accordance with local usage, and also is done to emphasize the fact that strictly speaking these names are not the names of days, but of "men" who control days. *tsaik* refers to the period of twenty-four hours, and, although the calendar is called *pisom tsaik*, "seater (?) of days," i. e., "that which sets them in order," the word does not imply the names. These twenty men have charge of their respective days, the informants spoke of "his day," and on those days also fall one of the thirteen numbers, which are impersonal, although the ones previously noted, one, four, eight, and thirteen have a certain virtue. From the coincidence of the names and the number the day-names as such are formed. The numbers are absolute, being used in this connection alone without any affixes, and are not, as Brinton gave them, ordinals or adjectives applied to the days. It would be, perhaps, correct to speak of the names as day-gods or lords.

It is hard to say just how much these individuals are prayed to directly. Certainly the Year Bearers are. At San Marcos, the *watc winaq* many times addressed "*kõmam k'anil, kõmam wacac k'anil, kõmam ahau, kõmam wacac ahau.*" The ordinary Indian who prays on an *ic* day for money, or on the Year Bearer day, for that matter, does not know anything about the day-names. He addresses himself to God, *hitc mame*, his favorite saint, etc. Presumably, then, the day-lords exert an influence that helps the prayers, or else

simply take over the prayers that are not addressed to them. The soothsayers stated definitely that "these men" granted the prayers, and would say of a given day-god, "he does so-and-so." The inference is that the layman is supposed to be praying to the day without knowing it.

This praying to an individual minor diety, whether a day or a hill or spring, is not, strictly speaking worship; it is an exchange of prayer and simple offerings for a desired favor. Worship, probably, is accorded only to the major Christian dieties, *hitc mame*, the Year Bearers, and possibly *ahau*.

It is to be noticed that the calendar control comes in most strongly on the ceremonies that seem to be purely native, which are the ones that involve the *cahampal* rite, to be described in the next chapter. Absolutely calendrical are the Year Bearer, 8 *ahau*, and close of the tzolkin ceremonies. It appears that the ceremony for rain selects an auspicious day, and the same is true of the *cahampal* of a bull in honor of the boundaries. At the beginning of the European year, when they come into office, the Prayer Makers hold a *cahampal* called *iQbal hab:il*, "to carry the year."

The following summary of the Jacalteca ceremonial year, compiled from the information gathered by us, and material sent us during the remainder of the year by Señor Hernández, will give a good idea of the calendrical control of native ceremonies. It brings out strongly the importance of *ahau*. This summary was originally presented at the Twenty-third Congress of Americanists; it will be found with a detailed discussion of the factors governing the days selected, in the Proceedings.¹⁴²

THE CEREMONIAL YEAR AT JACALTENANGO

MARCH 15, 1927—MARCH 17, 1928

6 *eVup* year 6 *k'anil*—10 *ahau* year 8 *tcinac*

March 15—6 *eVup*

Preparations were completed for the Year Bearer Ceremony. Laymen and Prayer Makers were praying in front of the church and at the crosses all day.

¹⁴² La Farge: 1930.

- March 16—7 *aH* Year Bearer entered, beginning year 7 *aH*. The whole village prayed at the church between dusk and midnight. At midnight the Prayer Makers and private families held *cahampal*. Prayer Makers began a period of twenty days "follow up" prayer.
- April 12—8 *ahau* A very good day. Prayer Makers held *cahampal* for the animals of the village. At the neighbouring village of San Marcos the Deer Dance (*kañal tce*) began in anticipation of the fiesta of San Marcos on April 25th.
- April 15-16-17—
12 *mulu'*-13 *elak-*
1 *bats* Good Friday, Saturday of Glory, Easter Sunday. Christian ceremonial at a height.
- April 25—8 *aH* Prayer Makers begin twenty days prayer preceding rain ceremony. Fiesta of San Marcos.
- May 3—3 *imuc* Day of the Cross. Christian ceremonial by *cofradías*.
- May 15—2 *aH* Fourth recurrence of Year Bearer. Climax of prayer for rain by Prayer Makers and *watc winaq*, *kañ-bal ñap*. Followed by another twenty days prayer.
- June 3—9 *aH* End of twenty days prayer following *kañ-bal ñap*.
- July 30—4 *ahau* A very good day, *cahampal* in celebration of first fruits of green corn was probably held this day.
- August 3—4 *aH* Began thirteen days prayer by Prayer Makers against a plague of locusts.
- August 16—4 *toc* End of prayer against locusts.
- August 23—11 *aH* Began thirty days prayer in advance of the *cahampal* of the boundaries.
- September 19—12 *ahau* The feast of the new beans or "flute tamales," *pitc cuheVu*, was probably held on this day. Everybody made and exchanged tamales of beans. A clay flute was played while they were cooking and then broken into the pot.
- Sept. 22—2 *watañ* *Cahampal* of the boundaries, in which a bull is sacrificed. All ceremonial officials, past and present, take part. Owing to its expense, this ceremony had been omitted for several years. The plague of locusts was laid to this.
- Oct. 31- Nov. 1—
2 *ik'* and 3 *watañ* Hallow E'en and All Souls' Day.
- November 4—4 *kana'* Eighty days before New Year's day. Although a bad day, a grand procession was held followed by election of ceremonial officials for the next year.
- November 30—7 *aH* Close of the Year Bearer's *tzolkin*. Prayer Makers held a *cahampal* of thanks, *kañ-bal gracia*, "to ask grace." Substitutes were chosen for those who could not accept elected offices.
- December 11—4 *watañ* Newly elected and retiring Prayer Makers began twenty days prayer anticipatory of taking office.
- December 25—5 *noh* Christmas Day.
- January 1, 1928—
12 *kana'* New Prayer Makers took office with attendant celebrations. Both sets of Prayer Makers begin twenty days prayer following ceremony.

January 6—4 <i>mulu'</i>	As the new religious administration was still incomplete, another election was held.
January 17—2 <i>ahau</i>	The new Prayer Makers should have held the <i>cahampal</i> "to carry the year," <i>iqbal habil</i> , insuring a successful term of office, but did not as their number was incomplete.
January 20—5 <i>watañ</i>	Ended twenty days prayer.
January 31—3 <i>hic</i>	Began fiesta of Candelaria, patron of Jacaltenango. Cortés Dance.
February 2—5 <i>tcabin</i>	Fiesta of Candelaria. The drum <i>s-tcam koñop</i> was brought out.
February 5—9 <i>ahau</i>	Retiring Prayer Makers terminated their office with the <i>cahampal</i> of <i>y-ělpal koñop</i> , "farewell to the village."
February 9—12 <i>watañ</i>	Ended fiesta of Candelaria.
February 19—9 <i>aH</i>	Beginning of last month of year 7 <i>aH</i> . The souls of all little children depart to visit the Year Bearer.
February 21-22— 11 <i>tcabin</i> , 12 <i>noh</i>	Carnival. Christian and secular festival. Parodies of the serious dances were performed.
February 24—1 <i>tcinac</i>	Began twenty days prayer in anticipation of the Year Bearer. The village was in great danger, as there were still several Prayer Makers lacking. After a hasty conference, the number was completed.
February 26—3 <i>ahau</i>	Retiring Prayer Makers at San Marcos held their <i>y-ělpal koñop cahampal</i> , as it was not possible for them all to be present on the <i>ahau</i> preceding.
March 10—3 <i>aH</i>	End of the year. Souls of little children returned. House altars are decorated, the children are feasted and brought to pray at the church. Souls of grown people departed to visit the Year Bearer, requiring only five days to make the trip.
March 15—8 <i>tcinac</i>	Entry of Year Bearer, begins year 8 <i>tcinac</i> . Ceremonies as before.
March 17—10 <i>ahau</i>	The delayed <i>cahampal</i> of <i>iq-bal habil</i> was performed.

The Christian festivals, Easter, Corpus Christi, All Saints' local Saint's Day, etc., are independent of the native calendar. As was seen in the case of the San Marcos Dance, the occurrence of an auspicious day shortly before hand is taken advantage of to begin the celebration. Probably if left entirely to themselves, the shamans would in time adapt these rites to their calendars.

Dr. Lothrop discovered at Momostenango in 1928 a tzolkin-calendar with day-names and numbers in use both as an ordinary means of counting times and as the indicator of a recurrent festival of 8 Vats, the same which was reported by H. Spina in 1871.¹⁴³ In the same year, Mr. Frans Blom, on the Fourth Tulane-John Geddings Gray Memorial Expedition, found a group of Indians from Santa Eulalia living at Zapotal, Chiapas. The Chief Prayer Maker

¹⁴³ Lothrop: 1930; H. Spina, quoted in Brinton: 1893, p. 21.

of this settlement gave him a list of day-names with numbers, and told him that they held the Year Bearer ceremony.

Correlation of these various calendars with Gregorian dates shows that they are all in exact agreement in regard to both days and numbers. They also agree with the days (without numbers) of the Hernández Spina manuscript at Pennsylvania University, which records the haab of 1854, and with the days and numbers of the Cholbal K'ih,¹⁴⁴ for the year 1722. All of these, in turn, fit in without loss of a single day, to the tzolkins of the Oxkutzkab correlation of the old Mayan long count.¹⁴⁵

From this it appears that these shamans, many of them for generations having had no writing, have maintained their count of days unbroken and without error since the time of the conquest.

TABLE II

COMPARATIVE DAY NAMES

Year Bearers are given in capitals. The Tzeltal Year Bearers correspond to those of the Dresden. With the exception of the classic Yucatan names, all have been reduced as nearly as possible to the alphabet of this report.

YUCATAN	TZELTAL	CHUJ	JACALTECA	OLD QUICHÉ	MODERN QUICHÉ (Sapper:1925)
Imix	imoc	imoc	imoc	omoc	imoc
Ik	ix	iq	ik'	IK'	ik'
Akbal	VOTAN	WOTON	WATAÑ	agbal	ak'bal
KAN	xanan	k'ana	kana'	k'at	kat
Chicchan	abax	ab:aq	ab:ak	kan	kan
Cimi	toc	toc	toc	kame	kame
Manik	moxic	tce	tce	KEH	kik'
Lamat	LAMBAT	LAMBAT	K'ANIL	kanel	k'anel
MULUC	mulo,molo	mulu	mulu'	toh	toH
Oc	elab	elap	elak	tzi	tis
Chuen	bats	baats	bats	bats	bats
Eb	ewop	aiyup	eVup	EE	balan
Ben	BEEN	BEEN	AH	ah	aH
IX	hic	ic	ic	balam	its
Men	tsikin	tsikin	tsikin	tsikin	tsigin
Cib	tcabin	teab:in	tcabin	ahmak	ahmak
Caban	tcik	kick'ap	noh	NOH	noh
Eznab	TCINAC	TCINAC	TCINAC	tihac	tiHac
CAUAC	kahox	teawōk	kaq	kook, kaok	kanyok
Ahau	axwal	ahau	ahau	hunahpu	hunapuk

144 Cholbal K'ih: MS.

145 Martínez Hernández: 1928; Thompson: 1927.

CHAPTER XIX

THE *CAHAMPAL* RITE AND THE YEAR
BEARER CEREMONY

As far as the practices involved in them are concerned, many of the ceremonies to be described in this and the following chapter are exoteric in that the ordinary layman may know pretty much everything that goes on, but dependent as they often are on Calendrical knowledge, their motivation is esoteric. Other ceremonies have been included here for the convenience of grouping everything non-Christian together.

Many references have been made to the rite known as *cahampal*, which is the central act of any important non-Christian ceremony. The name is said to be derived from *cahan*, "sin," and the rite to be fundamentally an atonement. The derivation may be correct, but it is doubtful if there is such an idea back of the act at present. It is rather an offering. The general expression for making a sacrifice is *caa matanox*, "to make a gift or offering."¹⁴⁶ This phrase is seldom heard in connection with the *cahampal*, it being more common to name the rite specifically, usually saying "to eat *cahampal*," *wa' ox cahampal*.

A chicken or turkey, according to the means of the family sacrificing, or, in the case of the Prayer Makers a male and a female turkey, are tied to the leg of the table altar a few days beforehand. Beginning three days before the rite, continence must be observed by all concerned, which in the case of a private sacrifice would include the immediate family, perhaps as far as first cousins on the father's side, and the officiating *watc winaq*. There must be no quarreling, anger, uproar or drunkenness, or else the ceremony will be null and void. This prohibition of drunkenness is most unusual, particularly in regard to so purely native a rite, when we consider the almost notorious insistence on ceremonial drunkenness throughout the Maya Area, recorded by many writers since earliest times. In this section, drunkenness may be said to be confined to feasts of Christian origin, during which it is not necessary to cultivate the

¹⁴⁶ Cf. *motan* in Yocótan, (Blom and La Farge: 1927, p. 500); Yucatecan *matan*, (Tozzer: 1907, *passim*).

same happy and devout frame of mind, and which will not be invalidated by a drunken brawl. The introduction of distilled liquor has rendered impossible the kind of orderly and devout intoxication observed among the Lacandones¹⁴⁷ who also insist upon the good frame of mind.

On the night of the sacrifice, the bird is hung upside down and spread-eagled. The *watc winaq* who is present then cuts off its head, and the blood is caught in a bowl. They pray to the body, and then boil it with corn and *pinole*, after which it is eaten by the family and a few invited friends. The blood is burnt at the altar as an offering. This ceremony is supposed to have been established by *hitc mame*, (see Chapter XIII, "Genesis").

The *cahampal* performed by the Prayer Makers is similar to this. On very serious occasions, all the *watc winaq* will be present. In these ceremonies, the blood is caught in pieces of the inner husk of corn, carefully selected, to be burned at the big cross, the cross of Las Cruces, the boundaries, and the home of *hitc mame*. From the various and slightly conflicting statements received, we gathered that the offering to the boundaries was only required on the occasion of the October sacrifice of a bull. Indeed, the number of the old boundary-crosses is too great for the blood of two turkeys to suffice, and the distance of some of them precludes their receiving the offering even on their special ceremony. In that case the official will entrust the blood to a wayside cross on the way to the boundary marker, who forwards it for him. It appears that the offerings must be finished before dawn. For this one ceremony, owing to the many places to which the blood must be taken, former Prayer Makers and possibly Dance Captains are pressed into service, all of whom partake of the sacrificial beef.

Three days before making any sacrifice of importance, which naturally chiefly refers to the *cahampal*, the people announce to the saint or deity to whom it is to be made that they are going to do it, usually in the church. This is called "announcing the candle," *squmal ha'bal*. *ha'bal* really means "flower," and is curiously close to *a'balil*, "night."

Similarly, at the end of the period of continence and care, three days after the ceremony, they go again to announce that everything has been completed. This was called in Spanish "taking up the three days." The native phrase is *tca' ocēp tsaiik no-ha'bal*, "prayer (of the) three days (after the) offering." It is at this time that the people go to ask the soothsayer whether the rite has been successfully performed.

¹⁴⁷ Tozzer: 1907, p. 136.

Some informants said that all the body of Prayer Makers and *watc winaq*, and even their families, ate the sacrificial turkey, but the more reliable statement was that only the officiating *watc winaq*, the Alcalde and Regidor Prayer Makers, and the Mayordomos who provided the birds had a share in them. The Mayores attended to the cooking.

An attempt was made to visit the *cahampal* of the family of a servant of Señor Hernández on the Year Bearer, but permission was refused, on the basis that, being unknown, the writer's presence would worry the participants, and prevent their concentrating their thoughts on sacred matters. They were willing to have Señor Hernández attend, but he was unable to do so at that time.

The private families who perform this rite are those who have, or whose forebears have, initiated the custom as a votive offering in thanks for recovery from some disease such as small-pox, or for some other mercy. The obligation descends in the male line, apparently by primogeniture, and may not be avoided. To omit to fulfill this obligation might cause death or very serious illness. From what we could learn, the offering would have been originally made at the time of the deliverance from whatever evil caused the vow, but in time would become transferred to the Year Bearer.

A close parallel to this custom existed among the early Lacandones (Tozzer, 1913, pp. 504-505). The turkeys were killed, apparently, by private individuals, and there is much insistence on the burning of the blood over fires of *ocote* and *copal*, just such fires as are used in the district under consideration for all prayers involving the burning of something. As pointed out by Dr. Tozzer, this rite is probably shown in the Dresden Codex, pp. 25-28, in the bottom pictures. It is here definitely in association with the Year Bearer ceremony, and accompanied by the Year Bearer signs Ben Eznab, Akbal, and Lamat respectively, corresponding to the Jacalteca *aH*, *tcinac*, *watañ*, and *k'anil*.¹⁴⁸ According to Landa (1881), p. 88), the Yucatecans beheaded or cut the throat of ("*degollavan*") a turkey in the course of the Year Bearer ceremony. The Spanish account of the Lacandon ceremony states that it occurred in connection with lightning worship, but as it also seems to have entailed new fire, it is possible that it was really connected with the new year. At any rate, it may be seen that the Jacaltecas have preserved in considerable detail at least part of an extremely ancient ceremony.

The description of the calendar and of the *cahampal* clears the way for the most important ceremony of the year, that of the Year

¹⁴⁸ Förstemann: 1906, p. 121 et seq.

Bearer, to which we have already referred so often. The name is literally "Year Bearer"—*iqum hab:il*, "bearer (of the) year"; the first word is derived from the root *iq*, to carry a burden, and is found in phrases such as "*no'-burro y-iqum-al-naq*, the burro his carrier the man," i. e., his saddle-burro, the burro that carried him. *-um* is the suffix of the *nomen actoris*. *hab:il* is from a root, *hab* or *haab*, found in almost all Mayan languages with the meaning of year. The Chuj name for the Year Bearer, which had the same meaning, is *kutc-lum haabil*, almost identical with the Yucatecan *kutc haab*, save for the addition of the suffix of the *nomen actoris*, *-lum*, and the suffix *-il*.

The Year Bearer of the year 1927-1928 entered on the 15th of March, his name, γaH , being applied to the following day. The ceremonial period, in its widest sense, began on $8 k'anil$, the first day of the last full month of the old year, on February 19-20th. The Prayer Makers now began their prayer in connection with this ceremony, at first several times a day, in a body, at the big cross, the cross of Las Cruces, and the church-door. Their rate of praying steadily increased, the full schedule at the big cross and church-door appearing to be before dawn, in the middle of the morning, in the middle of the afternoon, just after sunset, about ten or eleven o'clock at night, and at its height, about 1:00 or 2:00 A. M. They made little fires of *ocote* in the fireplaces and on them kept the incense burning, as well as in the censers. They made offerings from time to time of red flowers and evergreen tips, and occasionally burned black candles and fine slivers of highly resinous *ocote*.

At this time the souls of the small children were said to leave their bodies and go to visit the incoming Year Bearer. This belief implies no knowledge of where the Year Bearer may be in space, in fact the general idea of him is far removed from anything so specific. The children are not expected to have any memory of their visit, or idea of it while it is going on. The absence of their souls begins the ceremonially "delicate" time.

The children returned on the night of March 10-11, $2 k'anil$, which was the last (361st) day of the year or first day of the extra five. Indians, chiefly women, began praying at the door of the church before dusk. By about 7:00, when it was nearly dark, they were coming down in large numbers, both men and women, but chiefly groups of father and mother and children under ten years old. The parents would pray for a few minutes while the children sat happily beside them. A few had incense braziers or black wax candles. The scene was very pretty. The coming and going kept up till about 9:00 P. M. One case of flagellation was noticed.

There was a little prayer going on also at the cross of Las Cruces. At this time the Prayer Makers were praying in small groups at frequent intervals.

Altars in the houses were decorated with colored paper and flowers, and had candles burning before them; at this time in most houses where there were children a little celebration was made for them, with some small gifts or at least some special food, to welcome them back from their journey. In one house we heard a long Spanish-Indian chant being sung, which was sung the next day again in the church before the image of Christ carrying the cross.

Now the souls of the older people went to visit the Year Bearer. As they are bigger, it takes them only five days to make the trip. Kash Pelip said that it took six, and that they did not return till the day after the Year Bearer, but this seems very unlikely. They, like the children, have no consciousness of what their souls may see or do.

The next few days, 3 *mulu'* and 4 *elak* were marked by no unusual amount of praying. *elak* is a bad day, it will be remembered, and according to Nikol so is *mulu'*. On 5 *bats*, which is also bad, there was an increase in the number of people at the church and cross, and on 6 *eVup* there were yet more. The Prayer Makers were praying at very frequent intervals in large groups, sometimes accompanied by *watc winaq*.

At the first light on March 15th, which was 7 *aH* by our way of reckoning time, the Prayer Makers were praying in a large group. Many people were at the church door, and the quantity of candle stubs indicated that there had been yet more there earlier. During the day, the church door was deserted only in the heat of noon. The Prayer Makers made their set rounds, and in addition were coming and going by ones and twos, often bringing their families, probably for private prayer. A piece of cypress was tied to the base of the big cross. When the sacristan cleaned out the church, he threw an unusual number of evergreen branches from the threshold. When we took our horses to water in the late afternoon, we noticed many people coming up from the stream, bearing armfuls of cypress, which they probably had taken from the grove on the farther bank.

Just after dusk it seemed as if the entire village were on the move to the church; the main street was filled with people coming to pray, most of them carrying candles. They were quiet, but not uncheerful. One would hear constantly the musical polite greetings, "*a-mam-in*," "*he-um-ni*," being spoken back and forth. The soft pitch of their voices on this occasion made the marked rise

and fall of the syllables, and long drawing-out of the last, especially pretty.

The group actually at prayer filled half the space between the church and the big cross, and there were others, fewer, praying at the foot of the cross. As people came, they knelt, lit a candle (usually of black wax), crossed themselves and began to pray. There was a little flagellation. Incense braziers were more in use than on March 10th. The time of praying varied, from about ten to fifteen minutes; they were praying in low tones, or to themselves, asking for everything for the year. Some of the Prayer Makers came and prayed as individuals. Later, the whole body turned up, and knelt among the people, immediately in front of the church door, and thence proceeded to the cross, as usual.

We joined the people, burning beeswax candles, an act which, as has been said, later proved useful to us. At the time they paid no attention to us, which was as we wanted it. It gave us a very real thrill to be thus attending a ceremony which we knew to be so old and so entirely Maya, for we felt ourselves to be the first scientists to have participated with Mayan people in a rite arising out of that ancient calendar, that may have first been celebrated goodness knows how many centuries ago, and was still continued here, in this little, mountain-locked corner of the ancient domain.

This period of praying died away pretty well before ten o'clock, and people went to their homes. Either now, or earlier in the day, they burned candles in their fruit trees and at their fields, in their houses, and in their yards.

After this, it was permissible to sleep, but the people rise again several times during the night to pray, and are up again before dawn. According to Kash Pelip, who came to see us just after he had finished praying, it is the custom for some to sit up all night, burning white candles in their houses. The majority, as far as could be observed, sleep.

There were people praying at one o'clock, and many candles were burning on the church door-sill and around the little fireplace.

Sometime between two and three, the *cahampal* of the Prayer Makers was held, and at the same time the various private *cahampal's*. From what we were told, it appeared that the *watc winaq* went from house to house, performing the necessary part of the ceremony, as many more families perform this rite than there are *watc winaq*. The Prayer Makers then burnt their offering of blood at the church and the crosses, and thence went to Ajul to make the offering to *hite mame*. It is possible that not all of them went,

as the distance is several leagues, and there were Prayer Makers at the cross at six in the morning.

The night prayer, and that just before dawn, left pine and cypress tips and branches in deep windrows in front of the church. At six o'clock, with daylight just beginning, there were fifteen or twenty people kneeling in it. The air was full of the pleasant, rather sharp smell of the incense and the beeswax candles, whose clear glow made a sort of bath of warm light close to the ground. By eight thirty, two old women were the only ones praying, one of whom, when she left, thriftily gathered a large armful of evergreens to take away. When the sacristan swept out the church, he had no scruples about kicking these offerings into a pile.

The Prayer Makers continued busily during the remainder of the day, but the laymen did relatively little, save for some prayer with evergreens at the cemetery.

For the night prayer, Indians came in to Jacaltenango from all the suburbs. The Indians at the settlement at Buena Vista, on the boundary between Santa Anna and San Antonio Huista, told us that on the Year Bearer they pray at Jacaltenango church, at Santa Anna, and at the boundary cross near their houses, on the edge of the Buena Vista ruin. They said that the custom at Santa Anna had been almost forgotten, it is a predominantly Ladino town and the Indians are very much Ladino-ized.

At this time the Prayer Makers of Santa Eulalia go into a cave, where they look into what is said to be a pool of blood, but is probably bat droppings, and prophesy for the new year. The prophesy is received in other villages with varying respect.

Nikol told Señor Hernández that the four days from 9 *tsikin* to 13 *tcinac* (the latter is the next Year Bearer) were particularly good for prayer. He thus passed over 8 *ic*. At some time after the Year Bearer, variously stated as "a week," "a little while," a second ceremony may be held by those who were sick during the main one, or who invalidated it by quarreling or disagreeableness. This is called *oclañ* (or *oclahun*) *winaq*, "thirteen men," or *cnubi kōmam oclañ winaq*; *cnubi* was not translated, the rest is "our father(s) the thirteen men." It may be that it comes thirteen days after the Year Bearer, or is the first occurrence of the number thereafter. It is scarcely necessary to point out the importance of the number thirteen in general.

Three days afterwards, a good many people appeared to "take up the three days."

The ceremony of the Year Bearer, and the office of Prayer Maker which seems to go with it, are known to the following towns: Chuj—San Mateo Ixtatán, San Sebastian Coatán (?), Santa Eulalia; Jacalteca—Jacaltenango, Concepción, San Andrés, San Marcos, Petatán, San Miguel Acatán, Soloma, San Juan Ixcoy, San José Montenegro (Mexico); Mames—Todos Santos Cuchumatán. Nothing definite could be learned about the Mames town of San Martín, but it is very Ladino-ized. At San Antonio and Santa Anna Huista the Ladino dominance has nearly ended the custom, but it survives faintly, although there are no Prayer Makers. This list names every large town in the district, with the exception of the purely Ladino and quite modern one of Nenton. It will be seen that the complex primarily belongs to the Jacalteca-Chuj, whose languages are so closely related; only one Mames town has the custom, and that one is a neighbor. According to the soothsayers, their day names are but slightly different. This accords with what one would expect, finding the Tzeltal-Dresdensis Year Bearers, and not the Quiché-Cakchiquel ones.

The center of the worship is said by the Ladinos, who really know very little about it, to be at Santa Eulalia, but this may be claimed on account of the striking custom of the cave prophecy, and the idol *holom konop*, of which we shall speak in a later chapter. On archaeological grounds, the important ruin of Carvao at San Mateo Ixtatán would lead one to look for the center there. The information that we gathered at these other towns was hasty and fragmentary, our visits were very brief, but, compared with what one might pick up in a first day's visit at Jacaltenango, there is some reason to think that that town may be the one which has best preserved the old ritual.

In the part of the Chuj country lying between Nenton, Chaculá, and San Mateo Ixtatán there are no really big Indian settlements. Indians of Canquintic and Chanquejélvé knew about the Year Bearer, but said that the occasion was only observed in the big towns, where there were Prayer Makers. In that section, the settlements being too far away from anywhere to enable the inhabitants to come in for the ceremony, it appears to have lapsed. Seler (1901, p. 201), obtained a list of seven day names, from a workman at the Finca Trinidad, north of Chaculá and yet further from the big centers. Señor Kanter has given the complete twenty, quoted on page 224, as used both at Chaculá and San Mateo. So, though the Year Bearer may have been lost, the calendar has not been.

CHAPTER XX

THE CROSS

On first sight, worship in connection with the Cross would seem essentially Christian, but the data we obtained in regard to this subject, as well as certain comparisons with the Old People, have led me to class it as a non-Christian factor, rather a type of so much of the culture of these people today, something essential to themselves, produced by the blend of old and new ideas to form something new.

Concerning the possible worship of a cross in pre-Columbian times, the evidence is doubtful. Much has been made of the cross at Cozumel, to which quail were offered, in a ceremony for rain.¹⁴⁹ Landa, who knew a good deal about Maya ritual, disbelieves in this cross worship (1881, p. 113). If the cross was there, as described, is it not possible that it was, or represented, the one established by Cortés in 1519, which seems to have been received so willingly? Sapper (1925, p. 394), says that there is good reason to believe that the cross was worshipped in ancient times, on the authority, apparently, of Herr Gottlieb Hurter of Quelzaltenango, who seems to base his claim simply on his observations of modern practices. Tozzer (1907, p. 151, ff.) speaks of the cross in Yucatán as purely a Christian introduction, and points out very truly that its presence serves to legitimize the appearance of heathen practices. Its use may have served as a very convenient mask for native ceremonies in early times. Moreover, the early missionaries had a habit of setting the cross up in places of worship, immediately after overthrowing some idol, a practice which must have often led the poor Indians to attribute to the cross the virtues of the defeated god. On the other hand, as Thomas shows (1884, p. viii) the cross appears commonly in the Codex Troano, and there are many representations, indeed, in inscriptions and codices, which might be taken as crosses, or might be a variety of other symbols.

The use of the cross as a symbol of four winds or four directions existed among many Indian tribes in various parts of the New World, a fact which lends significance to Antel's statement, previously quoted, that one should pray on rising to the Four Corner Posts of the World and to the Cross on which Christ died.

149 Las Casas: 1909, pp. 328-329; Saville: 1921, p. 209.
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In the Prophecy of the Singer of Kabal Chen at Mani¹⁵⁰ there is mention of a wooden standard.

These various considerations may be taken as evidence for worship of a cross prior to the Conquest, or as explaining how it came about that the cross was so readily adopted and made integral in the native religion after the coming of Christianity. As far as the present time is concerned, there is no doubt that cross-worship is widely and firmly established throughout the Maya area, in connection with non-Christian rites.¹⁵¹

The crosses in Jacaltenango and the surrounding district are divinities in themselves, while probably also thought of as representatives of the cross of the crucifixion, or else as under it. They are referred to with the prefix of male rational beings, *naq-*, or with the honorific *kōmam*, *naq-kulūs* or *komam kulūs*. The word *kulūs*, of course, is derived from the Spanish *cruz*.

These crosses see, think, hear, and also speak to those shamans who know how to put themselves in touch with them. It was by means of crosses that the soothsayer Nikol, for instance, claimed to do all his divinations for lost objects. He narrated many instances. He would count his seeds, and meantime put himself into communication, for instance, with the cross on the road to Petatán. "Have you seen this man's white mules, that he has lost?" The cross would answer "yes," or "no," and thus he would inquire until the cross nearest the lost mule would tell him where it was, and whether it could be caught now.

In this manner, he said, he found a mule for a Ladino. The man refused to pay him until he had verified the divination, went off, caught his animal, and never returned. Nikol said he felt very badly about this, until one night, when he was asleep, the cross who had found the mule came to him in a dream and said, "Do not mind. That mule is going to die in Mexico, with his feet caught in a vine."

These little crosses are everywhere, at crossroads, on the tops of passes, in valleys, and around the villages. One never sees one without its offering of flowers at its feet or on its arms, and over and again one sees Indians who have reached the top of a hard climb, stop to pray at one. In the villages, in front of the main church and of chapels, or at important places such as Las Cruces in Jacaltenango, at the intersection of the two main streets and site of the week-day market, crosses are to be found, usually larger and

¹⁵⁰ Roys: MS. T. U.

¹⁵¹ Tozzer: 1907, p. 151 ff; Gann: 1917; Saville: 1921, p. 167; Sapper: 1925, passim; Blom and La Farge: 1927, pp. 363-364; La Farge: 1927, passim.

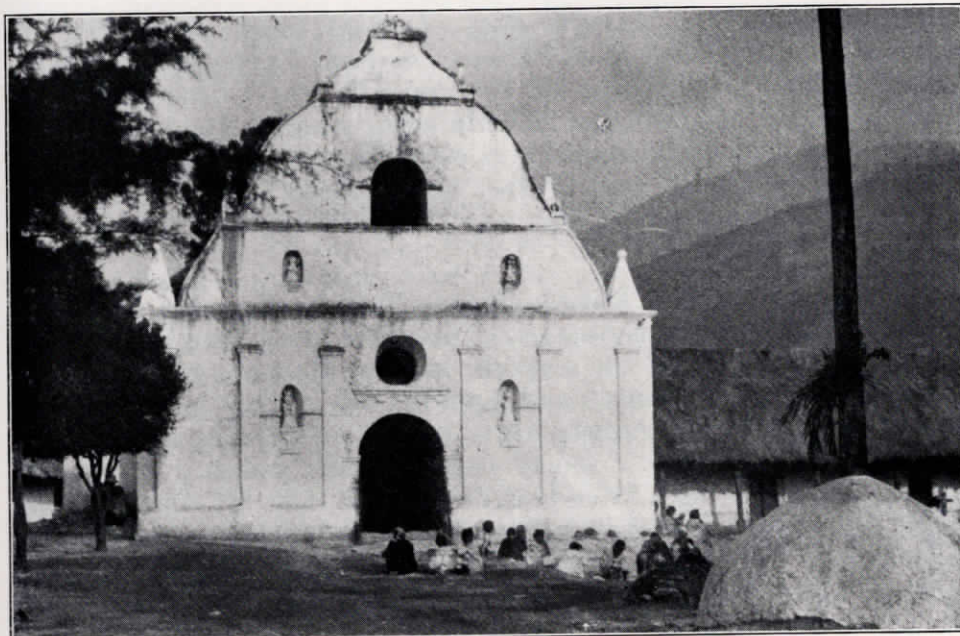


FIG. 42—Prayer before church and cross, San Miguel Acatán.



FIG. 43—Wayside cross, at Tsisbaj, near Jacaltenango.

more solid than the wayside ones. Crosses mark practically all places of worship, such as at various points in Carvao ruins at San Mateo Ixtatán, at Catepán El Bosque ruin near Chanquejervé, or in front of the Mound A at Cu Manchón ruin of Todos Santos—places which have little connection with Christianity. An exception must be noted in the case of the “thunderbolts” at Jacaltenango, which are not marked in any way. Many boundary marks have crosses.

It is typical of the Indian attitude that most crosses, although actively in use, are semi-ruinous; often their arms have fallen, particularly in the case of the wayside ones, or they are ready to fall, and the wood will be rotten and mouldy. When they go altogether, new ones are set up, otherwise there is little attempt to repair them. It would seem that their sacred nature, which makes it impossible to tear one down, no matter how far gone it may be, also prohibits repair. Perhaps, with their instinct for personification, the Indians regard these symbols as growing old like people, and feel that they must be allowed to age and die in their own way.

The main crosses, in front of the church in each village, are the most important. They vary from fifteen to thirty feet in height, with the one remarkable 70-foot one at Jacaltenango (See Figs. 3, 42, 56), well over 23 meters both by our triangulation and by Señor Hernández' measurement at the time it was set up. At Jacaltenango the general tendency was to pray more in front of the church than at the cross, at San Marcos the reverse was the case, other villages varied in the same way. At San Miguel Acatán and at Santa Eulalia, the people prayed on the far side of the cross from the church, so that they faced both at once. (Fig. 42).

The present main cross at Jacaltenango was set up in 1917; its story shows the general feeling towards these semi-deities. In that year Señor Hernández was 1st Civil Alcalde. One day, while the Prayer Makers were before it, an arm fell from the old cross, very narrowly missing them. Señor Hernández, seeing that the whole tree was rotten, considered it dangerous, and, with much difficulty, forced a *mayor* to cut it down, to the consternation of the village.

A soothsayer then went to the same grove from which that cross had been cut, to interview its family. This appears to be a beautiful clump of trees that can be seen some leagues away, far up on the south shoulder of Payá, in the high, cold country. Up in that grove, he said his prayers and made his divination, telling the trees that *kōmam kulūs* in the village had been destroyed, and asking them please would one of them come to replace him. One of the crosses' sisters, so we were told, answered that she would come. The

old Indian then asked her how long she wanted to be, and she said that she herself would show, by breaking off when she fell. He came down and told the village.

That the tree was a sister has had no effect on the cross, which remains *naq-kulūs* and *kōmam*, not *ic-kulūs* or *kōmi*.

All other occupations ceased in the village, while the Indians went up to the grove. The tree was felled, and broke off at its present height, the upper part being used to make the arm. The whole tree, untrimmed, was dragged to the village to the accompaniment of music and drums and dancing. The women and children following behind, gathered every least twig, shred, or chip that fell by the wayside. In the plaza, the carpenters worked the cross into shape with more than the usual music.

When it was time to set it up, everyone hunted for rope; they brought hide ropes, hemp ropes, *ixte* ropes, grass ropes, until there were no more to be found in the village. The front of the stone and cement base was cut away, and a hole dug under it, into which the butt of the cross was fitted, and ropes attached to the cross. An H-shaped cross-bar was set up on the other side of the base, over which many ropes were passed, on which the people pulled, others were payed out to the sides, and others left hanging as guys, to keep the cross from falling forward. As it was lifted, shears were slipped under it. Then, with fifes and drums playing, the whole village hove together, while the great cross rose slowly, until its foot settled in the hole dug under the stone base.

The Indians were not good enough sailors to be able to rig the ropes so that they could be slipped off from the ground; it was necessary to send a man up after them. Either now, or else while it was still a tree, the cross had told the *ahbe* the name of the man who should climb it. This man had been observing a period of continence. Now they went to his house, and escorted him with fife and drum. He selected his rope, and, while the music played, climbed halfway hand over hand, so as not to touch the cross any more than could be helped. Halfway up, he rested a moment, hanging with teeth and hands. Then he turned his feet above his head (this may be easily done when hanging by the hands) and climbed the rest of the way, still using only his hands, until he hooked his legs over the cross-piece, some fifty-five feet above the ground. He straddled the bar and caught his breath. Then he cast off the ropes, leaving one looped over, down which he slid to the ground.

This extraordinary feat was narrated to us both by Señor Hernández and by Juan Cruz, as eye-witnesses. The man was the one who, not long after, died after declaring that a dead puma which he saw was his *nagual*.

The cross at San Mateo Ixtatán had been set up a few months before we arrived there. The Indians told us that much the same observances were held.

The special Festival of the Cross has been described under Christian Worship.

Every house has at least a cross on its altar. When a house is abandoned, if a new one is built, the cross is moved to it; otherwise it is deposited at the base of some one of the large crosses.

It is an interesting point to note that within the churches, the cross appears very little indeed. For the altars, there are usually pictures or images of saints, but the decoration ignores this symbol, and even on top of the towers, the cross is likely to be also a weather vane which is probably not recognizable to the Indians. Whatever its early history, it is safe to say that now it has been captured by the Indians for their own, peculiar religion, and become a minor deity, not Christian, yet not strictly non-Christian, a type of much of the modern culture. Like the Christian God, its benediction is called down impartially upon the blackest witchcraft and on the Easter festival. It marks one edge of the place of the Year Bearer, and it was prayed to, "*kōmam kulus*," in the prayers at San Marcos, in company with God, the Saints, *k'anil*, *ahau*, *hitc mame*, and the Four Corner Posts.

CHAPTER XXI

THE JACALTECA PANTHEON

We were unable to find any trace among these Indians of the old gods of the Codices or the early writings. Those had all been forgotten. What they have today is a mixture of Christianity with calendrical deities and minor powers. Their pantheon, from the Christian point of view, has been described in detail in my article on "Adaptations of Christianity Among the Jacalteca Indians of Northwestern Guatemala" (1927).

Chief over all is God, *dyos*, *dyoc*, or *tyoc* (from the Spanish *Dios*). He is called *kōmam dyos* and also *ahau dyos*, "Lord God," the only one heard thus addressed. God is not shown in images or paintings, nor conceived of as being in any particular place, or in charge of any especial things. The idea of Him is a lofty one; He is omnipotent and omnipresent, needing no special section of the church or special ceremony. The other deities have their own power and functions, but they operate under Him, and in a manner of speaking, all prayers also go to Him. He is mentioned in almost all prayers, and everything ceremonial, from a curse to a sacrifice, is brought under His protection. He does not personally perform miracles, His punishments are visited upon man by the *naq-justicia*, His favors apparently are granted through other gods. It will be remembered that in the Genesis legend, the creation of women, which all influences Christian and non-Christian should tend to make them ascribe to Him, is performed by Christ. As far as could be gathered from the Indians, He shares with the Year Bearers an unlocalized and rather spiritual quality, never seen in dreams or visions, not appearing in person on earth. The Year Bearers, of course as days, did live on earth once.

The creation of woman by Christ (*naq-Jesu*, *naq-Jesu Nazareno*, or *kōmam dyoc*) is not so much of a distortion as it would seem at first, for these Indians seemed to have fully accepted, and in remarkable degree to understand, the mystical conception of Their unity. Christ was spoken of over and over again as "God," it being taken for granted that the hearer understood that They were one, and yet separate. It is in Christ, that God may be seen on earth, or be represented in images. Christ is known to be the son of Mary, and to have been crucified, but the crucifixion is practically ignored,

and there is little attention paid to the idea of redemption of sins, or the need for it, save for the general statement that the modern people, who have been baptized, have souls, while the Old People, *Los Antiguos* or *Los Españoles*, who were not, have none. The Indians do not consider themselves descended from these people, but from *hitc mame*, who was Christian. (See Chapter XII).

There is a story about Christ, that when the "Judases" were pursuing Him, He hid in the ceiba tree, and "therefore it has its content, *por eso tiene su contenido*." The ceiba occupied an important position in the old mythology.

When the Maestros de Coro instruct the children in the catechism, naturally full emphasis is placed upon the Holy Ghost; but as this instruction takes place in Spanish, and at an age at which the pupils' knowledge of that language is most uncertain, it is natural that it should not take much effect. Their real religious instruction comes from their parents, which perhaps explains how it is that, in contrast to the clear idea of the nature of God and His son, the concept of the Holy Ghost, as an individual or as a member of the Trinity, seems to be ignored by the Indians. They were never heard to mention Him, nor was He addressed in any prayers that we recorded.

God, and, in a subsidiary manner, Christ, rule the pantheon. It cannot be surely said whether the Virgin comes next after Them, or whether, as patron of Jacaltenango, her prominence was purely local. As far as could be made out, the connection between Mary, "María," mother of Christ, and the various "*Virgenes*" was one of kind, rather than identity. However, it would not be safe to make an absolute statement on this matter. The existence of many different Virgins, so characteristic of the Roman Catholic church, with insufficient instruction, has probably caused great confusion in the native mind. As was seen in the genesis story, she is practically coëval with the earth, at the very beginning Christ is in her womb. The question of her human or divine origin, therefore, as well as of virgin birth, does not arise.

Next after these probably comes the cross, which has been discussed in the preceding chapter.

These deities are for the whole world, except possibly the last, which may belong in the next group, of those whose functions are more particularly restricted to what we may call the "Year Bearer District," this group of villages which recognize each other as having a common set of beliefs.

It is a matter of some doubt whether the Year Bearers or the Four Corner Posts of the World should be listed at the top of this group. Preference is given to the latter here, because from their very name, there is of necessity some idea that they are for the whole world, although it is not expected that anyone but Indians should recognize them. As was previously quoted, according to Antel one should pray to them and to the Cross in the morning on rising.

The Year Bearers have already been described in full. They are regarded as being confined to the Year Bearer District, within which their influence, under God, is supreme over Indians and Ladinos alike. The Indians did not express surprise that we *knew about* the Year Bearers so much as that we *had* them; obviously, if one "has" them, one would know about them. Of them, as has been shown, *k'anil* is chief. He is prayed to even when not in charge of the year, as at San Marcos, where he was mentioned many times, with God, the Cross, and the Four Corner Posts, in the order named, he coming last, and *aH*, the current Year Bearer, apparently was not named at all. Of course, the men praying were not soothsayers, but as *watc winaq* one may be sure enough that they knew who was carrying the year.

In the same prayer, *ahau* was frequently mentioned, often in the phrase, "*kōmam ahau, kōmam wacaq ahau*, our father *ahau*, our father 8 *ahau*." It was the day 8 *ahau*, which may explain why he was mentioned, but as they applied the same number to *k'anil* for no apparent reason, it is more likely that it was brought in simply as the best number, and that he was mentioned for himself alone.

Probably, people only pray to *naq-justicia* to leave them alone, or else their prayer to him may be regarded as the expiatory act for the sin for which God has sent the *naq-justicia* to punish them. He and his servants, the *mayores algüaciles* (the names are pure Spanish) are really avenging angels or eumenides. That Nikol could say that *naq-justicia* had killed one of the writer's relatives, makes it seem that he is perhaps not merely local, but as belonging in the European religious pattern, is universal, but it must be remembered that the fault for which the punishment was supposed to have been inflicted was committed at Jacaltenango. Besides, Nikol's cheerful mental make-up must be considered.

The ordinary days, or day-lords, have been already discussed very fully. Of course, like *k'anil*, they do not enter at all into the conscious worship of the laymen; nonetheless, they cannot be omitted from the list of gods.

The Christian saints are highly localized. The case of Saint Mark has already been cited. As patrons of their respective villages, they occupy a high position in those villages; as saints in general they are minor. It does not appear, as among the Bachajón,¹⁵² that they had special functions assigned to them, replacing older minor gods. Rather, particularly those represented in a given church, they exert a general good influence, particularly in favor of those who are named after them. The general word for saint is the same as that for God, *dyos*, *dyoc*, or *tyoc*, and in its two uses is much like our distinction between God and the gods. Saint Peter and the Apostles occupy a special position. In the prayer at San Marcos, beside Saint Mark, they were named, with the epithets *watc winaq* and *san'tu*, but without the *kōmam* that was given to the deities previously named—"watc winaq naq-san'tu San Marcos, watc winaq naq-san'tu San Pegru, watc winaq naq-san'tu Apostulu." *watc winaq* was also applied to other deities, but not *san'tu*.

After these come various spirits: *naq-matswalil*, "bad men," the spirits who help the sorcerers, the guardians of hills and springs, the lightnings who protect the villages, etc. *naq-matswalil* applies in general to evil spirits, and in particular to the Devil, who is somewhat feared. It is customary at night, or when leaving a house, to turn all chairs or stools upside down, so that the Devil cannot come in and sit down on them. We were warned of our carelessness in leaving our hammocks so invitingly slung when we were away. Still, evil spirits on the whole have very little importance in the thoughts of these people.

It can be easily seen what an extraordinary *mélange* the religion of these people is, and how beautifully they have fitted it all together, how reverently, being left all to themselves, they have united their really strong Christian faith with the beliefs of their forefathers. At this time, it would be as difficult to convert them away from their belief in the Christian God as it would be to make them forsake the calendar.

The further one goes into the matter, the more one sees that all their important survivals of the old religion are connected with the calendar, and it is a striking evidence of the importance of the factor in olden times that even so incomplete a survival of it should carry in its train such a mass of other things.

¹⁵² Blom and La Farge: 1927, p. 365.

CHAPTER XXII

GENERAL REMARKS

Survivals of old Maya customs and ways have been noted and commented upon as they were mentioned in this report. Some of the most striking of them, while of antiquarian interest, add nothing to our previous knowledge, others do throw some light on a few doubtful points. The greatest archaeological value of this study is the picture it presents as a whole, marred and faded and faulty though it is, of life in a small town somewhat as it must have gone on before the conquest, of certain controlling forces, such as the calendar, already nearly as well known to us as it is to the Jacalteca *ahbe*, and in some respects better known, but here observed not merely as a static reconstruction, but as a living and functioning power.

As far as we can gather from early accounts, in this section, or in the country to the north and west of it, there must have been a good many little towns, with a small semi-aristocracy, not very lofty, without stupendous monuments or striking riches, living out in a provincial way their simpler version of the general Mayan pattern of life. Today, Christianity has intruded into the system; a supposedly republican form of government has been installed; there are new fruits and crops, there are flocks and beasts of burden, even, here and there, a wheel; the invaluable machete serves every man, and those who can replace the blow-gun with the musket. The material novelties have had, as yet, no visible effect upon the old way of life, save to make it, possibly, a little more comfortable—wool, and meat, and a good cutting tool. Christianity has been overcome by submitting to it, much as Rome overcame the barbarians who conquered her; God ruled these people, and became as Indian as the kings of England have become English. As far as the government goes, its character is entirely foreign, but it functions in the old manner, through its very simplicity. Occasional elections were known to the early Indians of Guatemala¹⁵³ and the present system, with its forced labor, does not impose upon the people any unwonted freedom.

If we cross the cañon from Jacaltenango, to the pure Indian village of San Marcos, and find the head of the Prayer Makers also

¹⁵³ Las Casas: 1909, p. 620.

head of the Syndic, we are coming very close to old ways. The principle of annual elections has shifted the office from the *watc winaq* to the Prayer Makers, but the theocratic system remains. There, and at San Andrés and at Concepción, where the number of Ladinos is negligible, behind both civil and religious administrations stand the permanent *watc winaq*; the whole life of the village is under the control of the *Principales*, and behind them all the Soothsayers move their little red seeds about.

The mounds on the edge of San Marcos are overgrown with grass, formless, and their meaning forgotten. In their stead stands a little, white church and a lean, black cross, built by Indians under the direction of foreign priests, just as, long before that, neighbors at Buena Vista raised a new type of mound under the direction of the "Toltecs." The forms are different, but the content is the same.

We might, perhaps, regard the Indians who have become *milicianos*, men liable to military service and exempt from the labor tax, as a chance convergence towards the warrior *holcanes* of Yucatan, or we can ignore them as a new and as yet insignificant development of the process which will, in time, Ladinoize this country. Among the rest, we can observe in miniature the public labors of pre-Columbian days.

A new log has to be laid across the stream by the slaughterhouse. The tree has been cut down and stripped, a huge thing, four feet through and thirty long. One evening the Syndic sends two men through the town with a drum, crying out the appointed day. On that day, fifty or so young men go up the side of *hwixwits* hill. They bind stout poles across the top of the log, which they take upon their shoulders, two and two. A man goes in front, leading the log with a rope. Music plays. So, slowly and with much dust, it comes down to the bridge, where it is left. That is enough for one day, the work must be distributed so that it will not interfere with the necessities of the people, so that the all-important corn will not suffer. On another day it will be set into position.

The time has come for completing the repair of the church roof. The *Principales* send out their cryers. The affair is a little more elaborate, a drum and a flute, and half a dozen youths. They go through all the village after dark, playing and now and again calling out in unison.

"We are going to bring the poles down from *hwixwits*, Father-ers! *Mame-e-eh!*"

One by one, little by little, the poles are gathered. You would never know that anything was going on, the essential work of the

village does not stop, there is just the music and procession every few nights, and in the morning a few men struggling under a timber, or dragging bundles of poles with a tump-line, the ends trailing travois-fashion. When everything has been made ready, there is a new announcement, and then the whole village turns out, the church swarms with men, and the music is unceasing. In a day or two the roof has been stripped, and the community can return to its tasks, while the carpenters continue in the convent patio, with their music, much like the men who made new idols in Yucatan. Where there is a chance for decoration, they carve the wood according to their fancy, or copy an older detail to be replaced. The results are naïve and personal, distinctly Gothic in spirit, but then, there are no professional, educated artists to adorn these temples with significant designs.

There is another drafting of the village, when the beams go up in place, and the tiles are restored. Men move heavily up the steep gangway to the eaves, lifting the dead weight of a big timber, lashed with cross-sticks, led by a rope in front. The same system would take a huge stone up the slope of a mound. There are no pulleys, almost no use of mechanical advantage, save for the lever.

The laymen have a sufficient religion, and a rich folk-lore. Christian powers have replaced the gods that Lacandonés remember; if the soothsayers and *Principales* all died today, we should have the kind of survivals that are found throughout the Maya Area, and in so many parts of Middle America. They do not know that their knowledge is incomplete, or rather, that their Year Bearer worship and many other practices are purposeless without the knowledge of the shamans who direct them. They could go on with it with as much satisfaction to themselves as have so many of their relatives, who lost everything in the first swoop of invasion. Things must have been much like this before Columbus.

It is a curious coincidence that among the people of Yucatan and the Lacandonés we find today that the names of some of the old gods have been remembered, while, as soon as one moves into the Highlands, among the Tzeltal, the Chuj and Jacalteca, the Mames and Quiché divisions, the gods seem to have been forgotten, and the calendar to have been retained in varying degrees. It is hard to assign a reason for this, save to suggest tentatively again, that the very lofty and absolute priesthood of the North was bound to go, leaving the people, as they had always been, quite unacquainted with the calendar. What may have happened among the Quiché and their neighbors, it is outside the purpose of this paper to speculate. In the Jacalteca country, as has been said, there probably was

a humbler and more provincial order of things, and it may be that the Tzeltal were rather similar. Soothsayers who were not at the absolute social top, and Cacique-Priests, who, like the Caciques of the Lacandones, were retained in office for a time by the Spanish, and then, not being conspicuous as great kings, were allowed to sink into the mass, could carry on the old traditions. What happened, then, to the old gods it is hard to say. For the moment, one must credit the Spanish priests with success in implanting new ones.

Jacalteca merges, as one goes to San Miguel Acatán, then to Santa Eulalia, then to San Mateo Ixtatán, into Chuj; Chuj through Chaneabal into Tzeltal, and in another direction, into Chol.¹⁵⁴ All these languages, which one may affiliate with Yucatecan and Yocótan (Chontal) in one major division of the Mayan Stock, form a continuous transition in themselves, a transition which corresponds to their probable ancient geographical alignment. Like the chain of dates moving from the Peten northward towards the New Empire, are the late Ninth Cycle and early Tenth Cycle inscriptions of Comitán Valley, Sacchaná, and Quen Santo. If one follows the major valley which embraces all these up to its head, one finds the last gasp of their culture at Carvao ruin on the edge of San Mateo Ixtatán; the characteristic heavy masonry and coping of the stepped mound, and uncarved, roughly-shaped stelae.

It looks as though, while one group of the Old Empire people, or several related groups, moved north, others edged slowly into the Highlands. They may have come partly from around Toniná as a center, although the style of the bas-reliefs at such places as Chinkultic¹⁵⁵ would lead one to derive them in part, at least, from the Usumacinta valley. This derivation is strengthened by the monument so very much in the Yaxchilan style found just over the hills from Toniná, at Santo Ton.¹⁵⁶

Once in the mountain country, difficulties of communication would have caused them to break up, and have accentuated dialectic into linguistic variation. Life was a great deal harder, in many parts they could raise but one crop a year. The more western tribes found themselves neighbors to war-like nations, who probably resented their intrusion. All influences tended to make their culture diverge from that of the New Empire, to diversity instead of unity, simple material culture instead of an elaborate one, the pressure of daily needs detracting from the time for ceremonies and cutting down the power of the lords. At the same time, there must have been a great deal of cultural interchange with their neighbors, who

154 See Chapters XXIII, XXIV and Section II.

155 Blom and La Farge: 1927: figs. 360-366.

156 Ibid: pp. 309-310.

were enough like them to facilitate this, and different enough to have an important influence.

This particular section never won much interest from the Spaniards. Both from lack of historical references and from present conditions one is led to conclude that they conquered and ignored it. Similarly, Tozzer's map (1927) puts this country just on the edge of the area affected by the Toltecs. Ruins at Buena Vista and Chanquejelvé show that their influence did reach well into the Cuchumatanes, but there must have been little here to attract them. It is not surprising, then, that the modern survivals show no Toltec traces.

Of course it is possible that these people, and the other provincial tribes with their relatively simple organization, occupied the country just outside the southern edge of the Old Empire since earliest times, and maintained not a degenerated but an archaic Maya culture, the fundamental Maya elements, not highly evolved, with of course some borrowing from their more advanced near neighbors. The evidence, however, seems to be against this.

In all speculations of this kind, one must be sure to rid himself of the pre-conceived idea that the Mayas of Yucatan are of necessity the main stem and arch-type of the whole culture and linguistic stock, an idea which is widely accepted by students for reasons rather similar to those which lead the laymen to credit everything in Middle America to the Aztecs.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CHUJ COUNTRY

North and northwest of the Jacaltecos lies the country of the Chuj Indians, whose language is closely related to the former, and as little known. The larger towns also worship the Year Bearer. For these reasons, and because we had reports of several ruins in that section, we made a circuit of eight days through Nentón, Chanquejelvé, San Mateo Ixtatán, Santa Eulalia, and San Miguel Acatán. (See map at front of book). We left Jacaltenango early on the 21st of April, our trail descending 200 meters in half an hour's riding, to the Rio Azul, and ascending again equally sharply to the level of San Marcos. This trip brought out most emphatically the uniform direction of the valleys and ridges of the Cuchumatanes, which run about S. 60° E. or E.S.E. and W.N.W. On the west they break down rather steeply into the plateau-valley of the Rio Nentón, from which flat, limestone country extends to the Mexican border, with a rough average altitude of 1,100 meters. The valleys are very steep, the ridges tower high above the river bottoms. West of San Mateo Ixtatán these rivers feed into the Rio Nentón system, which, making to the south along the plateau, joins the general system of the Rio Grande de Chiapas, to end at last, muddy, slow and dismal, as the Rio Grijalva that debouches into the Atlantic in Tabasco. West of San Mateo the streams feed the Usumacinta, shortly turning north to join it in its long and tortuous course through the western Peten jungle.

Except at the divide between these two basins, which the trail from San Mateo to Santa Eulalia follows for a while, travel from North to South is extremely difficult in the mountain country. From East to West, on the other hand, one climbs a ridge and sticks to it until, near one's destination, one climbs down again. Now we were skirting the fingers of the mountains, where they came down to the plain. From San Marcos, where weary dancers were struggling through the tenth day of the Deer Dance, and peddlers were already beginning to arrive for the main fiesta, our trail ran roughly west by north, along the north side of the Rio Azul valley. An hour and three-quarters brought us to San Andrés, about a hundred meters lower than San Marcos. Like the latter town and Jacalte-

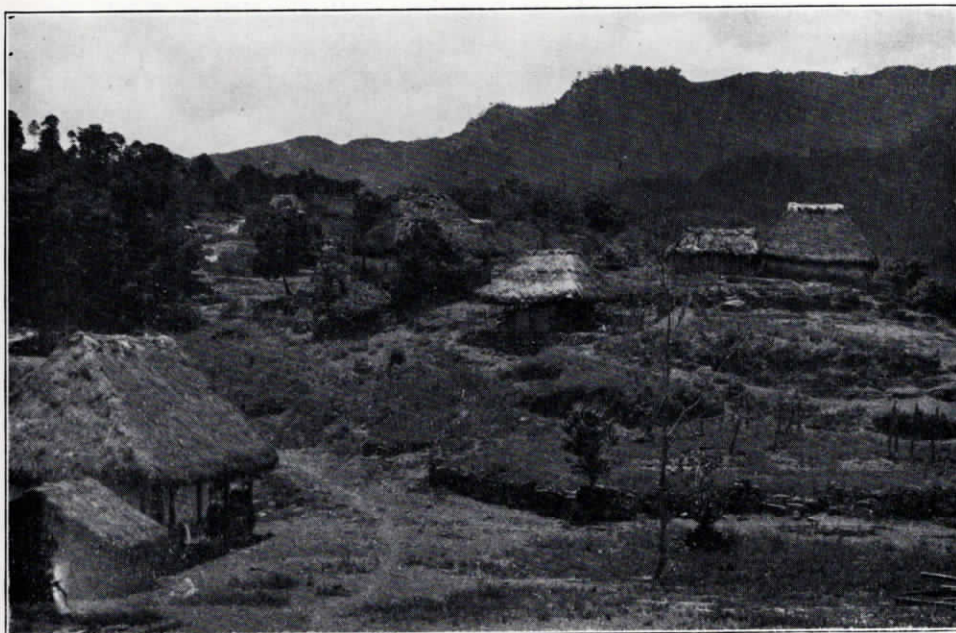


FIG. 44—San Andrés.

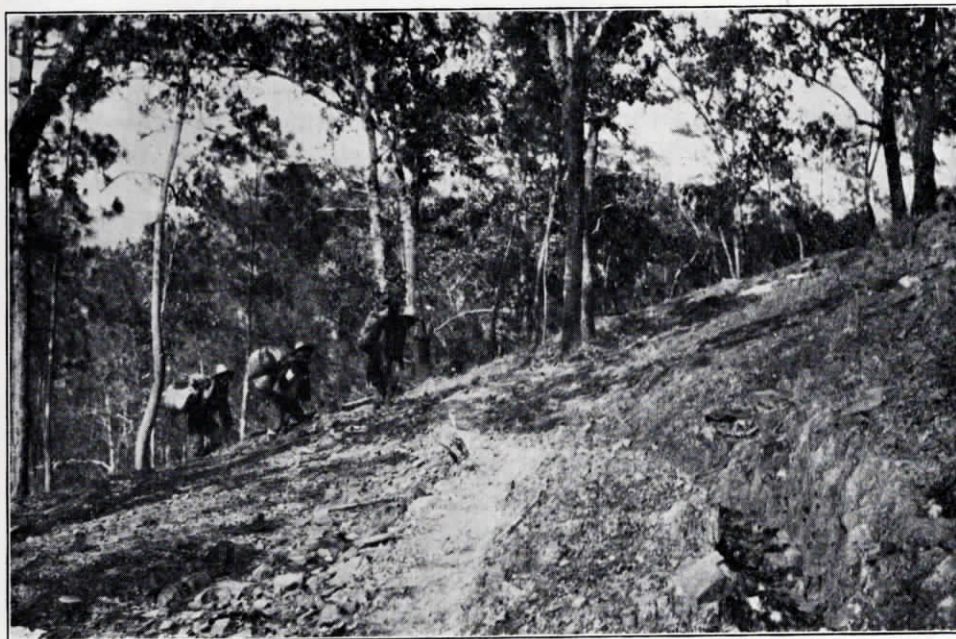


FIG. 45—On the trail to Chanquejelvé.

nango, it occupies a bench or hanging valley, with a fairly steep drop down to the river bottom, and the hills rising again behind it. However this town, rather than being in a niche, is on a sort of promontory, beyond which the north wall falls away to the northwards.

San Andrés (Fig. 44) is a small village of conservative type, Jacalteca in language and costume. As the climate is rather mild, *capiwaij* were not so much in evidence. Its general situation, with pines close at hand, white-walled houses on terraces, and very simple church and Juzgado, is charming. While we drank our *posol* on the Juzgado porch, we questioned the very friendly alcalde concerning local customs. The Year Bearer, we found, is worshipped here, and, as at San Marcos and other of the more naïve towns, there is some overlapping of municipal officials and Prayer Makers. The poles of both civil and religious *mayores* are kept at the Juzgado; the former are plain, the latter carved with simple crosses or double crosses at the top. Officials wear commercial purple handkerchiefs over their shoulders, instead of the home-woven plaids. San Andrés makes a specialty of *ixtle*-fibre ropes, nets and hammocks, for which purpose the plant is grown in considerable quantities.

From there the trail swings further to the north, following the high country, and dropping irregularly, with occasional ascents. In places the vegetation is semi-tropical, and then again we passed through long slopes covered with pine. The pine is usually growing in a thin soil over ruddy, shale-like, soft rock. The color has a touch of purple that blends well with the reddish brown of the dead pine needles to form a striking background for the trees. We were reminded that we were retracing the route of the First Tulane Expedition, and remembered how entranced we were then, when over these slopes we first entered the Cuchumatanes. But the pines did not last long. By two we had reached the flatlands, and crossed the river under a hot, sticky, oppressive sunlight that beat on dull, greyish, second-growth and an infinitely dusty, grey trail.

Nentón itself, with an altitude of just over 1,000 meters, lies in a hole, surrounded by theatrical, high limestone cliffs. The result is that one bakes there, as in an oven, and vitality oozes out of one's finger-tips, like Bob Acre's courage.

Immediately upon our arrival our papers were inspected, and we were tendered every courtesy. The municipal buildings were being rebuilt, so lodgings were assigned to us in the temporary girl's public school, a delightful construction, just a roof with walls of widely spaced poles, cool and clean, although a trifle too public. No

town, one would almost say no ranch or settlement that we visited in Guatemala, was without its school, and most of them were active.

Nentón is a relatively new settlement, and, like most of the lowland section, predominantly Ladino. A small number of Jacaltecos have drifted down here to settle, a process which is part of a nice example on a small scale of folk movement. Todos Santos come down from the Cold Country into the township of Jacaltenango and into neighboring valleys, seeking more corn lands, while the Jacaltecos in turn are slowly spreading out through the Hot Country, with small settlements here and there even across the Mexican border. Here the costume has undergone a slight change, in that the men wear red scarves knotted about their necks, after the Chuj manner. The administrative district, stretching a considerable distance into the higher country to the northwards, includes a number of Chuj settlements, whose inhabitants are brought here for various forms of municipal labor, and thus might be expected to exert some influence on the newer settlers.

From Nentón the following day, we went first northwest, slowly swinging until we headed about north by east. The table-land was extremely unattractive, dull in structure and in its scrub vegetation, and had all evidently been thoroughly farmed. At the end of about four hours we began to climb again, and here where the hills began one could note very clearly the difference between the limestone and igneous country. The hills of broken and well weathered limestone had evidently been cultivated extensively, but the inter-locking heights of reddish shale, distinguished from that noted yesterday by a rectangular fracture, were covered with pine of reasonable age. The Mayan affinity for limestone country is well known, and usually ascribed to their need of lime for cement (and for making tortillas!) and of the relatively soft limestone for carving, but all through this section it was shown to us that, at least in part, the superior fertility of the tertiary limestone, which weathers to a rich soil, must have been a factor. That, and, to a lesser extent, the soil over Todos Santos sandstone are cultivated to the exclusion of the other formations, which are almost always covered with fine growths of tall trees.

Before Nentón, and later again after Bilil, we followed well-marked trails which had probably been logical trade routes since early times, but now we were off the beaten track, and had it not been for the almost fatherly care of our two Indian porters, should have lost our way.

Our ascent became steep almost immediately, the path winding up a long, pine-covered hogback. (Fig. 45). We began to get a

breeze as we ascended, and the damp heat of the flat country disappeared. About four in the afternoon, as we were reaching the 1,500 meter level, we noted an ancient terracing that reinforced one precipitous side of the very narrow ridge. It was a simple construction not over five meters long, of stone which had a natural rectangular fracture. There were traces of cement.

It was a real scramble to reach the very top of this spur, whose steep slopes, tall trees, and the wind blowing over it, gave an effect of tremendous altitude. Just beyond the highest point the trail passed through a group of low terraces and mounds, stretching across the full width of the ridge. (See page 213). A few more twists and turns of the trail brought us out into the hanging valley of the Finca Chanquejelvé. The valley was limestone; the pines ended as though at a wall, to give place to second growth, cultivated fields, and scattered Indian huts. Beyond, one could see where the igneous country began again, with an equally sudden transition back to woods.

Señor Don Rosendo Hernández, who is in charge of the finca, is an Evangelical convert. Mr. Anderson, of the Evangelical mission in Huehuetenango, had kindly advised him of our projected visit, and to that extent he expected us. But he said that he had not known when we would come, had not prepared to receive us, and had nothing in the house to feed us. Barring that we lived like kings during our two day's stay, that he himself put off a business trip to Nentón so as to help and guide us, refusing pay, and that Señora Hernández, without being asked, went through our packs and washed all our dirty clothes, nothing was done for us! It was just another example of the warm-hearted hospitality that the traveler receives from rich and poor alike, throughout Latin America.

Don Rosendo took us first to the ruin that lay on his own property. Both this and the one we had first noted are known to the Indians as Catepán (*katēpan*, "old church"). Accordingly, we named them Catepán Chanquejelvé and Catepán El Bosque, respectively, after the fincas on whose land they stood.

The limestone surrounds the igneous ridge up which we had travelled, on the East, North, and West. Following the narrow valley that marks the juncture of the two formations, one comes out about two miles west of the finca itself, onto another hanging limestone valley, perhaps a mile square, the center of which is occupied by a typical, small hill that appears to be made up of huge, irregular, jumbled blocks of badly-weathered limestone. The steep southwestern slope is prolonged in the general falling away of the whole level towards the lower flat country. After a fairly steep

ascent through low brush, 50 meters above the valley, one met the first of a series of seven crude U-shaped terraces, averaging about 7 meters in height. These terraces seemed to have been formed by taking advantage of natural steps. They indicated an approach from the east or east-north-east, and extended around the north-western and southeastern sides. (Fig. 46-A). On the edge of the second terrace from the bottom were traces of a very crude, low wall. From here on the hill was covered with live-oaks and copal trees of moderate age.

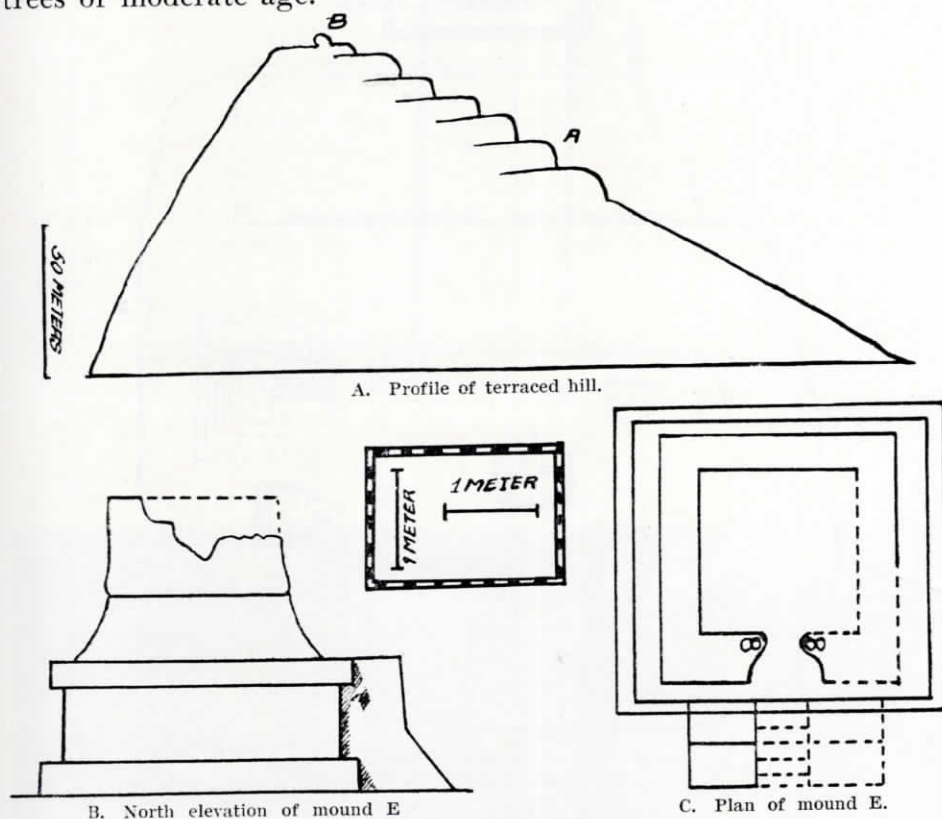


FIG. 46—Catepán Chanquejélvé ruin.
In box, Scale for B (right) and for C (left).

The uppermost terrace had been built up at one point on the northern side with well-cut, flat limestone blocks. This level, as a whole, was oriented nearly north and south. On its east side a cut seemed once to have formed the approach. (Fig. 47). On top was a mound-group in striking contrast to the rest of the work on this hill. The group, with stepped pyramids, battered walls, and low "Palace" mounds, belonged entirely to the general type, with Toltec influence, found at Zaculeo or at Útatlán. The ruin was in excellent state of preservation.

By eleven o'clock we had the group clear enough for mapping and photographing, and so, it being extremely hot, dismissed Don Rosendo and the two Indians he had brought.

The mounds are oriented to north 10° east,¹⁵⁷ the direction most convenient in view of the lay of the land. It is our impression that

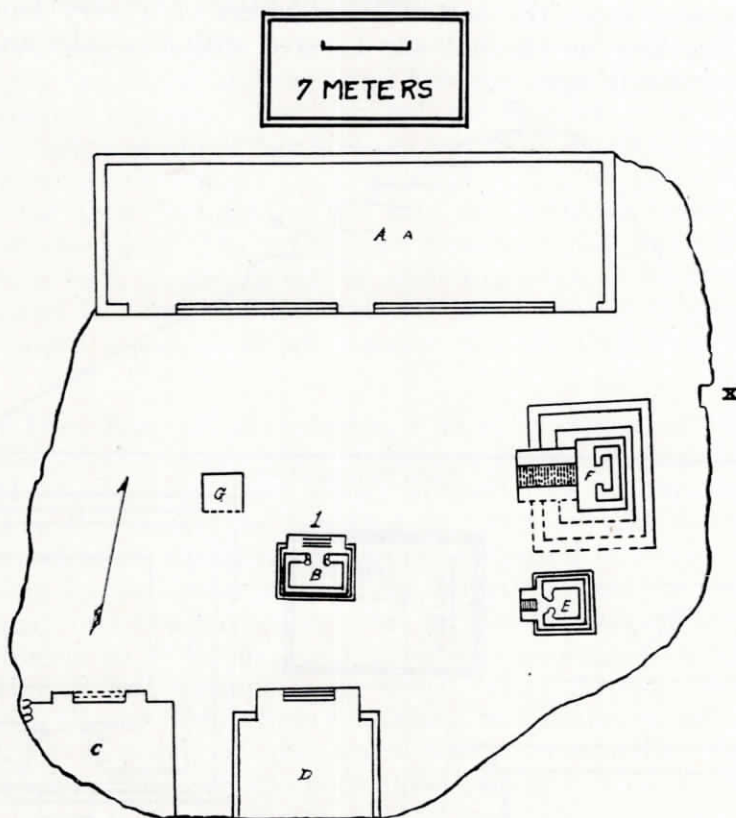


FIG. 47—Plan of Catepán Chanquejélvé ruin.
X Indicates entrance to ruin.

all through this section the terrain controlled the orientation, although sometimes for special reasons, as at Catepán El Bosque, one or more mounds might be set true north. This conclusion has already been forecast by Seler, who says, in speaking of Uaxac Canal: "*Wie man sieht, ist die Anlage nicht nach den Himmelsrichtungen orientiert. Wir werden das gleiche auch bei den andern Gruppen finden. Aber die Hauptachse steht quer zu der Längsrichtung des Tals.*"¹⁵⁸ The largest mound, F, (Figs. 47, 49) faces west 10° south, and this long axis leads to the western edge of the terrace, from

¹⁵⁷ The Brunton compass with which all our surveys were made was corrected for a standard declination of 7° E.

¹⁵⁸ Seler: 1901, p. 26.

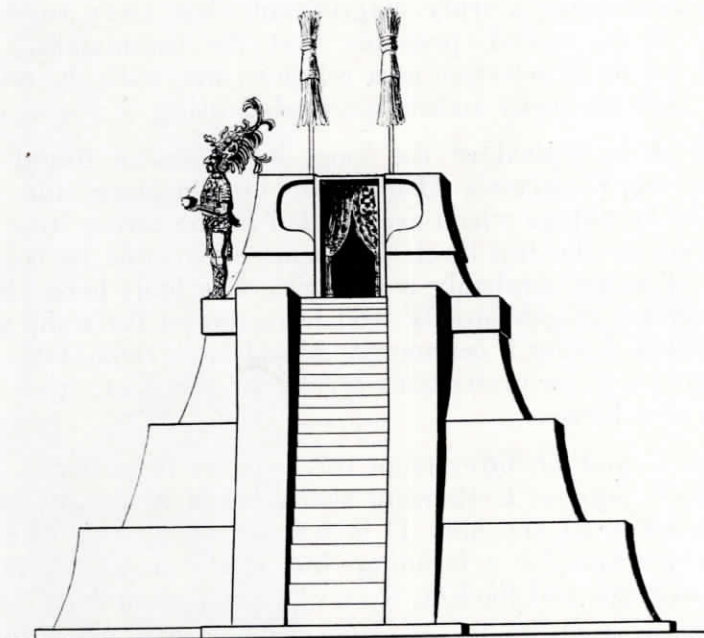


FIG. 48—Mound F. Catepán Chanquejélvé ruin. Restored front elevation.
SCALE: 1 to 62.5



FIG. 49—Mounds F and E, Catepán Chanquejélvé.

which one commands a truly magnificent view away to the southwestward. It is, indeed, probable that the commanding position of this hill led to its selection as a religious site, with the added consideration that its rocky nature precluded using it for agriculture.

Mound A is typical of the long, low terraces found in ruins throughout the Guatemala Highlands. On its inner side, it is approached by two steps which are divided in the center by a buttress or projection of the top level. It seems reasonable to believe that some sort of house, probably a domicile, was built here. However, the level surface might equally well have served for some grouping of participants during a ceremony. Maudslay (1899-1902, Vol. II, pl. 70) shows a more pretentious terrace of this kind from Rabinal, with walls of a house.

Mounds C and D differ from this type in their shape, D being approximately square, C showing two sides of a square, cut off by the falling away of the hill. D is six meters square, which might perhaps give room for a building, but seems small. At the same time it is too large, and too low, for a sanctuary mound or "pyramid."

B, E, and F belong to the class often called "pyramids," but which the writer prefers to call "sanctuary mounds," in reference to the sanctuaries found on top of them. It seems possible that providing an elevated platform for the sanctuaries was their main function. These mounds fall into two types. The first, or most important, consists in a series of terraces or steps with more or less battered sides, producing a truncated, stepped pyramid. On one or more sides, stairs with a balustrade or buttress give access to the top, on which the sanctuary is located. The mound is of rubble and dirt faced with cut stone and covered with stucco. The stones are usually flattish, rectangular cubes, neatly fitted, and laid in regular ashlar with little or no attention to bonding or breaking of joints. The sanctuary walls are made of concrete. Such mounds are usually the dominant feature of their groups, and their topmost platforms are of small area in comparison with their height.

To this class mound F belongs. Its steps show a slight batter, in contrast to Mound D of Buena Vista, or Mound F of Cu Manchón (See pages 242, 248) which have straight sides. The main mound at Utatlán, figured by Stephens¹⁵⁹ as well as that of Yalambojoch in Seler,¹⁶⁰ shows the other extreme, with strongly sloping sides to the steps. The mound figured by Recinos¹⁶¹ from the ruin opposite San Mateo Ixtatán is strikingly similar.

¹⁵⁹ Stephens: 1841.

¹⁶⁰ Seler: 1903.

¹⁶¹ Recinos: 1913.

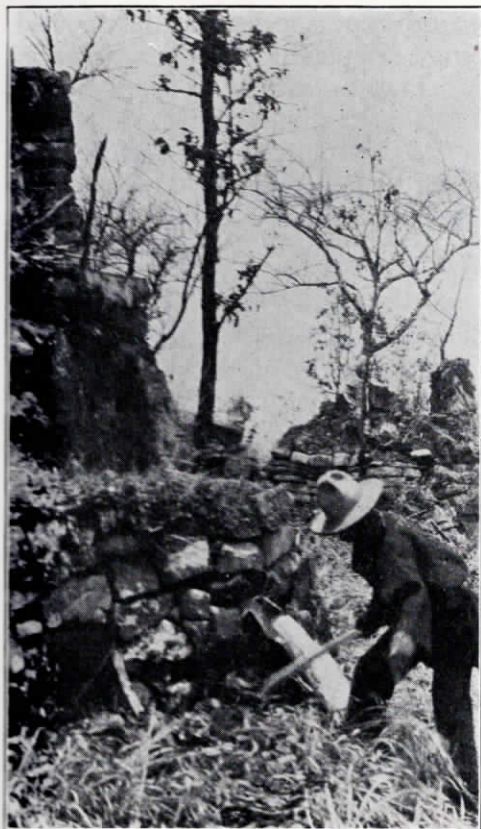


FIG. 50 (Left)
Chuj Indian clearing brush, Catepán Chanquejélvé.
Shows northeast profile of Mound F;
Mound B in background.



FIG. 51 (Right)
Part of sanctuary wall
from Mound F.

The sanctuary mounds of the second type are usually lower and less significant in the general grouping. Typically, they stand upon a platform a few centimeters high. The sides rise perpendicular, with a slight projecting cornice at the top. Thus, they are in no sense pyramidal. The buttresses at the stairs may be battered or perpendicular. Mounds C and D might be regarded as compromises between this type and the low terraces such as Mound A. B and E are standard examples. (Fig. 46, B, C).

Mounds A, E, and F present a type of grouping which seems to be common in many ruins of this class. A dominant high sanctuary mound occupies the central position, served, as it were, by a less important sanctuary mound of inferior type, with a terrace nearby running at right angles to it. The plaza thus indicated may contain, as here (Mound B), and at Cu Manchón (Mound G), a small sanctuary mound centrally located. The enclosed area is completed by any one of a number of combinations of mounds and terraces. It must be admitted that the role of subsidiary mound is taken by a variety of types. That at Buena Vista (C), which, with its perpendicular sides fits well enough into our second class, is nearly as high as D, and covers a larger area. At Cu Manchón, Mound A may have had the sloping sides of a true truncated pyramid.

Mound G was so thoroughly fallen in that it was impossible to say definitely what its form may have been.

The sanctuaries on top of B and E were unusually well preserved, while enough remained on F to permit of tentative reconstruction. (Figs. 46, B; 48). As has been said they are made of pure concrete. The insides are left rough, the outsides are smoothed over with stucco. In view of the texture of the inside it does not seem likely that the concrete was poured into a mould, but that, being pretty stiff from the high proportion of gravel it contained, was laid up by hand, much after the fashion of building some types of adobe houses in the Southwest. Mound E, which is the best preserved, may be taken for description. At the base the sanctuary wall is about 50 centimeters thick. On the inside, it rises nearly perpendicular, but with a slight inward slope to a height of about 1.62 meters. Here traces of a sharp curve inward suggests that there may originally have been a concrete roof. On the outside, as may be seen in Fig. 46, the wall slopes sharply upward from the base for a little less than half the total height, forming the lower zone. It is then stepped outward about three centimeters, and continues upward with a very slight, faintly concave slope. At the top, where the roof may have been, the corner is rounded.

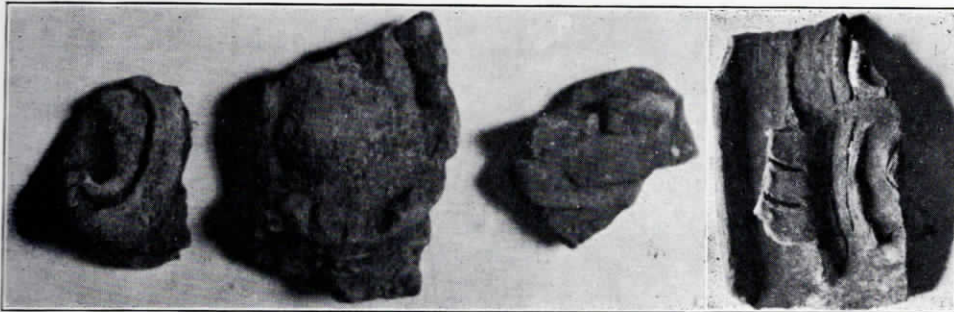


FIG. 52—Clay fragments from Catepán Chanquejélvé.

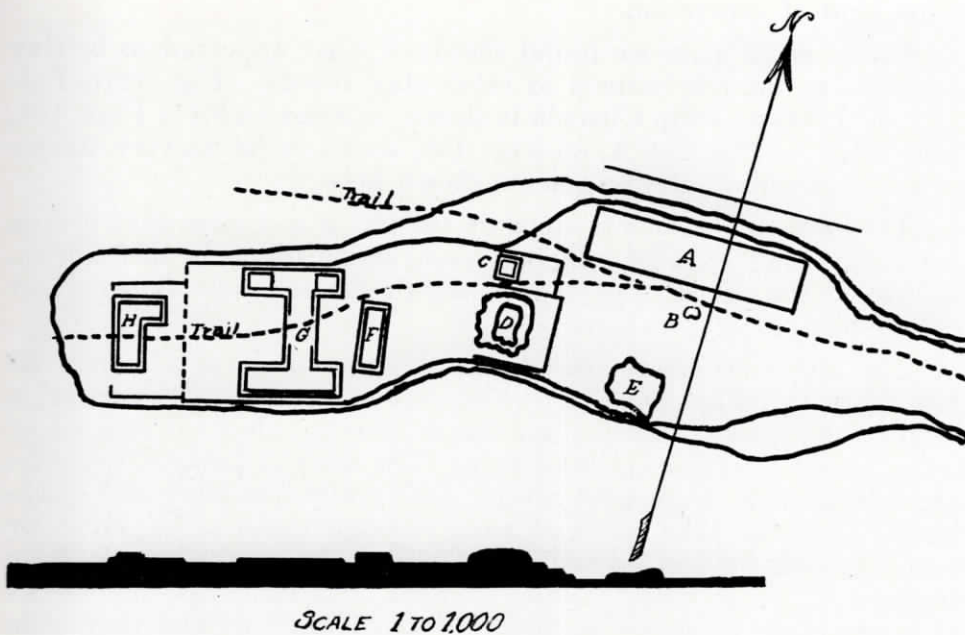


FIG. 53—Plan of Catepán el Bosque ruin.

The door-jambs are marked by a set-back, which is seen in the plan of E (Fig. 46 C), and in the photograph (Fig. 51) of the south half of the west wall and southwest corner of the sanctuary on Mound F, which had fallen, along with all that part of the mound. This photograph also illustrates very nicely the general shape of these walls. The jambs in all three cases, B, E, and F, were hollow, forming a tube in section like an oval about 15 centimeters long, divided by a thin partition into two equal parts. These tubes seemed to extend the full height of the jambs, and may possibly have been used to hold flag-poles.

It will be seen in Fig 51 that there is a slight decorative panel or indentation in the upper zone, next to the jamb. It makes a unit of design with the upward slope of the jamb, forming a simple figure which might have been very effective if picked out in colors.

The fine condition of this ruin has tempted us to make a tentative restoration of the front elevation of Mound F.

Señor Hernández had previously taken a number of clay figures from the sanctuaries, which are now in the possession of Señor Don Arturo Urrutia, one of the owners, of 9a Calle Poniente, No. 20, Guatemala. There were also found in the sanctuary of B three round balls of stone, about 15 to 20 centimeters in diameter, which had been broken up since. Fragments which we examined led us to think that they were volcanic bombs, but might possibly have been some kind of concretion.

In the same place we found sherds of what appeared to be clay masks from incense burners or other clay vessels. (Fig. 52). Pottery of this type from Chaculá is shown in Seler (1901), Figs. 158, 159, 164, etc. Fig. 215 A, on page 148, shows eyebrows very similar to those on one of the fragments shown here.

The work on the lower steps of the hill is so coarse that it does not suggest any type of religious construction found in this section, but rather the poorer type of levelling for houses, such as is current even today.

The following afternoon we went back to the little Catepán El Bosque ruin. (Figs. 53, 54). Like the other, it is situated on a height falling away sharply on the southwest, which, if cleared of trees, would afford a splendid view. The spur is part of the non-agricultural land, at present covered with really fine pines and small-leaved live-oak. The material used throughout is earth, faced or retained with the immediately local stone, the natural rectangular fracture of which made it easy to work into flat brick-like blocks of handy size. There are no traces of stucco coating, and very little of mortar between the stones.



FIG. 54—Catepán El Bosque from the east.



FIG. 55—On the trail to San Mateo Ixtatán.

Properly speaking, this group is a series of flat terraces, with three small mounds, somewhat suggesting the larger ruin of Buena Vista (pages 240-241). The top of the spur has been carefully levelled, and in part, between terraces G and H, and at the southwest end, the edge of this level is marked by a definite stone step. In the other parts, the ground merely begins its steep slope. Terrace A is oriented true east and west, the remainder of the group curves slowly with the long axis of the spur. The form of terrace G suggests a *tlachtli* court, but as it is a raised, low terrace, uniform throughout, it can only be so explained if one pre-supposed that walls of wood or some other perishable material had surrounded it, which seems unlikely. Whether or not A, B, C, and D may be taken as an example of the grouping of a main mound, D, a subsidiary mound, C, terrace, A, and small central mound, B, as previously described, can not be said. The mounds are so ruinous that it would be hazardous to guess just what form they originally had, although careful excavation might well clear up this point.

On the elbow of H is a small pile of stones occasionally used by the Indians today as a place of prayer. Situated as the ruin is, at the top of the long climb up from the Hot Country, one would expect to find some modern altar here in any case. Similar considerations may have influenced the builders of the old group.

It will be noticed that the inner walls of G curve back on themselves as though to mark off two little squares. At present, these are no higher than the remainder of the terrace. Similarly at E a double wall encloses a square, which may have been 20 centimeters high.

No potsherds were picked up at this site.

At the base of the spur, just as one comes into the limestone between the fork of the trails from the finca to the two ruins, we noted a small group of three mounds made of crude limestone rubble, much like those at Cujá. (See pages 243-249).

During our spare time, we worked on the language with a Spanish-speaking Chuj Indian from the finca, whom Don Rosendo procured for us. As will be shown in the linguistic section of the report (Part II, and Appendix I), the Cuchumatán languages make a gradual transition from dialects which phonetically are closely allied to Tzeltal and Chaneabal, through to the Concepción dialect of Jacalteca, with its strong Mames influence. These Indians informed us that they could understand Tzeltal a little bit; grammatically, their language is quite distinct from it, but they have a great number of words in common.

We were told that the Year Bearer was known, and called *kutclum habil*¹⁶² (a close approximation to the Yucatecan *kutcl haab*) but was not worshipped. This agrees with the statement made previously that the worship was carried on only in the central towns, where the officials are maintained. Here, we learned, Prayer Makers are sometimes chosen, in case of great need of rain, and at Xubujasum they are maintained regularly, in connection with a particularly sacred cross at that settlement. The *cahampal* custom appeared to be unknown; its nearest parallel was *xasp*, a prayer with offerings of copal, black wax candles, and sticks of pure resin.

The local costume for men is about the same as that worn at San Mateo Ixtatán; a black wool tunic is belted with a red sash, or a red handkerchief is worn about the neck, or both. Trousers are usually blue, with a stripe in them. Hats and sandals are as previously described. The women wear the long *huipil* with thin embroidery about the yoke of the collar, as at San Miguel. From here on, the skirts were always of the brilliant red material with fine yellow and black stripes that is woven in the vicinity of Mazatenango.

Local pottery did not seem to vary much from the Jacalteca type. Weaving, we were told, was chiefly confined to white material for skirts and *huipiles*. Houses were as previously described.

From there we set out for San Mateo Ixtatán, a ride of about nine leagues. We climbed the side of a long, high ridge, followed it and then crossed it diagonally, then followed out along a fork, crossing the head of one of the main valleys of the Usumacinta-flowing system, and so reached San Mateo. Our course took us through the settlements of Bilíl, Tyatúc, Patná and Patalcal. This simple process involved climbing from the 5,000 to the 10,000 foot level. (From 1,550 to 3,100 meters). It meant riding for half a day along the side of a terrific wall with mountains for buttresses, with clouds marching beside one. Above, on the left, towered the crest. (Fig. 55). Below, on the right, were hanging valleys with little Indian farms, valleys that broke off abruptly into cliffs overhanging a river far below, in the 5,000 foot level, and over across another wall rising again. We came into a shaggy, rugged country of fine, tall pines and uncanny live-oak groves, fog, cold, wheat, sheep, and very Indian-looking Indians, whose farms seemed always beautiful and always bleak. At lunch we shared a fire with

¹⁶² According to Señor Don Gustavo Kanter of Chaculá, the correct form of the *nomen actoris* should be *kutcumal habi* or *haVi* but probably the word has been shortened in this special instance, as in Jacalteca, *iqum haabil*, "Year Bearer", but *no'-iqumal naq* "The bearer of the man, the man bearer".

various Indians; it was cold, and toasted *tortillas* and a little hot *posol* were very welcome at the 9,000-foot level on a grey, windy day.

At Patalcal the clouds wove in and out of huge firs along a ridge; crossing the ridge, we left the side of the valley for the plateau. We had a glimpse of wheatfields and firs and Tibet-like houses and herds of black sheep, then the clouds shut down upon us and the rain began.

We felt our way, sometimes able to see two hundred yards ahead, and sometimes two. We passed through a defile of dark oaks and evergreens, and found the ground alive with tiny flowers in the moss. We came to open parks of pines, tall, black shafts in the mist, with their foliage at the top, indistinct. Meantime, we were getting our rain direct from the factory.

A tall, black cross came out of nowhere, and we began to descend. On our right, close at hand, the other side of a new valley rose like a wall of emerald-green pasture land seen through a shifting film of cloud. We descended to a covered bridge over a rushing river, saw it flowing *east* through a meadow where cows stood in the water and blue smoke rose from thatched houses. We climbed a hill shoulder, just enough to get back into the mist, and entered San Mateo, getting glimpses of roses and shingle-roofed houses as we literally groped our way to the Town Hall. A secretary new to the Highlands, Señor Don J. Umberto Galicia, miserable with a bad cold in the head, welcomed us and gave us the best of service.

The Alcalde and others visited us, and we were made to feel a real welcome, with gifts of firewood and fodder for the horses. The wood was green, and the wooden floor of our lodging hampered its use. The place was mournful with rain and the constant rush of water in the fountain outside. But we felt our health and spirits revive in the bracing cold, and all that country was so beautiful it hurt.

The writer finds the first entry in his diary the next day, "We feel so much more men in all this nice fog and cold," and the last, "We write now by candles, with sap-green wood boiling and smoking on top of a flat stone. I have been able to see my breath all day. I feel great." However pleasant this bracing climate may have been, the mist made it impossible to secure good pictures.

The next morning was cool and clear. With two highly amused Indians, Juan and Marcos, we proceeded to map the ruin which, as it were, projects from one side of the hill. San Mateo consists of a group of huts and houses that seem to have been picked up and

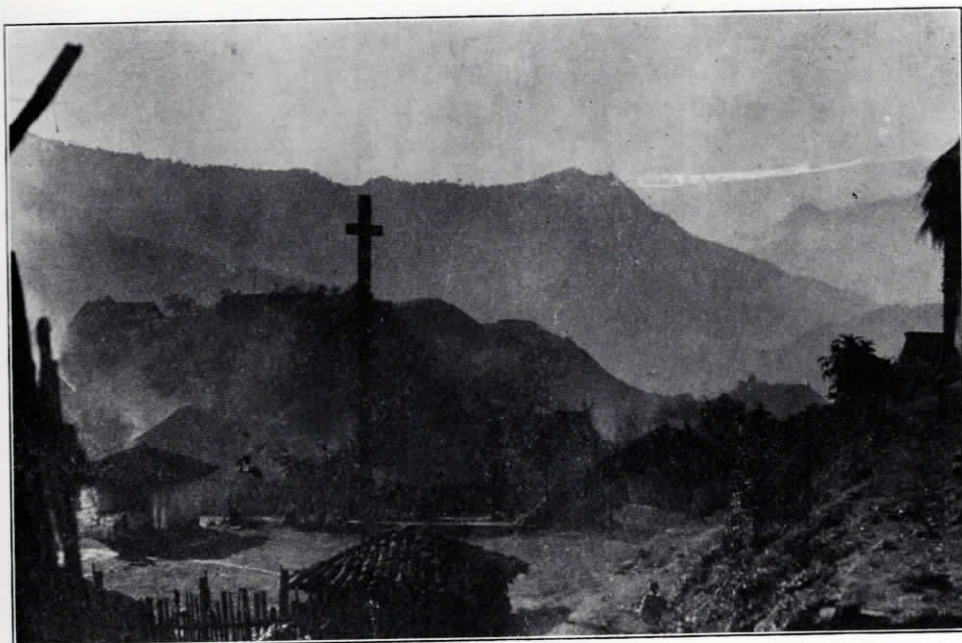


FIG. 56—San Mateo Ixtatán, the main cross, with Carvao ruins in the background.

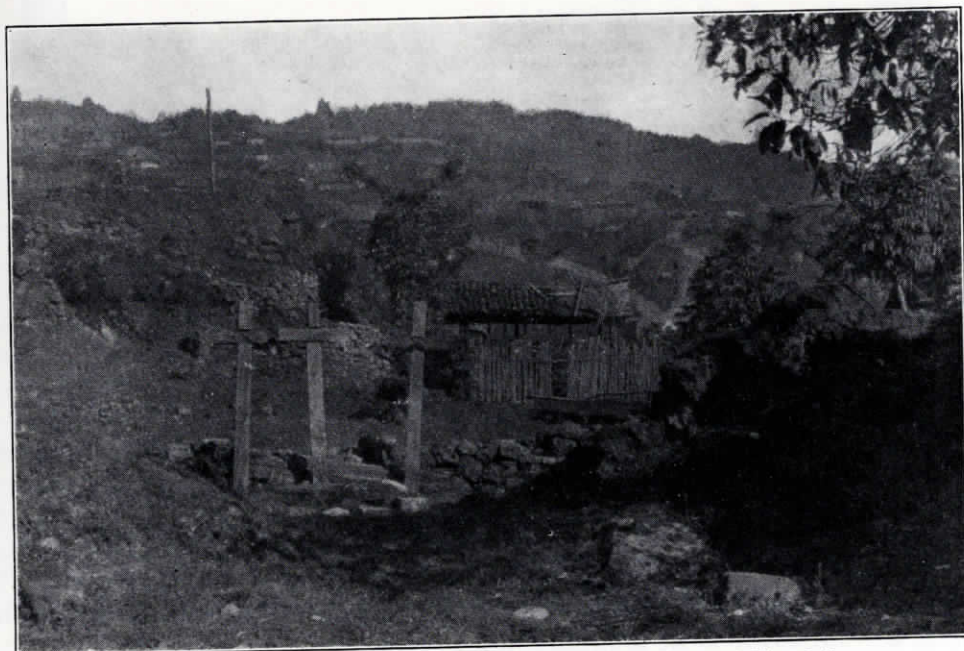


FIG. 57—San Mateo Ixtatán from house A, Carvao, looking past Mound G.

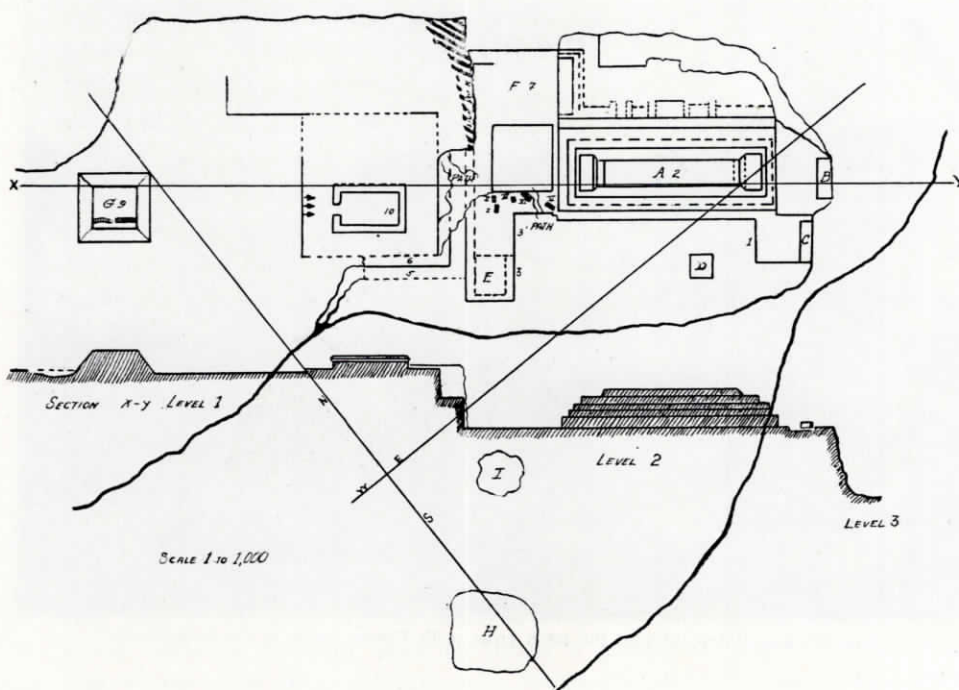


FIG. 58—Plan of Carvao ruin, San Mateo Ixtatán.

1. 1.85 m. high.
2. Alt. triangulation 12.5.
3. Cyclopean foundation.
3'. Largest block, 1.0 x 1.0 x 0.60 m.
4. Corner preserved. Average block, 77 x 53 x 35 cm.
5. Step, 2m. high.
6. Step, 1 m. high.
7. Badly worn down.
8. Traces of wall.
9. Banquette, 50 cm. high.
10. Wall, 2.90 m. high.
- I. Erect stela, 1.15 x 0.20 x 0.65.
- II-II. Erect stela.
- IV. Stela 1.70 x 0.50 x 25, not squared.
- V. Stela, 1.75 x 0.60 x 20.

flung against the hill-side. To the south-southeast a spur runs out, ending abruptly in a series of natural terraces. The top of this has been partly remodeled, partly built up, into an imposing mound group called by the curious, un-Indian name of Carvao (*kāva'o*), perhaps a corruption of the Spanish *calvario*. For some curious reason, Recinos fails to make any mention of it. The town hall and much of the town is at a higher level than the spur, yet, whenever

one looks down the valley, towards where the old volcano of Choj Zunil raises its head, Carvao seems to loom ominously. In the early morning the lower valley was full of mists, and the interlocking ridges as one looked away eastward were dark flat planes of shadow against mist that was incandescent in the sunlight. Then the ruin group was a dark silhouette that seemed to brood over the landscape. (Fig. 56).

The ruin is oriented S. 52 E., its direction being apparently entirely controlled by the lay of the land. As one approaches from the village, at the base of the top level of the spur one passes a mound,

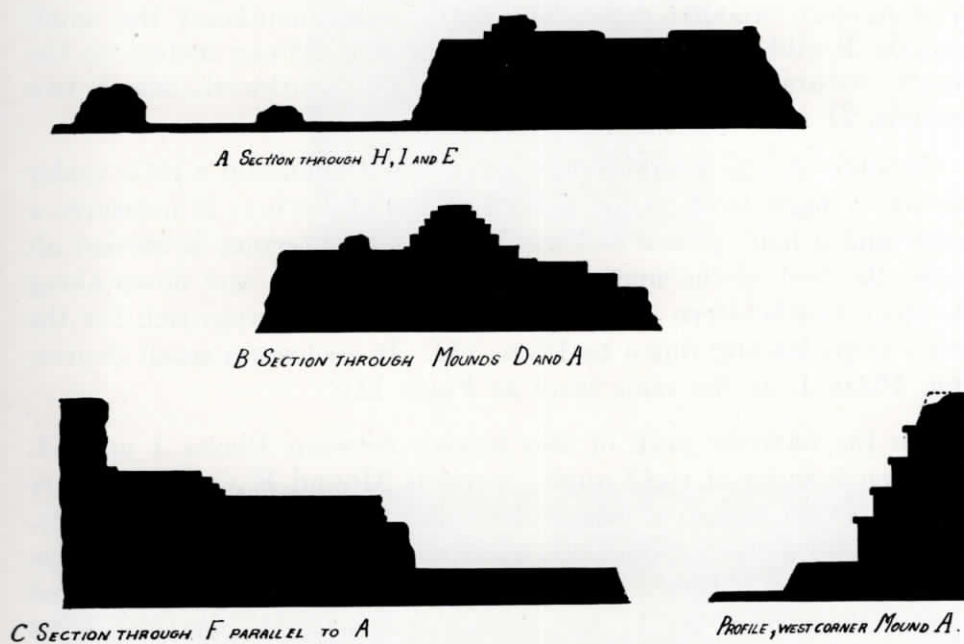


FIG. 59—Carvao ruin: Sections and detail.

G, now much overgrown. By it are two wooden crosses, (see plan, Fig. 58). Beyond this the ground is fairly level for thirty-five meters, then, at a low wall, what was probably originally a levelled terrace begins. On it are three wooden crosses and the remains of a building, 10. Immediately beyond the building on the southwest and southeast, the grounds falls away almost perpendicularly to the next level. On the northeast it drops away equally suddenly to the depth of a third level. This upper part we have called Level 1, the next, Level 2, and the lowest, Level 3. Part of the southeast edge of Level 1 is of live rock, and has not been touched. The rest of this side, as well as the southwestern, has been worked off into steps, leading down to Level 2, with an intermediary terrace supporting

Mound E. Presumably, somewhere on the southeast side there was an ascent of small steps, but much of this part has been worn away by the modern path.

The dominant feature of Level 2 is the great mound, A, some forty-five meters in length, and ten in height, its long axis, like that of the whole group, S. 52 E. On the northeast side, which is the most badly ruined, the general level (Plaza III) is between two and three meters lower than the southeastern Plaza II. There are evidences that Mound A was approached from III. (See plan). In the middle of II stands Mound D, badly ruinous, again attended by a modern wooden cross. At the extreme southeast the small mounds B and C overlook the drop of some fifteen meters to the purely natural Level 3. On this, to the southwest, stand two mounds, H and I, badly ruined.

Mounds A and E stand on a terrace or foundation a little under one meter high, save on the side of Plaza III, where it measures a meter and a half, plus a half-meter step. This terrace is carried all across the foot of the southeastern rise of Level 1, and down along the steep northeastern side of Level 2 to form an approach for the broad steps leading down to Plaza III. It encloses a small depression, Plaza I, at the same level as Plaza II.

On the narrow neck of this terrace between Plazas I and II, and then turning at right angles towards Mound E (see plan), are five plain slab stelae, of which three still stand *in situ*. (Fig. 62). Stelae *i* and *ii* have fallen, and *iii* has sagged badly, it is not possible now to say if they used to stand in line S. 52 E. or not. *iv* and *v* mark the turn of the L, they form a line S. 50 W., and not S. 38 W., at right angles to the main axis, as would be expected. All of these except *iv* are roughly shaped. No. *i* measures 1 meter 15 cm. high, 0.65 wide, and 0.20 thick. Nos. *ii* and *iii* were approximately the same. No. *iv* was 1.70 by 0.50 by 0.25 meters, and No. *v* 1.75 by 0.60 by 0.20.

Of course, we immediately turned over the fallen stelae to see if anything remained on their under sides. Our Indians told us at once that those old stones had been turned over once already by a German who came through some months ago. This was Dr. Franz Termer, who visited San Mateo Ixtatán in 1926, and may claim the honor of being the first to mention this ruin.¹⁶³

¹⁶³ Termer: 1927.



FIG. 60—Masonry, Mound A, Carvao.

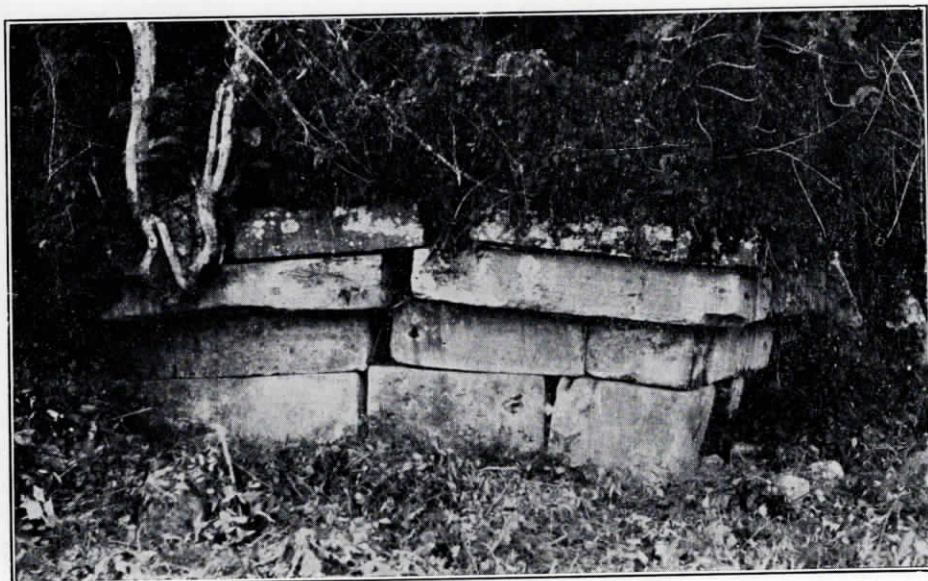


FIG. 61—Masonry, Chinkultic ruin, Chiapas.

The formation of the retaining walls of Mound A, with large, almost cyclopean stones and heavy overhanging cornices on each step, is quite distinct from the usual construction in this district. (Fig. 60). The average size of blocks at the west corner, which is the best preserved, is 77 by 53 by 35 centimeters (about 2' 9" by 1' 11" by 1' 1"). The foundations of Mound E and terrace below showed the same construction, with one unusual block, 1.0 by 1.0 by 0.60 meters. Taken with the plain stelae, and the size of Mound A, this suggests very strongly that Carvao is a decadent form of the same type as Chinkultic and Tenam in Chiapas.¹⁶⁴ There, in a far finer form, one notes the very heavy masonry, and at Chinkultic a similar type of mound. (Fig. 61). Here, in keeping with relative crudeness, the stelae, already degenerated in comparison with the high Old Empire work, have become plain. The writer is inclined to think that Carvao represents the furthest extreme of the migration up from the Old Empire country, before any Toltec influence had begun to make itself felt. One might suggest a date of 800-1,000 A. D., but that, of course, is little more than a guess.

The house, 10, is a doubtful element. It may possibly be the remains of an old, small church or *cabildo*. The walls are over a meter thick, and stand 2.90 meters high at the highest place at present. In the southeast end is a low step, or *banquette*, 0.50 meters high. There are no traces of windows, but much of the wall no longer reaches a height that would show these. The commanding position on the level terrace would naturally attract a builder at any period.

The plan shows the location of seven modern crosses about the ruin. An eighth stands on Level 3, almost due east of the southeast end of Mound A. All of these crosses are worshipped at the present day. As usual, the women are the most active in prayer. It is the custom here to go the rounds of all the crosses in the town, offering incense at each one. Prayer before the church and main cross was constant all day and well into dusk. Señor Don Gustavo Kanter of Chaculá has since dictated a prayer as used at San Mateo when a woman's son is carried off to do military service. We give the translation here:

CHUJ PRAYER

Aih! My Father, Day-Night, aih! My Father, now why dost thou treat me thus? Why didst thou not prevent them? Aih! My Father, Day-Night, aih! My Father, under the hills, under the woods, under the cliffs, under the lakes: why did my son go off bound, to Huehuetenango? My son did nothing, that they should take him. When will he return, my son?

¹⁶⁴ Blom and La Farge: 1927, pp. 431-438.



FIG. 62—Carvao: stelae I, II, III, IV, V and cyclopean block.



FIG. 63—Carvao: Mound A, Mound E and stelae.

The most interesting points of this simple prayer are the appeal "under the hills, under the woods, under the cliffs, under the lakes," surely not Christian, and the name Day-Night. This apparently does not refer to God, Who is addressed as "My Father," *mam-in*, but to another. The Chuj word is *kwagwal*, derived from *kwalil*, "day," and *agwal*, "night." Similar to it is the "*Dueño de los Cerros*," one, not many as among the Jacaltecos, called "Hill-Valleys," *wits-ai'lik*. Both names suggest an idea of comprehension by antithesis that is distinctly interesting.

This same idea of the Hill-Valley is found among the Mayas of British Honduras as *hwits-hok*,¹⁶⁵ among the Kekchi as *ts'ultakah*,¹⁶⁶ and the Quiché as *huyup*.¹⁶⁷ However, I have not been able to identify a Day-Night elsewhere.

The main cross at San Mateo was new, and, we were told, had been put up with much the same ceremonies as at Jacaltenango.

The Year Bearer is known, as at Chanquejervé, as *kutclum habil*. The worship is led by two Prayer Makers, (*alkal*) *tca'lum*. Señor Kanter has since provided us with a list of day names, and good or bad days:¹⁶⁸

<i>imoc</i>	bad.	<i>baats</i>	bad, howler monkey.
<i>iq'</i>	bad, wind.	<i>aiyup</i>	bad.
<i>woton</i>	good.	<i>beñ</i>	good.
<i>k'ana</i>	bad.	<i>ic</i>	bad, a woman.
<i>ab:aq</i>	good.	<i>tsikin</i>	good.
<i>toc</i>	good.	<i>tcab'in</i>	bad, spider monkey.
<i>tceh</i>	bad.	<i>kick'ap</i>	bad, earthquake.
<i>lambat</i>	good.	<i>tcinac</i>	good.
<i>mulu</i>	good.	<i>tcawōk</i>	good. Used as a first name.
<i>elap</i>	bad.	<i>ahau</i>	very good, good for planting or praying.

It will be seen that this list gives more bad days than the Jacalteca, but less than the Quiché. (Table I). On the whole, the names tend toward the Tzeltal, and away from the Quiché, more than in Jacalteca. Several of them are very suggestive. *tcawōk* is close to the literal Tzeltal *tcawuk*, "tempest," although in Chuj it has lost its meaning. It is interesting that, although they are now meaningless, *ahau* remains an extra good day, and *iq'* is associated still with the wind. *baats* the howler monkey and *tcab'in* the spider monkey, both bad days, irresistibly suggest the Hun Bats and Hun Choven

165 Thompson: 1930, p. 57.

166 Ibid; Sapper: 1897, p. 267.

167 Termer: 1930, p. 411; Hernandez Spina: MS. I have transcribed the various spellings according to the alphabet used here.

168 Cf. Termer: 1930, p. 385.

of the Popol Vuh. The writer had often wondered if *tcab:in* was not simply Caban misplaced one day (or vice versa), but now is inclined to think that it is most nearly connected with Choven and with Chuen, which stands in the place of Bats in the Yucateco system. Caban's possible connection with the earth, and hence with the earthquake of Mexican Olin, is reinforced here by the name *kich'ap*, with its literal meaning of earthquake. The root *k'ap* or *k'ab*, "earth," has now been lost in Chuj as in Jacalteca, but it is quite possible that the last syllable of this, and the first of Caban are identical. Here again one regrets the faulty phonetics with which most Maya scholars are content to work. It would be helpful to know for sure if the Yucateco form were really *kaban* or *k'aban*.

Señor Kanter also gave us the following information:

About October 28th the souls of the people go away for nine days, *s-bat kō-pican* "our souls go." At this time the souls of the dead return; offerings are taken to the cemetery and rockets are shot off there. When the souls of the people return, they have a feast and offer prayers, *s-kin kō-pican*, "fiesta of our souls." This is obviously connected with All Saints Day, but the idea of the souls of the people going away must be compared with the Jacalteco (page 181). Like the latter, they believe that the souls of the children go off separately.

Heaven is called *sat tcaan*, "face (of the) sky." This undoubtedly gives the correct interpretation of the Jacalteca "*sat kan*."

The *wits-ai'lik*, aforementioned, owns all animals. If they see an animal with a distinctive mark, such as a cut ear, they say that he put it there.

If an owl hoots near a sick man, he will die. There is a bird, *tsus*, that sings a great deal. Those who have warts on their legs, cure them by dancing while the birds sing, but those who have none will get them if they do so. This probably refers to the Cen-tzontle.

Bats give birth to mice.

During fiestas, when a crowd is gathered, they have a sort of competition in getting off traditional or new humorous, nonsensical sayings. A typical one is, "When I left my place, I was dragging a turkey; when I came here I saw it was the head of a buzzard." One says this, another shouts another, and so on.

From about Tyatuk onwards we had noticed some minor variations of costume and houses, apparently peculiar to this very high country. The men dressed about as at Chanquejélvé, but the women's blouses, while cut the same, were richly embroidered about

the neck with wool, yellow, orange, brick red, rose, mauve, dark blue, and green. A broad crimson stripe went about the body across the chest. With the red skirt, the effect was excellent, and often provided a much-needed touch of human warmth where weather-blackened thatch, dark woods, wet fields and fog made the world all too gloomy.

Many houses had walls made of rough boards about eight to fifteen centimeters wide, with interstices about half as wide, nailed on horizontally. Between them, mud was plastered freely. In not a few cases roofs were shingled with bark.

The blouses already mentioned, and a few wool *capixaij* are woven locally. Sheep are raised in small numbers. A good deal of wheat is grown. Salt mines provide one of the principle sources of income. The Chuj name for Ixtatán is simply *tconap*, "The Village," the other is probably from Aztec *ixtatl*, "salt," plus the locative *tlán*.

It cleared about 4:00 A. M. on April 17th, coming out clear and frosty, with a perfect morning, as the sun began to strike in, for our departure. The main ridge of the Cuchumatanes curves to the southward here, running nearly due north and south, so that in our southerly course to Santa Eulalia we were able to stick to the high country. We reached the 3,000 meter level almost immediately on leaving San Mateo, and kept that altitude for the greater part of the day. At this height we found true forests growing on limestone—miles and miles of magnificent pine all blasted as though by fire, due to a blight that was now invading Guatemala, and other forests of splendid, coppery live-oaks and bays. The country was more rolling, not nearly so precipitous, and frequently opened out into park-like pastures, very green, with flocks of sheep or scattered cattle. At the edges of the trail, among the rocks, was an infinity of small flowers. The going was good, and fairly level, so that in the crisp weather we made excellent time.

About two in the afternoon we found ourselves for a short space following a flat-topped ridge so narrow as to seem a piece of artificial construction. The altitude here was well over 3,000 meters, and the country on both sides dropped away rapidly, apparently forming the heads of valleys of the two main river systems.

Shortly after that we looked down into the magnificent enclosure of the Pet Valley, with its wooded walls, scattered huts, rich meadowland and rivulets. Then beyond the Pet to Ayoch, and treeless, green ridges with the fog breaking over them like waves. The fog shut in so close as to be alarming, and we navigated the rest of our



FIG. 64—On the road near Santa Eulalia.



FIG. 65—Market scene, Quetzaltenango.

way into Santa Eulalia to the buoy-like ringing of the church bell. We made our camp in the school-house, with a hazy impression of a quaintly dignified group of public buildings, and many Indians praying before a tall church whose cupolas were invisible.

Santa Eulalia is one of the main wool-raising towns, and a center for weaving the wool tunics or *capiwaij*. Accordingly, the next morning, while we made our linguistic lists, the Alcalde ordered a hunt for samples. Only two were obtained, and those with the greatest difficulty. The work is done in the outlying *aldeas*, or suburbs. The central town itself is rather Ladino in cast, and not such a good place for observing pure Indian life. The sharp concentration of houses is not so noticeable here; about a nucleus, houses are scattered far and wide over the green, open pastures. (Fig. 64).

Our linguistic list showed, as had been expected, that the local dialect occupied a half-way place between true Chuj and Jacalteca. (See page 248).

Our informants, and other Indians and Ladinos with whom we talked, gave us some limited information on customs. In regard to the day-names, the laymen were as ignorant as ever save that a couple of officials, one a *regidor*, knew that one should pray every twenty days, or on two occasions which recurred every twenty days, called *ahau* and *tcinac*. These further volunteered that *imoc* was "*tierra santa*," the cemetery. They knew of the Year Bearer about what the ordinary Jacalteco knows. The Prayer Makers are elected annually, or perhaps select their own successors. During their year of office, we were told, they could not wash. At the time of the Year Bearer they, with certain other shamans, go down into a cave near the town where there is some kind of an altar, and there a prophecy for the coming year is made.

Opposite the town hall, in the main square of the town, is a ruinous shack. Between it and the town hall stands a cross. Inside the shack, the door of which is kept locked, is what, as far as we could find out, is nothing but a plain log of wood, or perhaps a squarish plank, called the *holom koñop*, "Head of the Village." This sacred object is worshipped by the Prayer Makers, as previously reported by Recinos.¹⁶⁹ One cannot but think of the "wooden standard" of the Maya prophecies.¹⁷⁰

These Indians are very conservative, and strong enough to keep up their center of native customs within the Ladinoized town. To see the *holom koñop* or the cave of the prophecies, without grave

¹⁶⁹ Recinos: 1918.

¹⁷⁰ Roys: MS. T. U.

danger, would require a long period of diplomacy. The cave was visited a few years ago by some Ladino youths, who paid for their temerity with their lives, as have so many who took lightly the Indian's religion.

Prayer before the cross kept up all the time, both women and men taking part. A new type of incense burner was seen here; a perforated pot like a small version of the one used for straining hominy (See Fig. 20) slung from a string.

The men's costume is the same as previously described for the Chuj people, the women's like that at Chanquejélvé and San Miguel Acatán.

In the house of Señor Don Manuel Vicente Lopez we were shown three very crude stone heads, little more than balls with features indicated by a few depressions and lines, from Quetzal. They suggest vaguely the heads figured by Seler¹⁷¹ from the Chaculá district. These were taken out of a mound.

We left for San Miguel Acatán about twelve o'clock on April 28th. The trail went through the vale of Pet again, then climbed the south side of the valley, and went south by west through open country, sheep, live-oak woods, fine going and long views, mountain range behind range. About four we came tumbling down into San Miguel, at an altitude of 2,100 meters. We had made six leagues in three and a half hours running time.

Despite its height, San Miguel is a Temperate Country town, on account of the draft, one might say, which comes up the narrow valley from the hot country to the westward. We found it most depressing after the sharp cold of the last few days.

The church at San Miguel is one of the gems of the Cuchumatanes. (Fig. 66). Undoubtedly it represents design and construction entirely by the Indians, under an influence which it would perhaps be too high-sounding to call baroque. The picture shows better than words can describe the quaint, Gothic quality of the figures in the niches. One need only add that the mural decoration of floral designs inside is in the same manner.

The Alcalde of San Miguel gave us the best of welcome and entertainment, memorable even in that country of invariable hospitality.

We made a linguistic list, finding the language to be true Jacalteca, with only a slight dialectic variation in the direction of Chuj. (See Appendix I). From our linguistic informant, and from others, we obtained a few ethnological notes. They have various

171 Seler: 1903, pp. 112-115, figs. 145-153.



FIG. 66—Facade of church, San Miguel Acatán.

grades of Prayer Makers, without special insignia, and worship the Year Bearer. Prayer goes on steadily before the church, as usual. (See Fig. 42). Incense burners are not privately owned, but are left at the base of the cross for everyone to use.

This is another *capixaij*-weaving town. On the next day we wandered all through it hoping to see the weaving in process, but were disappointed. A loom which we saw hanging on a wall had a set head and foot and wooden headle that looked more European than Indian in origin. Possibly the type of loom was taken over with the wool-weaving complex. When woven, the material is trampled in a tub of very hot water, thus felting it. Saddle-blankets are made by pouring boiling water over combed wool, and then trampling it.

This ended our side-trip. On the afternoon of our second day at San Miguel, we left for Jacaltenango, getting in about seven. Our trail this time was right against the lay of the land, a series of the stupidest imaginable long climbs and stiff descents, with the bottom of every gorge a furnace for heat. We passed some mines, abandoned despite their good lead and silver because of the difficulties of transportation. In the late afternoon, we touched the true high country again at Samicoyá, just behind the ridge over San Marcos. As we reached the ridge, and looked down into the valley of short *huipiles*, men dressed in white, the typical Jacalteca people, we entered also the scrubby, dull second growth. From there to the gorge of the Rio Azul took us an hour and three-quarters, a descent of three thousand feet, pure scrambling.

CHAPTER XXIV

ARCHAEOLOGY, JACALTENANGO TO
TODOS SANTOS

In the section between Todos Santos and Jacaltenango, or, more properly speaking, San Marcos, which comprises the southern half of the Cuchumatanes visited by us, two types of ruin were found. One, which is typified by Buena Vista and Cu Manchón, is similar to Catepan Chanquejelvé described in the last chapter, related to Zaculeu and the other sites of Toltec influence. The other, of which Cujá may be taken as an example, is far more crude, and does not seem to fit into any specific neighboring culture. The ruins of this type will be taken up first.

Opposite the village of San Martin Cuchumatan stands the mound group Tilajyón, which was first reported by Recinos.¹⁷² A large mound, apparently faced with or entirely made of large, crude stones, rises to a height of about 25 meters on the southwestern corner of the end of a spur coming down from the high ridge to eastward. (Fig. 68). The remainder of the end of the spur is occupied by the supplementary small mounds. The group is oriented to face S. 70 E., the direction of a line drawn through the center of the main mound, A, and through the axis of the supporting group, intersecting D and B. This conforms in an approximate manner to the direction of the end of the spur.

The top of A, which has an area of about 250 square meters, serves as the basis for a small plaza group. At the back, or west-northwest, is the main mound, A I, overlooking, in that direction, the steepest drop of the general level. On either side from this and in front the top is enclosed by the six smaller mounds, A II to A VII. In the center, on a line drawn between the center of A I and the interval between A IV and A V, is a small, square central mound, A VIII. Apparently there was once a stepped approach from the east-southeast side up to this interval. We thought we could make out traces of crude steps, about 50 centimeters in rise and tread—unusual dimensions for this area. All now was so badly overgrown and so ruinous that it was hard to make sure.

¹⁷² Recinos: 1913.

At the base of the steps, at the spot marked 1 on the plan, was found the idol shown in Figure 67. We think that this was probably thrown down from above at some time. Although the form, with rounded head and general breadth of body, is different, the execution and style resembles some of the idols from the neighborhood of Chaculá figured by Seler (1903), such as those on page

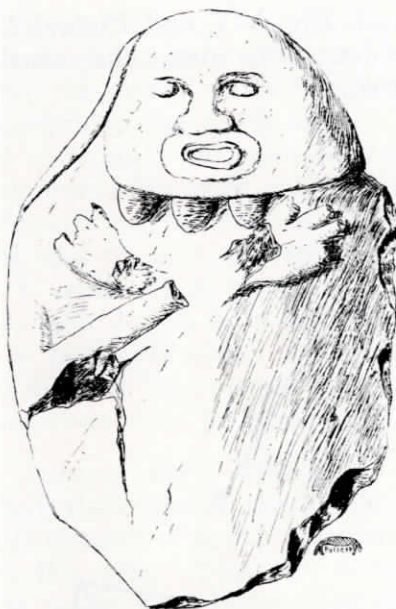
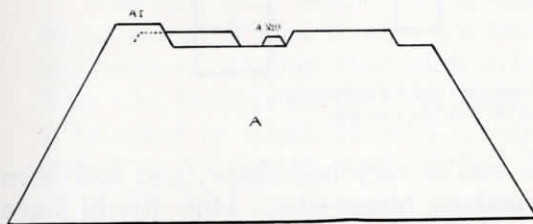
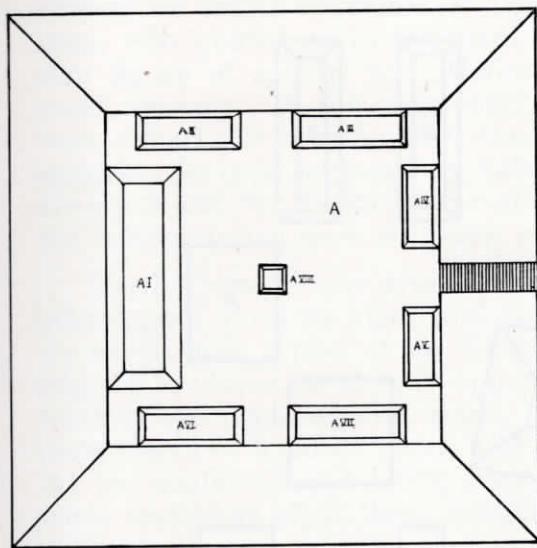


FIG. 67—Stone figure from Tilajyon.
SCALE: 1 to 1/10.



SCALE: 1 to 1000

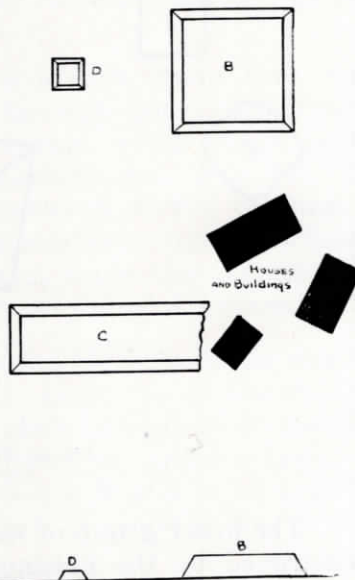


FIG. 68—Plan and section of Tilajyon ruin, San Martin Cuchumatan.

123, Fig. 171, and Plate VIII, left. The crossing of the arms, and indentations about the raised mouth and eyes are particularly notable.

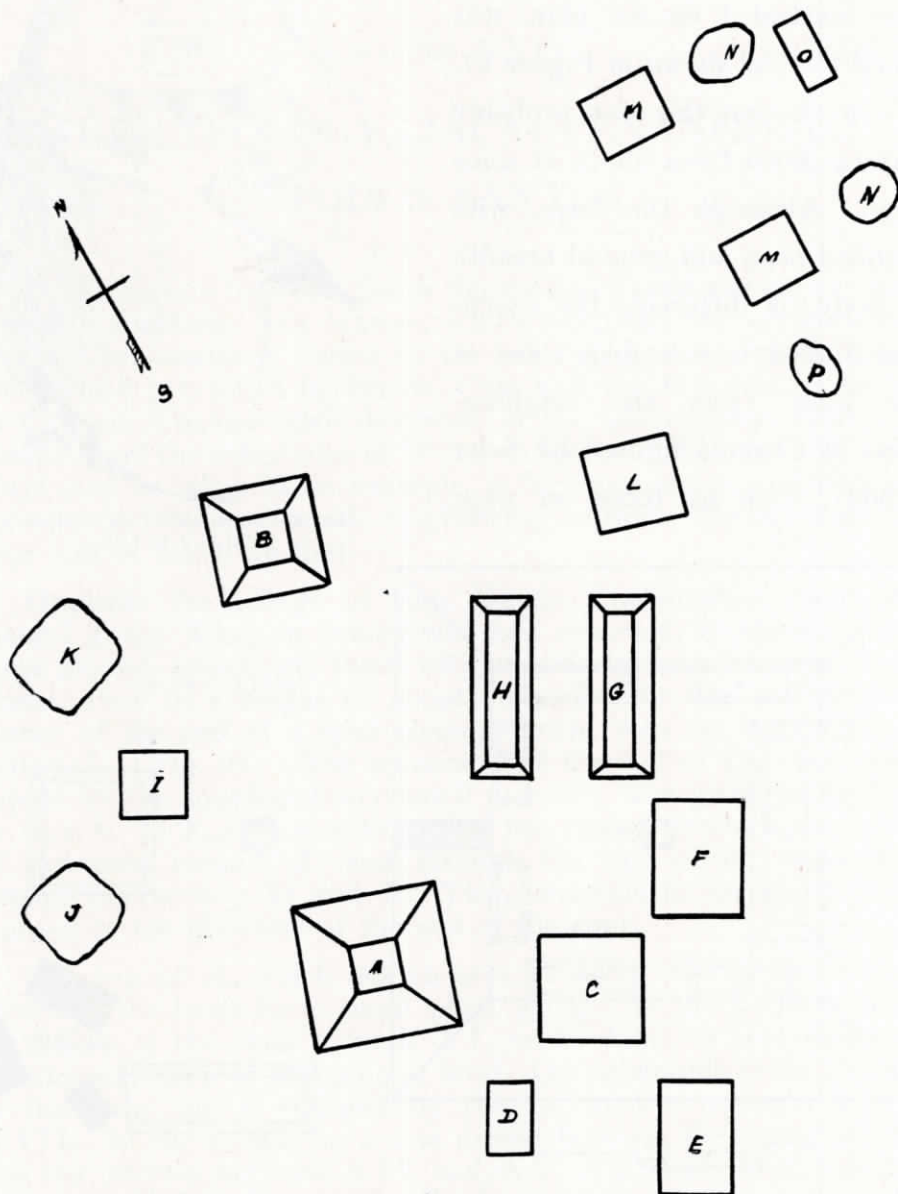


FIG. 69—Plan of Cujá ruin near Jacaltenango.
APPROXIMATE SCALE: 1 to 900.

The lower group of mounds was in very bad shape, and had been destroyed by the placing of modern house-sites. One would have expected another long mound to balance C, but this was not found.

About four leagues from Jacaltenango, in low country, in a tributary valley of the Rio Azul system is the ruin of Cujá. The name (*ku' ha'*) means "covered water" or "cave water," referring to the brook that passes a hundred meters to the south of it, originating in a cave. The ruin occupies a typical, flat, narrow valley surrounded by precipitous, low limestone hills with many crags. Here, from the point of view of orientation, the mounds fall into three interlocked groups. Mounds M and O, and probably P and N are true north-south. A, B, and L make up a group north 20 east, while C, D, E, F, G, H, and I, with J and K at a forty-five degree angle to them, are oriented to north 32 east. There is no evidence in the mounds themselves to indicate that one set was later or earlier than the other, but some sequence may be presumed.

The whole site is very ruinous, corners were difficult to determine, and owing to the area covered, thickness of the brush, and the fact that we had no help, it was necessary to make most of our measurements by pacing. Therefore, this plan (Fig. 69) is to be taken as only approximate. There is really very little more to be said about the group. The mounds were all built of large, unworked stones; we found no traces of facing. According to Señor Taracena, who guided us to the spot, he had formerly found a small clay figure of a man near Mound H, but this was now lost beyond recovery. A few very small, rotten potsherds of brown clay were remarkable only for their thickness. Mounds G and H faintly suggests the type supposed by Seler to be *tlachtli* courts, such as at Group 2 and the Ventana Site at Uaxac Canal,¹⁷³ but in this case the interpretation does not seem possible.

Partly because our trips there were always made with some ethnological work in view, and partly through poor management, we never made a plan of the San Marcos ruin, which lies along the edge of the *barranca* directly opposite Jacaltenango. (Fig. 70). The mounds are made of dirt, small, and scattered over a distance of more than two hundred paces, with an orientation roughly northeast. At the southwest end is the main mound, some five meters high, with, southwest of it, three smaller ones enclosing a square.

The first ruin which we examined in the Cuchumatanes was Cu Manchón at Todos Santos Cuchumatán. Here, as at Carvao, the old place of worship still holds a living place in modern ceremonial. This site belongs to the first class mentioned, or *Zaculeu* type. It is oriented to north 20 west, except Mounds B and C at approximately a 45° angle, and Mound E, which is slightly out of line. (Fig. 74 A).

¹⁷³ Seler: 1903, pp. 36 and 48.

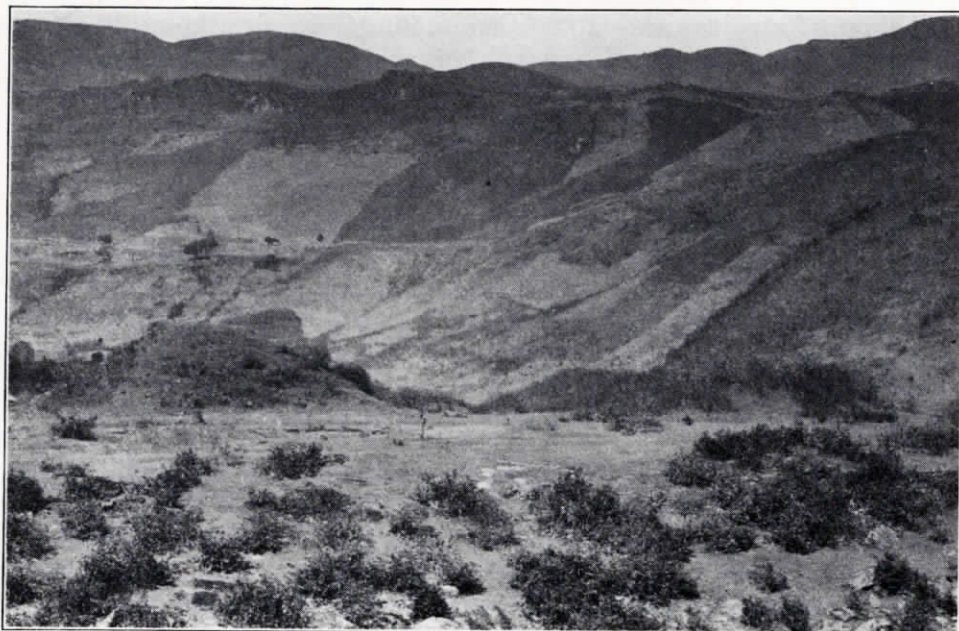


FIG. 70—Main mound group at San Marcos.



FIG. 71—Cu Manchón ruin, Todos Santos.



FIG. 72—Stucco figure on Mound A, Cu Manchón.

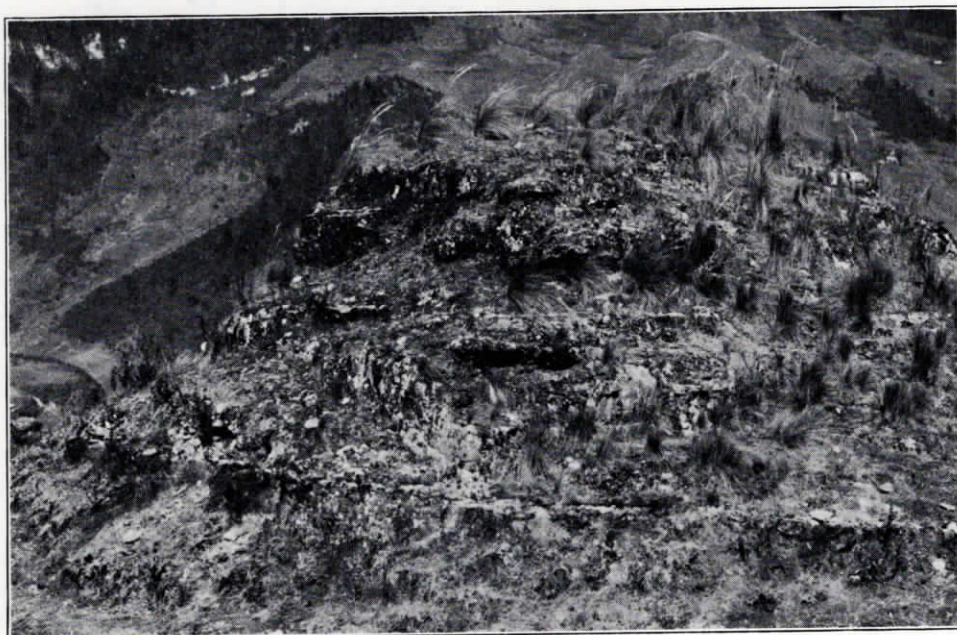


FIG. 73—Mound F, Cu Manchón ruin.

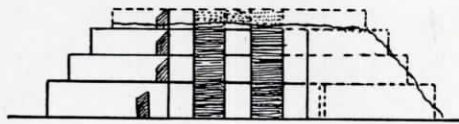
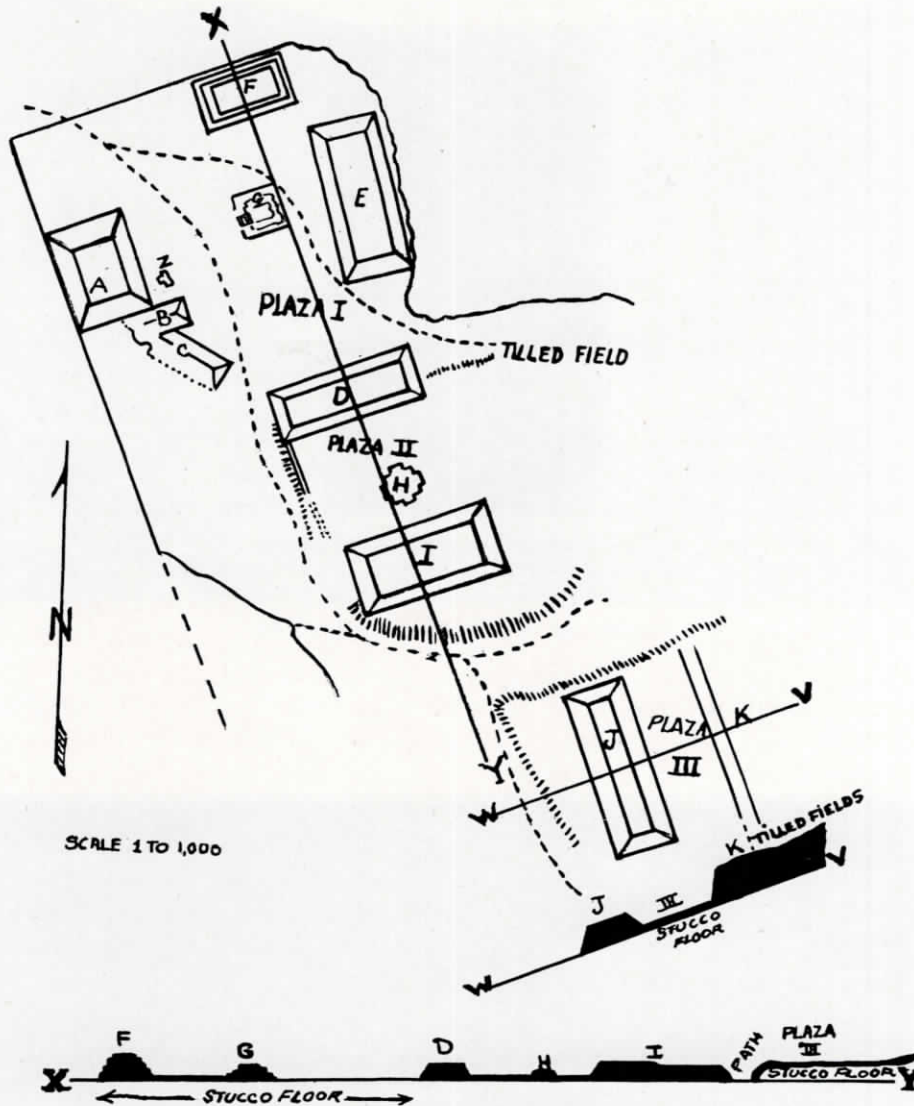


Fig. 74-B—Front elevation of Mound F, Cu Manchón ruin.

The principal sanctuary mound is F, which is also the best preserved. It is located at the middle of the north end, facing the long axis of the whole group. On the west side, A, which is apparently a true, low truncated pyramid, more or less fits our class of subsidiary mounds. E and D belong in the platform class, closing off Plaza I on the other two sides. In the center is the typical, small sanctuary mound, G, in this case pretty badly ruined. Of an unusual character are the small mounds B and C, which trail off at an angle from A. Apparently their tops were ridges, although this may merely be the result of weathering.

The level of Plaza I continues along the west side of the site, but in the center, from Mound D, there is a rise of about 50 centimeters, originally marked off by terracing, in the manner which will be seen highly developed at Buena Vista. Plaza II is enclosed on the north and south by D and I, with the badly ruined Mound H in the middle. The two former are of the platform type, and I, again, lies across another slight rise in level. Shortly behind this the ground has been deeply worn away by another path, originally it must have continued level to Plaza III. On the west side of this plaza is Mound J, a long mound with sloping sides, originally covered with stucco. K, on the east, is simply the sharp rise to a higher level, as shown in the section Y-Z, smoothed and covered with stucco. The floor of the Plaza seems also to have been so covered.

On top of Mound A was found a curious figure in the round, built up of mortar over a stone core, now badly weathered. There remain the upper half of a human being, with stumps of arms sticking out straight, and a face with features nearly obliterated. (Fig. 72). It is still the custom to bring the dead to this mound, and leave them on top of it, before interring them in the cemetery. In front of A is an ordinary modern cross and altar.

It will be noticed in the elevation (Fig. 74 B) that Mound F has straight sides to its steps, as at Buena Vista, differing in this from the general type with battered sides. It is built of well-cut, flat stones covered with several layers of stucco. The very top was pretty badly crumbled, and no signs of a sanctuary were found.

Buena Vista or Mojón (*mohōn*, "boundary") ruin lies on the boundary-line between San Antonio and Santa Ana Huista, in the parallel valley to the south of the Rio Azul. From the south wall, a shoulder comes out, falls away, and then rises again into a dominant promontory across which the mound group was built. The most remarkable thing about this site is the series of shallow levels, each marked off with neat terracing, and varying about 50 centimeters one from another. (Fig. 75). The orientation is north 42

west. Except F, all the mounds are grouped at the northwest end, where the hill falls away most steeply, and in part has evidently been built up with dirt to carry the mounds.

Here our typical group lacks the small central mounds. Instead, the long platform, A, and the two long mounds of intermediate

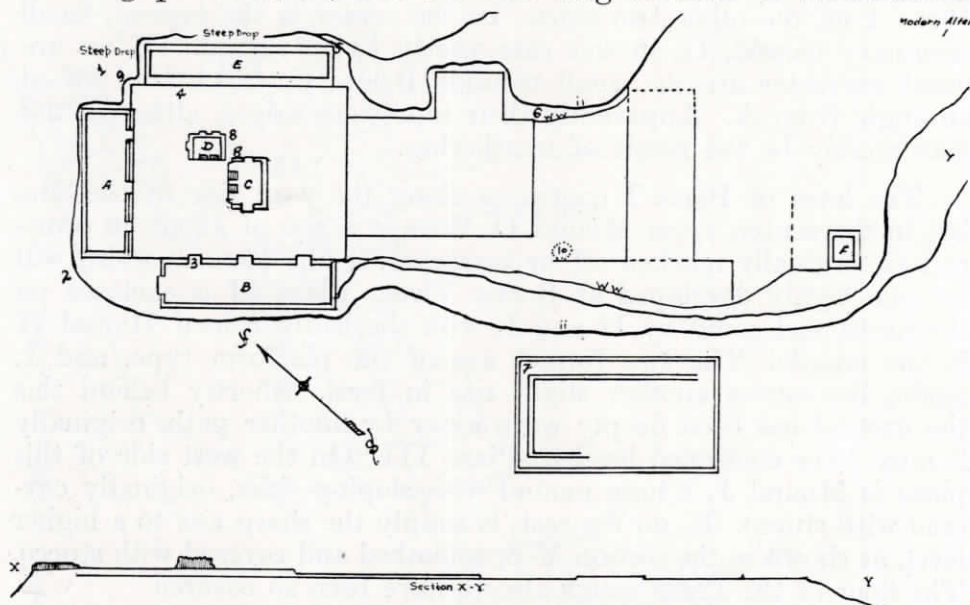


FIG. 75—Plan and sections, Buena Vista ruin, near Santa Ana Huista.
SCALE: 1/500.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Lowest step. 6 cm. high. | 8. Traces of paint on stucco. |
| 2. Lowest step. 55 cm. high. | 9. Sheer drop. Stone revetment. 2 m. |
| 3. Fig. | 10. Circle of stones. |
| 4. 65 cm. high. | ww. Edge of leveled ground. |
| 5-6-7. Triangulation for terrace. | ii. Contours \pm 2 m. |

form, B and E, enclose three sides of a neatly levelled rectangle, the fourth (southeast) side being marked by a step down to the next level. In the middle stand the main sanctuary mound, D, facing at right angles to the main axis, and its supporting mound, C, facing with the axis. The writer inclines to class D as the dominant mound, because of its height and stepped sides. It is true that Mound C occupies a slightly larger area, but with its straight walls rising from a base it belongs more in our second type. This classification, after all, tentative as it is, is more one of form than of function at present. (Figs. 76, 77).

Mound D, like F at Cu Manchón, has straight sides to the steps, the latter being confined to the lower zone of the buttresses. Although there were no traces of sanctuaries, and the tops had crumbled, as well as some despoliation having been committed by people stealing cut stone, still these two mounds are very well preserved. On the sheltered sides traces of both red and yellow paint remain.

Mound E is shown on the plan as having plain, sloped sides. This may be due to weathering, as one would expect it to be the same as B. However, both sloping sides, and the type seen in B and C, seem to have been used through this district for enclosing mounds. A is a typical, low platform.

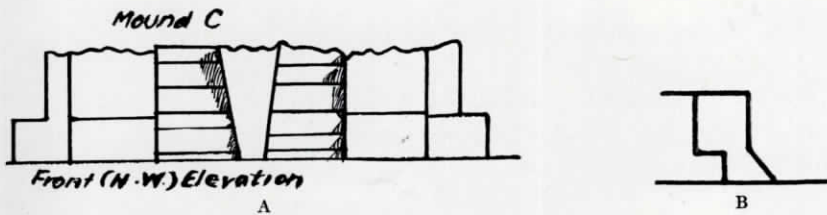


FIG. 76—Details, Buena Vista ruin.
A—Front elevation, Mound C. SCALE: 1/100.
B—Profile, Mound B, taken at point marked 3 in Fig. 75. SCALE: 1/125.

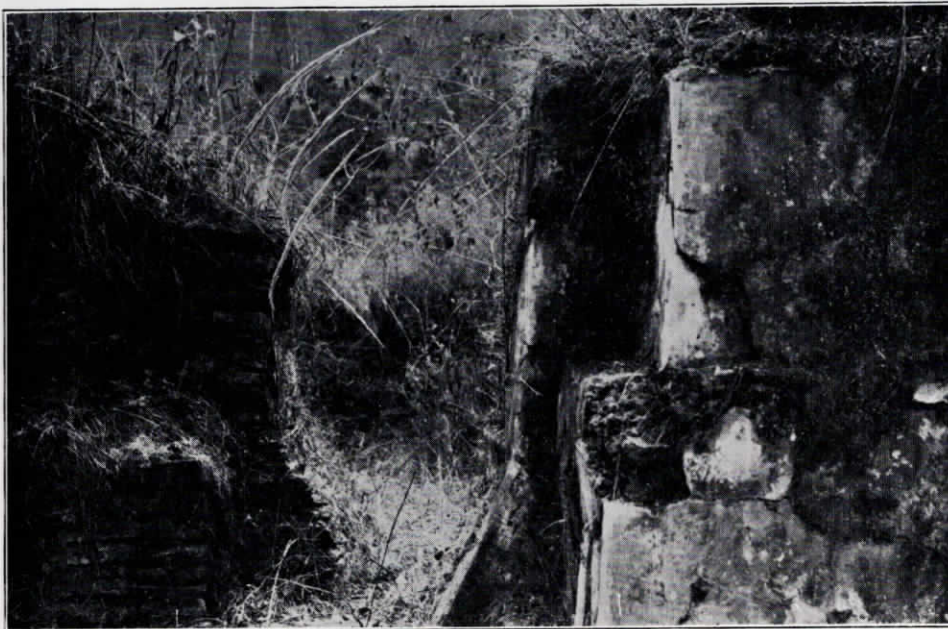


FIG. 77—Profiles, Mounds C and D, Buena Vista ruin.

Mound F, at the opposite end of the ruin, is so badly gone that it is impossible to say just what form it originally had. The eccentric mound G is really a terrace carried out from the slope of the hill. At the point marked 7 there is a circle of low stones, a little over two meters in diameter, just showing above the ground.

The mounds, as usual, are built of well-cut, flat stones and mortar, with stucco facing. Similar stones are used in the various



FIG. 78—Mound C, Buena Vista ruin.

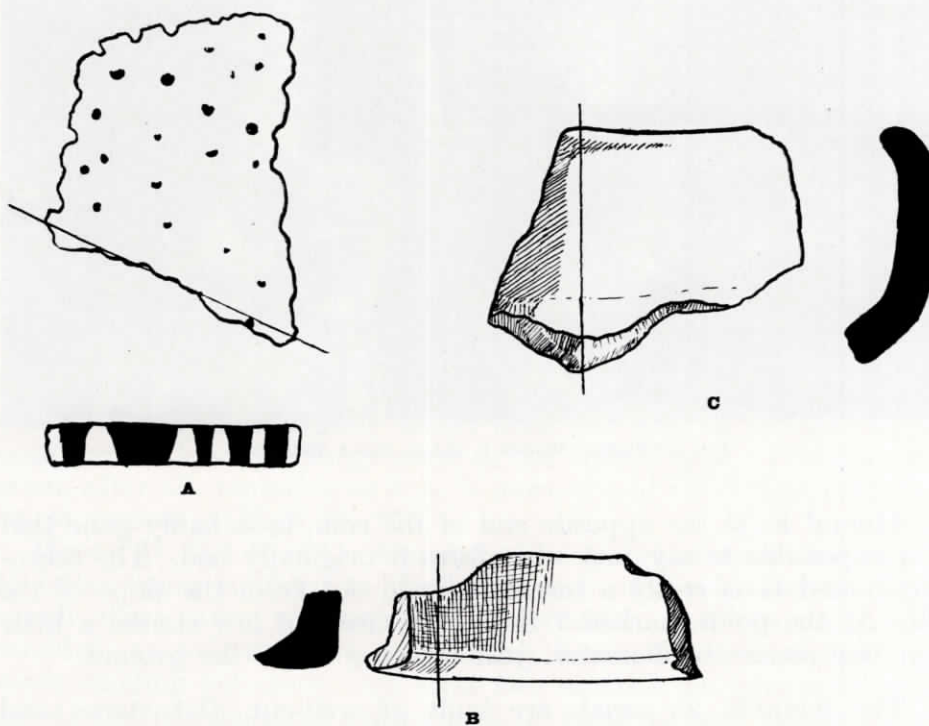


FIG. 79—Shards from Na Chem cave, near Jacaltenango.

terracing. The centers of the larger mounds are a rubble of dirt and small stones.

Beyond G is a modern cross and altar, said to be placed there in relation to the boundary. Until recently, the Prayer Makers from Jacaltenango used to come there some time about the period of the Year Bearer.

We visited three caves near Jacaltenango. The first, a small one in the slope of the gorge below the village, produced only a human humerus, along with a vast quantity of animal bones.

The next two were in the vicinity of Najat Cu, in the Hot Country. In one, a shallow one, we found some fragments of modern pottery. Our guide, Shuan Manel, gave us no good reason why the pottery should be there. The second was a large limestone cave, with some stalactites and stalagmites, damp, not a place one would choose to live in. It is called *na'-tcěn*, "Stone House." Here we found fragments of a clay hominy-strainer, and some other shards, of which samples are shown in Figure 79. One of these does not correspond to the modern type at all. All were coated with lime to a thickness of several millimeters. Of course, in a cave of this kind, such coating is no criterion of age.

According to accounts, there are many caves in this vicinity, and many of them would be worth visiting, had one the time. We were not primarily engaged in archaeological work, and did not feel justified in taking the time to make the side-trips necessary for such investigations.

SECTION II

THE JACALTECA LANGUAGE

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SECTION II

THE JACALTECA LANGUAGE

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The linguistic material which we obtained incidentally to our other work at Jacaltenango is presented here more or less in the form of a grammar, not because the writer feels it to be complete enough to serve as such but because that ordered form is the most convenient for comparative studies. The *lacunae* in our information are only too obvious; readers will see how much is incomplete, and a casual study of the texts alone will show many constructions which have had to be left unexplained.

For lack of time, I have not been able to make the comparisons with other Mayan languages which one would like to make, for it should now be possible to settle fairly definitely the position of the Cuchumatán languages in respect to the Mam, Quelén and Chol.¹⁷⁴ Certain simple observations do suggest themselves, and may be made. Much depends on the excellent Chuj material which I had the good fortune to obtain from Señor Don Gustavo Kanter of Chaculá, of which I hope shortly to make a separate publication, presenting at this time only comparative lists based on those made by ourselves in the field.

The Cuchumatán languages fall into the Eastern Group of Mayan, that division which regularly suffixes the verbal pronoun in such cases as—to use Seler's examples¹⁷⁵—the Maya *batab-en*. "I am chief," *batab-etc*, "thou art chief," as against the Quiché *in ahau*, *at ahau*. The Jacalteca form would be *ahau-inan*, *ahau-atc*, as in Text I (p. 295), *suk-inan*, "I am stupid" and Text IV (p. 302), *Jacaltenango-inan*, "I am Jacaltenango."

Beyond this, the placing of these languages is made difficult by their variety within themselves. They seem to the writer to form a unit, both on the score of grammatical structure, particularly the possessive pronouns and the conjugation of the verb with the auxiliary *tc-* (see page 272), and of general lexical similarity, yet

¹⁷⁴ I use the term Cuchumatán, following Lehman (1920, II, map), to include Chuj and Jacalteca. Lehman erroneously spells the word "Chuchumatanes". Quelén is used for the Tzeltal-Totzil-Chaneabal group by Charencey (1888), and Schuller (MS).

¹⁷⁵ Seler: 1887, and Ges. Abhandl. I, p. 72.

Jacalteca and Chuj are distinct enough to form two separate languages. However, the distinction is not as simple as this; could one mark off a definite boundary between the two, one might be tempted to divorce them, allying Chuj with the Quelén for lexical and phonetic reasons, while associating Jacalteca perhaps a little more closely with Chol and Maya. But the various dialects within the two languages form a gradual transition which for the towns we visited would go Concepción, Jacaltenango, San Miguel Acatán, Santa Eulalia, San Mateo Ixtatán-Chaculá. Of these the first three are Jacalteca, as are also San Andrés, San Marcos, Petatán and formerly San Antonio and Santa Ana Huista. According to what the Indians said, Soloma and San Juan Ixcoy may be added to this list. San Mateo-Chaculá appears to form nearly a unit of true Chuj, both from the statements of Indians and of Señor Kanter, and from comparison of our list, made at Chanquejélvé, with the one he dictated, as of Chaculá. The statements of the Indians in this respect bear much weight, as they are very sensitive to slight dialect differences.

The Concepción dialect, as has been said, is Jacalteca, with many loan-words from the Mames of Todos Santos. Jacalteca of Jacaltenango itself, which we take as the type, shows more than a little Mames influence in its vocabulary, for instance, such words as *wi* instead of *hol*, "head," *tcötc* for *lum*, "earth," etc. It will be seen in the comparative lists that the influences have been mutual; Mames of Todos Santos having borrowed not a little from Jacalteca. At San Miguel Acatán one notes a slight tendency towards Chuj, and many of the unique forms which the people of Jacaltenango seem to have worked out for themselves are replaced by what might be called standard Cuchumatán terms. Thus, for instance, among the Chuj and at San Miguel *watc* means "good." The word is preserved at Jacaltenango only in the technical term *watc-winaq* (See Section I, p. 143), being replaced by *kuul*, which is obviously cognate with the Quelén *tcul*, Maya *kul*, "holy." The Jacaltecos say that the San Migueleños "*hablan la lengua, pero no lo dicen claro.*"

Santa Eulalia, which has not been classified as belonging to either language, represents an almost perfect transition, perhaps inclined a little to the Jacalteca side. With it must probably be grouped San Sebastian Coatán. All the other villages claimed that this dialect was "*aparte.*" Our own observation was that Chuj Indians could make themselves understood there with difficulty, and that people of Santa Eulalia could understand at least simple questions and greetings in Jacalteca. The position of the dialect is nicely illustrated by the name of the sacred log (See Section I, p. 228), *holom koñop*, "Head of the Village." *holom* is good Chuj,

(Jacalteca *wi*), and *koñop* is equally good Jacalteca (Chuj, *tconap*).

Beyond Santa Eulalia the Chuj territory, with San Mateo Ixtatán for its main town, reaches to the Tzeltal boundary at Gracias á Dios. The writer's aural impression, after some months at Jacaltenango, when he first began to write down Chuj lists was that he was hearing almost pure Tzeltal. In fact, as far as can be told at present, it is phonetically nearer to Chaneabal, but marked off from all the Quelén, as has been said, by the structural peculiarities of the Cuchumatán.

Phonetically, Chuj agrees strongly with the Quelén, except Zotzil, while Jacalteca seems to tend a little more towards Maya. Thomas has already pointed out the similarity between Jacalteca and Maya numerals.¹⁷⁶ Certain obvious points may be indicated here. Quelén and Chuj, and to some degree Chol, usually substitute initial *tc-* for Maya and Jacalteca *k*, e. g., Tzeltal-Chuj *tcap*, Jacalteca-Maya *kap*, a basic word for "honey," "sweetness," etc., Tzeltal-Chuj *tcan*, Jacalteca-Maya *kan*, "sky," Tzeltal-Chuj *tcul*, Jacalteca *kuul*, Maya *kul*, "holy." This does not apply to the fortis *k'*; such words as *k'ap*, "arm," continue unchanged throughout. In some cases a reverse process is noted, as in Maya *keh*, Jacalteca *tce*, "deer." Both languages agree with Tzeltal and Chontal in tending to change Maya *tc* to *t*, e. g., Maya *ototc*, "house," Chontal *otot*, Jacalteca, *atut*; Maya *tce*, "tree, wood," Quelén-Chontal-Cuchumatán *te*. A reverse process occasionally takes place, as in Maya *tun*, Tzeltal *ton*, "stone," Jacalteca *tcën*, and Chuj *keñ*, the latter reversing the usual Chuj-Jacalteca shift. Jacalteca tends to reduce *k'* to a plain *k*, and final *k* to *q,w*, or a glottal stop, '.

In regard to the vowels, Chuj agrees with the Quelén in shifting Maya *e* to *i*, while Jacalteca tends to keep the Maya form, e. g., Tzeltal *ik*, Chuj *kük*, Maya *ěk'*, Jacalteca *kěq*, "black." Like the Tzeltal, the Cuchumatán tends to emphasize *a* at the expense of other vowels, e. g., Maya *bolon*, "nine," Tzeltal-Chuj, *balun*, Jacalteca *b:alun*; Maya *ototc*, Jacalteca *atut*; Maya *kim*, root form of "death," Tzeltal-Chuj *tcam*, Jacalteca *kam*. It will be noted that in the first two of these examples, the first *o* became *a*, the second *u*.

Besides the differences shown above, the two languages are marked off from each other by a tendency for Jacalteca initial *tc* to become Chuj *ts*, and the labial mutes in Jacalteca, *b*: and *p*: to become in Chuj the usual sonant and surd, *b* and *p*.

176 Thomas: 1900.

This much for the comparative phonetics. Structurally, Cuchumatán agrees with Quelén in the important possessive pronouns, and like it differs from Maya in the use of *s-* instead of *u-* for the third person before vowels, but resembles it in the use of *in-* before consonants and *w-* before vowels for the first person singular instead of Tzeltal *x-* or *k-*.¹⁷⁷ The use of *uw-* in this person in Jacalteca was noted once or twice, probably due to an accidental inhalation.

The conjugation of verbs with the auxiliary *tc-* suggests an obvious resemblance only with Yocótan¹⁷⁸ (Chontal), or, at least in the first person singular, with Mames, and even of that one cannot be too sure. The matter will be taken up more in detail when dealing with the verb. Strongly distinctive of Cuchumatán is the classification by genders or groups, dividing almost all nouns into the classes male humans, female humans, animals, growing things, stones and metals, and liquids. The respective affixes are prefixed to act much as the English article "the," and when suffixed to verbs provide a definite statement of the third personal pronoun most unusual in Mayan tongues, e. g., *naq-ahau*, "the chief," *c-to-naq*, "he goes"; *no'-tce*, "the horse," *c-to-no'*, "it goes." This set of distinctions is further evolved and more rigidly applied in Chuj.

Were the geographical position of these two languages reversed, they would be interpreted as forming part of the long series of transitions within the Eastern Mayan, and their respective differences could be easily explained on that score. As it is, with the Quelén-like Chuj lying between Jacalteca and the former Maya and Chol districts, one is led to suppose that originally both these tongues were united in a type probably more similar to Maya than either now is. With long contact, Chuj came to take on its Quelén appearance, or else perhaps the Jacalteca type imposed its structure on a group originally truly Quelén, while meantime Jacalteca, in contact with the Mames, developed its own peculiarities. However, in the present state of our knowledge of Mayan linguistics, such speculations are vain.

II. PHONETICS

1. ALPHABET USED. While it is desirable to make use of an alphabet which accords as much as possible with that of other writers, the author has been controlled to a considerable degree by the requirements of printing, which limit him to characters to be found in an ordinary font. Such diacritical marks as the inverted

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Schuller: 1925, p. 198; Tozzer: 1921, p. 41.
¹⁷⁸ Blom and La Farge: 1927, Appendix IV.

circumflex have had to be omitted. In working out an alphabet, one is confronted by an enormous variety of precedents. No two writers seem to have been able to agree. One finds everything from the pure Spanish alphabet to very elaborate series of phonetic signs, fitting into a universal system. The body of printed Mayan literature is already enormous, exceeding in volume that of all but one or two other New World stocks, and it is increasing at a rapid rate. It should be possible to work out a system simple enough for extensive printing without too great expense, and at the same time adequate accurately to record the various Mayan dialects. The most serious objection to the alphabet used here is that at times three characters are needed for a single sound; e. g., the *fortis* *tc'*.

2. CONSONANTS. The system of consonants includes two velars, three palatals, alveolars, dorsals, nasal, an unusual group of seven labials, a double set of dentals, both surd and fortis. The letter *r*, a dorsal trill, which is listed here, is found only in words of Spanish derivation. It is pronounced very short and sharp. In words which are thoroughly taken into the language, there is a constant tendency to reduce *r* to *l*. *d* is found only in words of Spanish origin, and *v* in Chuj.

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal	Liquid	Trill	Mute
Velar.....	—	<i>q</i>	<i>Q</i>	—	—	—	—	—
Palatal.....	—	<i>k</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>H</i>	—	—	—	—
Alveolar.....	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	—	—
Dorsal.....	<i>g</i>	—	—	<i>x</i>	<i>ñ</i>	—	<i>r</i>	—
Nasal.....	—	—	—	—	<i>n</i>	—	—	—
Dental.....	—	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts'</i>	—	—	—	—	—
		<i>tc</i>	<i>tc'</i>					
Labial.....	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p'</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>m</i>	—	—	<i>p:</i>
	<i>b:</i>							
Glottal.....	'	—	—	'	—	—	—	—

Breath, *h*. Semi-vowels, *w* and *y*.

q, the velar *k*, is formed between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. *Q*, which is listed here as its *fortis*, is made in the same way, with greater constriction of the throat, and a powerful release of breath while the sound is continued, a *fortis*-sonant. At moments one might almost write it *qr*; in rapid speech it is often softened to *tc'*. Although he practiced at it with various Indian friends, the writer could never learn to pronounce this sound to their satisfaction, it apparently was physically impossible for him to give it its full *fortis* value while still keeping the velar character which distinguishes it from the *k'*. Palatal *k* is as in English, *k'* is made as *k*, followed by a mild explosion of breath, not as marked as in many

Mayan tongues. The various remaining *fortis* sounds may be similarly described in relation to their respective surds.

H is an intensified *h* sound, resembling the Mexican, rather soft pronunciation of *g* in Spanish *gente*.

The dorsal *x* is like the *ch* in Scotch *nicht*, but with less aspiration.

g is faint, as in Spanish *agua*.

ñ is the *ng* in English *ring*.

tc and *ts* are single sounds. *tc* is the *ch* in English *child*.

c is the *sh* in English *shoot*.

b: and *p*: are classified tentatively as above, possibly further acquaintance with the language would resolve them both to the one form, *b*:. The *p*: is almost inaudible. The lips are placed as for *p*, and opened again, without exhalation, the breath being released for the following vowel, so that at first the sound appears to apply to it, and not to the consonant. Thus at first I was inclined to write *p:alun*, ("nine") as though it were pronounced *p'alun*, but this proved incorrect. In many instances a slight sonant quality was added, which I accordingly recorded as *b*:, but there is evidently confusion between the two. Thus we have both *a-p:a* and *a-b:a*, "thyself." In some cases the release of the lips was delayed until after the silent pause caused by their closing, giving the impression of a partial pronunciation of *p*, followed by an instant's silence, and then a faint *b*, but this proved to be merely a slipshod pronunciation. We tried various alternative pronunciations with the Indians, but were always corrected or quite misunderstood. Thus *sab:-atc*, "come here," was unintelligible to them when pronounced *sab-atc* or *saw-atc*.

V was heard only in a few words; it is a glide, between *v* and *w*.

In running speech there is a tendency to reduce *k'* to *k*, and final *k* to *x* or *q*. In general, in ordinary talk the *fortes* are weakened.

3. VOWELS. The vowels are fairly simple. They may be listed as follows:

Short.....	<i>u</i>	—	<i>ō</i>	<i>ǎ</i>	<i>ě</i>	<i>ĩ</i>
Long.....	<i>ū</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>
Diphthongs.....	<i>ou</i>	—	—	<i>au</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ei</i>
Neutral.....	—	—	—	—	<i>e</i>	—

Palatalization, *ä ö ü*. Conjunction of two letters as in Diphthong list above, not forming a diphthong, *a'i, a'u*, etc.

u is pronounced as *oo* in English *good*.

ū as *oo* in English *boot*.

ō as *o* in English *shot*.

ō as *oa* in English *boat*.

o is a sound between English *or* and *ō*. It is the standard Jacalteca *o*.

ǎ as *a* in English *flat*.

a as *a* in Spanish *pan*, and not as in English *father*.

ě as *e* in English *hen*.

e as *ea* in English *great*.

e is the "Neutral Vowel." It is approximately a very short *u*, or rather like the final *er* in a conversational pronunciation of English *water*.

i as *ee* in English *meet*.

4. DOUBLE VOWELS. When a vowel is doubled, the second may or may not be short in quality, but is always short in quantity, even when the stress falls upon it. E. g., *piit*, "mourning," both *i*'s are long, but the second one, on which the stress falls, is short in quantity. When the second vowel is short in quality, this is marked. E. g., *pečt'čt*, "in the place."

5. PHONETIC CHANGES. The material at hand is really not sufficient for a full discussion of this subject. In general, one may say that there is a strong tendency to slur or drop out consonants when several come together, and to a lesser degree to do the same thing with vowels. Much of this is simply the result of rapid speech; when the Indians were giving direct linguistic information, the component elements of a word were almost always pronounced without contraction. Certain formal phrases indicate the general tendency. Thus "thou sayest," the full form of which should be *tcatec-al-a*, is always pronounced either *tcaw-al-a* or *tca-l-a*. In current speech, the final *tc* of *tcatec-* is very often dropped before consonants, or softened to *c* before vowels other than *a*. With stems beginning in *a* or *wa*, it is dropped entirely. In the former case occurs, as shown above, a semi-vowel. In this instance, it is dependent upon the person of the verb. Where person does not enter into the question,

either *w* or *y* may be used indiscriminately. The absolute syncope of *tca-l-a* is confined to this single word.

It is against the tendency of Jacalteca to begin a word with a vowel. Where there is a possible association of person, *w* or *y* are used, where this is not the case, *h* is often prefixed. E. g., *unin*, "a child," also found *h-unin*, but *w-unin-an* "my child," *y-unin-naq*, "his child."

The final *i* of verb-stems commonly disappears when the subject or object are expressed immediately afterwards, and always is dropped before another suffix,

c-ul-i Pegru, or *c-ul Pegru*, Peter comes.

Doubled consonants are extremely rare. When two similar consonants come together, one is almost always dropped.

ma (-tc) -tcumal, impossible.

There is a tendency to confuse *s* and *c*, and *ts* and *tc*, which is interesting in view of the fact that Jacalteca *c* and *tc* usually appear as *s* and *ts* respectively, in Chuj.

c-to-naq or *s-to-naq*, he goes.

tc'a-in-kul-an, or *ts'a-in-kul-an*, I am sorry.

Before *tc* and *ts*, the *c*- of the third person auxiliary is usually omitted. In the last example above, *c-tc'a-* and *c-ts'a-* would have been expected.

In careless speech there are many elisions and softening. *ō* and *u* are often confused, sometimes a surd may be dropped before another consonant, with lengthening of the preceding vowel.

ku-b:a for *kō-b:a*, ourselves.

e-naq for *ěp-naq*, they.

Some tendencies have already been mentioned under the discussion of the alphabet, and others, which seem to have grammatical significance, will be taken up under their respective sections.

6. STEMS. As will be shown later (No. 11), stems are probably all originally monosyllabic. They seem to be made up of consonant-vowel-consonant, vowel and consonant in either order, and possibly also of a vowel alone. Single consonant stems do not occur.

7. ACCENT. Accent is normally on the last syllable, except in words of Spanish derivation not yet completely assimilated. Unless otherwise marked, in this work accent is on the last syllable.

8. VOCALIC DISHARMONY. With the suffix vowel-*l*, and in some other cases, the choice of a vowel is regulated by the principle of vocalic disharmony.

hab-il, year,
ic-al, wife,
pican-əl, soul (in special use).

9. SPANISH WORDS. Something of the tendency of the language in general is shown by the adaptations of Spanish words, of which a brief list is given here.

Juan	<i>cuwan</i>	chocolate	<i>tcok'olat</i> ^{178b}
Juana	<i>cuwin</i>	rezar	<i>lecal</i>
Balthasar	<i>maltic</i>	candela	<i>kantela'</i>
Nicolas	<i>niqol</i>	vaca	<i>wakac</i>
Antonio	<i>anton</i>	camisa	<i>kamic</i>
José	<i>cuc</i>	pantalón	<i>pantalon</i>
Gaspar	<i>kac</i>	capitán	<i>kapitan</i>
Santos	<i>san'tu</i>	principal	<i>r.ñts'ipal</i>
Pedro	<i>pe'gru</i>	alcalde	<i>alkal</i>
Francisco	<i>pal'as</i>	regidor	<i>lěctol</i>
Ramón	<i>lamun</i>	jues	<i>cuwes</i>
Manuel	<i>maněl</i>	Todos Santos	<i>to'ru san'tu</i>
naranjas	<i>lalancěc</i>	doña	<i>ron'ya</i>
machete	<i>matcit</i>	mesa	<i>mec'a</i>
guinéa	<i>kěn'ya</i>	alacrán	<i>alagran</i> (Ursa Major).
Pascual	<i>pask'up</i>	asadon	<i>asadon</i>
Carnival	<i>kañewal</i>	anima	<i>an'ma</i> (gente).
Dios	<i>tyoc, dyoc.</i>	hacha	<i>ět'ce</i>
arquebus	<i>alkěpus</i>	cajita	<i>kahit'a</i>
café	<i>kafé, kape.</i>	carnero	<i>kanelu</i>

III. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

10. CATEGORIES. In most languages with which one comes in contact, an innate distinction between verbs, nouns, and adjectives, or at least two of these classes, is implicit. So much is this so, that we tend to take the method of thought which that implies as necessary for all people; it is only recently, and then in the higher realms of philosophy, that Europeans have found these rigid categories of speech-thought to be artificial restrictions, not inherent in the absolute nature of things. That Mayan thought expresses itself on a different basis has already been indicated by Tozzer and Seler,¹⁷⁹

^{178b} Note that in this case, surprisingly, the accent has moved forward, as in English.
¹⁷⁹ Tozzer: 1921, Seler: 1887.

but, the writer feels, not with sufficient emphasis. Of course, in any language one will find overlappings into the methods of others. In English there is a constant tendency to break down the categories of the parts of speech, using verbs as nouns, nouns as verbs, etc. But in keeping with our set rules, such new expressions are ruled out of good usage until by specialization or a phonetic change they have again come to fall into line. Thus "to gun," from "gun," is colloquial. On the other hand, "to sight a gun," from "sight," is correct. In this case the new verb has been specialized in meaning, in other cases, as "mouthe" from "mouth," "breathe" from "breath," a phonetic change has taken place. We have instances of nouns and verbs, and even adjectives, which are identical and might be regarded as interchangeable, but they are special cases, and not part of the normal process of our speech.

Similarly, one may handle the Mayan languages superficially as though the parts of speech were inherently set in their functions, as in English, but fundamentally this is an error.

11. **STEMS.** These languages are built up on a series of monosyllabic stems expressing something very like a Platonic Idea—both the verbal, nominal and adjectival possibilities are contained in an abstraction representing the ultimate Idea back of all of these, the essence of a situation, which is held in suspension. By means of affixes of various kinds its meaning is defined, but to the end, its classification as a part of speech in our sense of the word is partly conventional.

One can reduce almost the whole language to intransitive verbs, or again to verbal nouns. In short, when applying our categories to these words, whether compounds or roots, it must be done with the *caveat* that it is done only for convenience, and does not constitute a statement as to Mayan thought.

In some cases only the context can show whether a word is serving as the name of an action or a thing, as in the Chuj—

s-wa'-vin, his bread, or he eats.

The real translation of this is "his concept-of-food-and-eating."

This identity of form for two related ideas is not accidental, it expresses part of the essential philosophy of the language.

12. **COMPARISON WITH FOX.** The nature of Mayan is brought out yet more clearly by comparison, not only with languages of the type of English, but such an one as the Algonquian Fox, which

builds its expression of ideas in yet a third way. Jones and Michelson¹⁸⁰ provide an excellent instance:

“An initial stem, *pag-*, has the general sense of STRIKING AGAINST SOMETHING; *-ā'kw-* is a secondary stem denoting RESISTANCE, and so *pagā' kw-* is TO STRIKE AGAINST A RESISTANCE. The stem *-tu-* is a mobile secondary stem denoting the special notion of PLACE ABOUT A CAVITY, and has become a special term indicating THE PLACE ABOUT THE MOUTH; and so *pagā' kwitu'nä-mis* TO STRIKE AGAINST A RESISTANCE AT A POINT ON THE MOUTH.

“Again, *-cin-* is a secondary co-ordinative stem, and refers to change from motion to rest, but leaves the character and duration of the change to be inferred from the implications of the stems that precede; furthermore, it indicates that the performer is animate, and serves as a link between the terminal pronoun and what precedes; and so *pagā' kwitu' näcinwa* is a definite statement meaning that one strikes against a resistance and is brought for a time at least to a condition of rest. HE BUMPS HIMSELF ON THE MOUTH and HE BUMPS HIS MOUTH would be two ways of putting the same thing in English.”

In this language we see that roots of vague *meaning* are yet quite definitely marked as to their grammatical positions. In the same place, the writers go on to state that frequently the meaning of a word cannot be told by analysis of its component parts, but usage must be consulted. This is the precise reverse of Mayan, in which the meanings are quite specific Ideas in the Platonic sense, “eating,” “sleeping,” etc., but undefined as to their classification in the grammar, that is, as to whether at the moment the act of eating or the food which is eaten or the edibility of another thing is expressed. In Jacalteca the same idea as the Fox, *he bumps his mouth*, would be expressed by a root meaning *to strike*, or *a blow*, a root meaning *mouth* from which it would be possible to form a verb, *to mouthe*, and possessive pronouns indicating person. I have the example in Chuj:

s-ma s-ti-vin, his-hitting his-mouth-he, he hits his mouth.

Only common sense prevents one from translating this, equally correctly, *he mounthes his blow!* With the reflexive, this could not be done,

s-ma-s-ba-vin da-s-ti, his-hitting-himself-he on-his-mouth,
he hits himself on the mouth.

180 Boas: 1911, Part I, pp. 760-761.

13. **GENERAL RULES.** The writer realizes that it is dangerous to lay down general rules on the basis of only two or three of these languages, but offers these as being, at least, the working hypotheses of the linguistic part of this report.

1. Every self-standing root expresses an Idea in the Platonic sense, potentially verbal, adjectival and nominal.

2. When compounded as verbs, these roots are *names of actions*, when used as nouns, perhaps as adjectives, they carry the implication of the verb "to be" and are often intransitive verbs.

14. **DEFINITION OF MEANING.** The exact meaning of a root is shown by composition with various affixes. By far the most important of these are the auxiliary *tc-* and the possessive pronouns, which will be considered under the verb and the pronoun respectively.

15. **WORD COMPOSITION.** This is used in the following cases:

a. Reflexive. The reflexive pronoun is incorporated between the verb and the pronominal subject.

y-u-te-n-s-b:a-no', it made itself (*s-b:a*).

b. Gender. See under Nouns, No. 19, and Pronouns, No. 35.

c. Future Intention. This is expressed by the verb *TŌ*, *to go*.

tcin-tō w-il-a', I am going to see.

d. Continuous Action. This is shown by *lañan*, near. See The Verb, No. 69.

lañan y-acni-naq, he is bathing.

16. **THE SUFFIX.** This is used for the following meanings:

a. Future, Infinitive, Purpose and Imperative. These are shown by the suffix *-ox*. See Nos. 70, 74, 76.

b. Non-Material Nouns. See No. 23. By the suffix *-al*, *-il*, *-ël*, etc.¹⁸¹

wal-il, felicity.

Qin-al, time.

hab-il, year.

c. Collective Nouns. By *-al*,

h-unin-al, the children (of the tribe).

¹⁸¹ This suffix occurs as *-al*, *-il*, *-ël*, *e'*, and *a'*. To avoid repetition it will be referred to as *-al*.

- d. A Kind of Attributive Genitive. By *-al*,
no'-burro iqum-al naq, the burro his carrier, his saddle burro,
hun-kal tce-al mēl'yu, twenty horse-loads of money.
- e. Honorific or Special Meanings. By *-al*,
hitc mam-e, Old Father (Ancestor of the People),
itcam-īl, husband (*itcam*, old).
- f. *Nomen Actoris*. By *-l-um* or *-l-ōm*,
tap-ōm, one who seizes, policeman.
hup-lōm, one who shoots a blow-gun.
- g. Demonstrative. See No. 54.
- h. Numeral Suffixes. See No. 92.
- i. Objective Case. See No. 22.
- j. Instrumentality, perhaps with idea of that within which.
 By *-bal* or *-b:al*, See No. 29,
tcah-b:al, incense burner,
tcilma-bal, coffee toaster.

17. THE PREFIX. This is used for the following meanings:

- a. Plurality. Only with the third person pronoun of animate beings, by the prefix *ēp-* or *e*.
ēp-naq, they, the men.
- b. Negative. By *ma-* or *matc-*, See No. 95.
- c. Interrogation. See No. 55.
- d. Past Time. By *c-*, *cac* or *ca*, See No. 72.

IV. THE NOUN

18. The essential place of the noun in the language has already been discussed (No. 10), and we have seen its derivation from a non-committal root. On the whole, since in good usage a root may often stand alone as a noun,

wa', bread.
piit, song, mourning,

while the corresponding verbs are rarely encountered without affixes, we may say that vaguely, the noun is to be considered as basic, always bearing in mind that it is not, in our sense, an inert

idea, but carries latent verbal implications. It is true that we have examples of an unadorned root serving as a verb,

ok hun-e' palanca, he puts a crowbar.

But this is exceptional.

19. CLASSIFICATION. Beside the distinctions made in numeral suffixes before different classes of nouns (see No. 92), nouns are divided into seven groups or genders; male humans, female humans, animals, minerals, liquids, growing things, and unclassified. To these may perhaps be added corn products, as the compound *icim-icim*, "corn-corn," was occasionally found, corresponding to *tcěn-tcěn*, "stone," or *ä-ha'*, "water," in which the same word serves as the noun and its own classifier. *icim-icim* is the usual form in Chuj. The sign of male gender, *naq*, is simply a shortened form of *winaq*, "man." In the other cases the word is the name of the type of the class, almost unchanged: *ic*, "woman," *no'*, "animal," *tcěn*, "stone." *ha'* or *ä*, "water," *te'*, "wood."

These prefixes are used or dropped much as in English we use or drop the definite article, which in some degree they represent, although they also regularly occur when the noun is qualified by a demonstrative; e. g., *tcěn-alkepus-tu'*, "that gun," rather than *alkepus-tu'*. The classifications are carried out very logically according to the materials of which the object named may be made. One does not lose sight of the fact that an egg, *nō'-hos*, or a woolen blanket, *nō'-tcou*, are derived from animals, or that the dominant feature of a machete is a metal blade, *tcěn-matcit*.

It will be observed that three of what we should consider the elements, earth, air and fire, are omitted from the list. They, like abstract terms, and names of many intangible things such as "day," "night," or concepts which exist independently of material, such as "road," "star," or "hill," fall into the unclassified group. Very few of these are names of things which can be grouped into large classes to be tagged with a type-name. In Chuj the class "earth," *lum*, is recognized.

20. GENDER. Save in the case of human beings, as shown above, gender in the literal sense, as deriving from sex, is not expressed grammatically.

21. NUMBER. Plurality is expressed only with the affixes of human-beings, by prefixing *ěp-*. One is tempted to see in this some connection with the numeral suffix *-ěp*, and perhaps with the Maya plural suffix, *-ob*.

22. CASE. There is probably no true sign of case with nouns in Jacalteca, as in most Mayan languages. However, I have been puzzled by a suffix *-ox* occurring with many nouns in the texts, which may be an indication of the objective case;

a-kan-ox y-iktah-ox w-ēt-an, leave half for me (*y-iktah*, half).

23. NON-MATERIAL NOUNS. I use the term non-material rather than abstract nouns, so as to include such terms as "year," "time," as well as "happiness," "anger." These words end in the suffix *-al* or *-il*, according to the principle of vocalic disharmony,

habil, year. *k'in-al*, time,
walil, happiness. *howal*, anger.

With few exceptions such as *k'in-al*, these words have crystallized in their present forms, and the stems are not found without the suffix. For comparison, it may be pointed out that in Chuj, as well as in many of the Quelén languages, "year" is expressed with this termination,

Chuj, *habil*; Chaneabal, *ha'bil*; Tzeltal, *habil*; Subinaha, *havi*;
etc.

In such case as *k'in-al*, the form with the suffix expresses a more generalized idea of time as a whole, without it it means the time needed to do something, or a *fiesta*.

In Chuj, non-material nouns are regularly formed thus from various stems.

hantaq s-nahat-il, how much its farness? How far is it? From
nahat, far.

24. SPECIALIZED NOUNS. Certain words of broad meaning are also used in a very specific sense, in which case *-al* or *-il* is added. In such a case this much-used suffix seems to have a reverse effect from that above.

ic-al, wife, from *ic*, woman.
itcam-il, husband, from *itcam*, old.

25. COLLECTIVE NOUNS. The only definite example of the formation of a collective noun in our material is the one word *unin-al*, "children," from *unin*, "child." The word *an'ma*, "people," has been taken over from Spanish *anima*.

However, it is possible that the *k'in-al* given above as a non-material noun, may be collective.

26. YUCATECO -IL. In general it may be said that, as far as our knowledge goes at present, the suffix *-al*, *-il*, with the occasional variant *-əl* or *-e'*, performs about the same functions in connection with nouns as does the Yucateco *-il*.

27. NOMEN ACTORIS. The *nomen actoris* is expressed by the suffix *-l-um* or *-l-ōm*, corresponding to the English *-er*. The initial *-l-* is frequently omitted, according to a rule at present not at all clear.

tap-ōm, seizer, policeman.
hup-lōm, blow-gun shooter.
iq-um, bearer.
il-um, watcher.
poH-ōm, breaker.
añ-lōm, curer.

Ofttimes, words which have distinctly the force of the *nomen actoris* are formed directly from a verb stem without affix.

ahbe, soothsayer, from *abe*, to understand.

Again, while *tca'-lōm* means "one who prays, Prayer Maker," when the grade of office is expressed, the suffix is dropped,

alkal tca', *lēctol tca'*, Alcalde, Regidor Prayer Maker,

leaving the unqualified root. In the case of *ahbe*, the breathing, *h*, may represent a former prefix *ah*, similar to the Maya.

28. INCORPORATION IN THE VERB. The tendency to incorporate a direct object of a transitive verb, or a noun to express an agent, in the verb, noted for Maya,¹⁸² was not found here. A special case of incorporation of the subject is found with *kül*, "heart," which is used with "say," "hurt," and many other verbs to express "think," "feel sorry," etc.

c-i-a-kül, "says thy heart, thou thinkest."
tc'a-in-kül-an, "hurts my heart, I am sorry."
tc'a-a-kül, "thou art sorry."
tc'a-s-kül-naq, "he is sorry."

29. INSTRUMENTALITY OR PLACE IN WHICH. The suffix *-bal*, attached to the unspecialized root or stem, forms a kind of statement of instrument by means of which, or place in which, something is done. In a sense this is a passive participle, rather like stems with *-bal* or *-bil* in Maya.¹⁸³ But it is more strictly similar to the Quiché-

¹⁸² Tozzer: 1921, p. 34.

¹⁸³ Tozzer: Op. Cit. p. 89.

Ixil suffix *-bal*, which Seler defines as instrumental. He gives an example:¹⁸⁴

(Quiché) *c'aibal*, market place, from *c'ay*, trade.

This is just the same as Jacalteca,

tcoñ-bal, market place, from *TCOÑ*, trade.

Various tools, perhaps in their capacity of *places in which*, have this termination:

tcah-b:al, incense burner,

tcilma-b:al, frying pan,

esčt-bal-te, "wood worker," an adze,

patna-bal, cornfield.

I do not know the derivation of *patna-*, *ñal* means ripe corn. *patna-bal* is very similar to *tcoñ-bal*. No idea of *place in which* can be associated with an adze, of course.

30. REDUPLICATION. This occurs in many Mayan languages, but does not occur here. In Yucateco, it expresses the diminutive, here that is shown by appropriate adjectives. Occasionally a word is repeated for emphasis,

hun-e tcēn pak pak y-e-i, a stone flat, flat it is.

V. THE PRONOUN

31. IMPORTANCE. Of all the various particles and affixes which serve to define the meanings and syntactic relations of the different independent roots, the pronoun is the most important. Without it, particularly the possessive, the entire structure of the language would fall apart.

32. KINDS OF PRONOUNS. There are five kinds of pronouns, two personal—possessive and verbal—demonstrative, interrogative, and reflexive.

33. THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS. As said above, these are the essential binders of the language.

34. FORMS OF THE PRONOUN. The forms of these two pronouns are as follows:¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ Seler: Op. Cit. p. 108. Seler's spelling is followed.

¹⁸⁵ It is understood that the corresponding forms according to gender may be substituted for *-naq* throughout. In the Plural, *h-ēp-* or *ēp-* is omitted except with *-naq* or *-ic*.

SINGULAR—	VERBAL	POSSESSIVE	
		BEFORE CONSONANTS	BEFORE VOWELS
1.	<i>ha-in-an</i>	<i>in- -an</i>	<i>uw- -an, w- -an</i>
2.	<i>ha-atc, h-atc</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>aw-, taw-</i>
3.	<i>ha-naq</i>	<i>s- -naq</i>	<i>y- -naq, yo- -naq</i>
PLURAL—			
1.	<i>ha-yon, hai-yon</i>	<i>ko- -an</i>	<i>w- -on, w- -an</i>
1.	(Inclusive) <i>ha-yon-ti'</i>	<i>ko- -ti'</i>	_____
2.	<i>h-ěc-ti', h-atc</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>ew-, ey-</i>
3.	<i>h-ěp-naq,</i>	<i>s- -ěp-naq</i>	<i>y- -ěp-naq</i>
	<i>h-ěp-Qotbi,</i>	<i>-ho</i>	
	<i>h-ěp-o-ti'</i>	<i>-h-ěp-o</i>	

The suffixes of the first and third persons and the suffix *-ti'* may be dropped, apparently at will, from both verbal and possessive. The suffix *ti'* resembles the Chuj-Tzeltal *-tik*, which has an inclusive force, but on the basis of Jacalteca alone, one would interpret it as being merely the post-fixed demonstrative (see No. 54). The statements as to its inclusive nature were confused and conflicting, as were they for the first and second person plural *aoñ-tik* and *aěc-tik* in Chuj. *ha-yoñ-ti'* seems to be strictly analogous to *ha-naq-ti'*, "this man here," thus "we here," or "these of us." It emphasizes the pronoun, and is found with all persons and numbers.

hai-in-ti' I myself,

tsět a-bi, hatc-ti'? What art thou called, thou?

35. THE THIRD PERSON. The extra forms of the third person, *yo-*, *ho-*, *h-ěp-o*, *h-ěp-Qětbi*, *h-ěp-o-ti'*, were given us at various times by linguistic informants in the course of conjugating verbs, but do not occur in the texts or phrases. *yoo-* occurs in Yocótan with verbs beginning with consonants.

Seler has said, "The third person has no special pronoun."¹⁸⁶ This is true for most Mayan languages, but the Cuchumatán group has evolved an exception to this rule, in connection with their equally exceptional articles of gender. With the verbal pronoun, the third person is simply this article combined with the vague demonstrative, *ha-*. When used with the possessive, with verbs or nouns, these affixes are regularly post-fixed,

y-atut-naq, his house,

y-ü-ti-no', it made.

¹⁸⁶ Seler: 1902, p. 71.

As will be seen, the auxiliary contains no third personal pronoun in itself, and when, as often happens, the suffix is omitted, the third person is to be recognized simply by the lack of a pronoun. Even in these languages, it is somewhat of a make-shift, and not as essential as the other persons.

Probably even when used with the possessive, it is to be regarded as the slightly emphatic verbal pronoun,

s-ti, his, her or its mouth,

s-ti-naq, his mouth,

it stands in the same position as the nominal possessor or subject when that is expressed, and hence acts as a true pronoun, "standing for the noun."

c-to-naq, he goes,

c-to Pegru, Pedro goes,

y-atut-naq, his house,

y-atut Pegru, Pedro's house.

In actual use, one would be more likely to hear *c-to naq-Pegru*, etc., using the article, so that one is often hard put to it to say whether this is the suffix with the verb or prefix with the noun. Its use with the demonstrative adjective, *c-to naq-Pegru-tu'*, "goes that Pedro," as well as the cases in which it is omitted, lead me to divide the words as above.

36. THE VERBAL PRONOUN. The prefix *ha-* of this pronoun is probably only the vague demonstrative (see No. 54). It is frequently dropped when the pronoun occurs as a suffix or in the middle of a sentence. In a case such as *h-ěp-naq*, one would interpret the *h-* as being simply an expression of the general Jacalteca aversion to beginning a word with a vowel, were it not for the other forms.

37. VERBAL QUALITY. Although it does serve as the nearest approach to a truly nominal pronoun, it can seldom be separated from its quality as a neutral verb. Standing alone, the verbal pronoun expresses the most neutral sense of our "to be," Spanish "*ser*,"

ha-in-an, I am,

ha-atc, thou art, etc.

In this it is entirely in agreement with the character of the Mayan noun, and like it, preceded by an adjective it forms a verbal phrase,

kuul be, the road is good,

kuul inan, I am good.

In this case, it will be noted, the demonstrative is dropped.

38. USE FOR EMPHASIS. For emphasis, the demonstrative is retained, and in the first person singular the suffix is dropped,

haiin kuul inan, it is I, I am good; *I* am good,

Kuul ha-naq, (he is) good, it is he.

Frequently the emphatic character is strengthened by the demonstrative *-ti'*.

haiin-ti' Jacaltenango inan, I myself, I am Jacaltenango,

tsět a-bi atc-ti'? What is thy name, thou (here)?

Often one arrives best at the English sense in translation by using this literal sense of the pronoun. Thus in Text I, (11-12),

Qa-tiñan haiyoñ cQa-tañ-ox, it is better it is we we shall end it, might be taken, "It would be better if it were we who should end it," or "It would be better if we ourselves should end it." In view of the general context, the former version is closer to the sense.

39. PRONOUN WITH CLASS III VERBS. The dubious Class III Conjugation (see No. 65) takes the verbal pronoun as a suffix,

tō-x-in w-il-a', I shall go to see,

w-al-in haiin-ti'-an, I myself take action here.

In the latter case, the verbal *-in* is supplemented by the possessive *w-*. The emphatic *haiin-ti'* is inserted between the two parts of the verbal *-inan*. In general, *-an*, like *-naq*, must come at the end of a compound.

40. PRONOUN WITH AUXILIARY. The auxiliary *tc-* of Class I verbs (see No. 61), is conjugated with the verbal pronoun as suffix,

Singular 1. *tc-in- -an*,
2. *tc-atc-, tc-aw-*,
3. *tc- -naq*.

Plural 1. *tc-on- -an*,
2. *tc-ēc-*,
tc-ěy-,
tc-ěw-,
3. *tc- -ěp-naq, -ěp-Qět-bi*, etc.

The suffixes to the verb may be omitted, leaving, as aforesaid, the third person devoid of pronoun. The *-an* of the first person is sometimes separated from the verb and placed after an adverbial phrase or indirect object, as though to bind it to the verb,

tcin-wa taw-ět-an, I give to thee (I),

tcon-tō ninox Guatemala-ti'-an, we go a little towards Guatemala City (we).

41. CHANGES IN SECOND PERSON. In the second persons we have special forms for use before vowels, the same as those for the possessive pronoun.

42. THE SECOND PERSON PLURAL. This person is peculiar, in that at times the vocalic form takes *-y-* as its semi-vowel instead of *-w-*. Otherwise *-y-* in this position seems to have a definite association with the third person,

tcaw-abeh, thou understandest,
tcey-abeh, you understand,
tcaw-o-te, thou wantest,
tcew-o-te, you want.

The usage is irregular in this respect. Sometimes both forms were obtained with the same word,

hey-atut and *hew-atut*, your house.

It is possible that the use of a third personal element with the second plural meaning has been caused by the influence of the Spanish *Ustedes* with the third person plural, which here is the only form known for the second plural in Spanish. *Vuestra* is meaningless to the Indians, and *vos* is understood as equivalent to *tu*.

There is a constant tendency to give the second plural the form of the singular, *a*, *atc*, etc. Comparison with Chuj *ač-tik*, Tzeltal *xaecnic*, etc., shows that the vowel and consonant are merely suffixed to the root vowel of second singular. Here again we see emphasized the lack of a fundamental distinction between singular and plural.

43. THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUN. This pronoun corresponds to the one in Yucateco which Dr. Tozzer (1921) calls "nominal." I have preferred the term "possessive" because with verbs, nouns, and prepositions alike it seems only to fulfill the possessive function. In the list given above, (No. 34), it will be seen that the forms before vowels and before consonants differ materially. The forms before vowels bring out quite emphatically the syntactic significance of *w* and *y* in this connection. The Tzeltal use a *k* or *x* before the vowel for the first person, but in the second interpolate a euphonic *-b-*, and in the third a *-y-*.¹⁸⁷ The same distinction occurs in Maya,¹⁸⁸ Yocótan,¹⁸⁹ Chol of Palenque,^{189a} and Old Cholti.^{189b} Here again we note the occasional use of *-y-* before vowels in the second plural, on which we have already commented. (No. 41).

187 Schuller: MS T. U.

188 Tozzer: Op. Cit. p. 41.

189 Blom and La Farge: 1927, p. 489.

189a Tozzer: MS.

189b Moran: MS.

44. **POSSESSIVE PRONOUN WITH NOUNS.** The possessive pronoun is affixed to the thing possessed, its number, person, and gender in the third person, agreeing with the possessor, which, if expressed, should follow immediately. In contradistinction to the verbal noun, the essential part is the prefix, the suffix being usually omitted when the possessor is named and frequently when it is not.

45. **POSSESSIVE PRONOUN WITH CLASS II VERBS.** As common as Class I is the conjugation of verbs with the possessive pronoun (No. 63). In this use, the verb is treated as though it were in possession of the subject—not "he goes," but "his going." A number of tenses of Class I are also conjugated in this way. (Nos. 70, 73, 74).

46. **POSSESSIVE PRONOUN WITH PREPOSITIONS.** It happens that the great majority of prepositions in Jacalteca begin with vowel stems. To these the appropriate possessive pronoun is affixed in almost all instances, instead of the neutral *h-*. Thus the preposition is treated exactly as a thing possessed by its object, which it always precedes,

y-alañ hwits, under the hill,
y-iñ a-familia, for thy family,
w-iñ-an, for me.

One might almost translate these, "the hill's underness, thy family's forness."

A special form of the second singular, *taw-*, and of the third singular, *t-* or *tay-*, are used irregularly, and only with the prepositions *-ět* and *-iñ*,

tcin-ü-te taw-iñ, I do for thee,
tcin-wa t-ět naq, I give to him.

t-iñ is not found, *aw-iñ* is common, *aw-ět* is not found.

Unlike the Chuj and Tzeltal, the possessive is not used with prepositions beginning with consonants,

(Tzeltal), *s-bawits*, on top of the hill,
 (Chuj), *da-s-batik lum-vits*, on top of the hill,
 (Jacalteca), *poq s-kit'ala*, with his guitar.

In this case, contrary to the practice in Yucatan Maya, when the object is a pronoun, it is suffixed in the verbal form, just like a noun,

tcin-tsotel-i poq-atc, I talk with thee.

It must be admitted that we have in our lists only three prepositions beginning with consonants, of which two, *col* and *sat*, would trouble even a Jacalteco to affix a third person possessive. *s-col* or *s-sat* are impossible.

47. NUMBER. While both pronouns have a singular and plural, the distinction is sure only in the first person of the verbal, and of the possessive before consonants. In the other persons the distinctions are a matter of choice, or do not exist.

No dual was found.

48. CASE. The possessive pronoun may perhaps be regarded as historically a possessive case of the verbal. At present the use of the two is so distinct that they must be taken as independent.

49. SUBJECTIVE. The subject of a verb may be expressed, as has been seen, by either pronoun according to circumstances, and is always so expressed, even when there is a noun for a subject, except in the third person of Class I, when it is usually, and Class II when it is often omitted.

c-to [-ha'] *hun-e nimañ ha'*, flows a big river,
[y-] *ok hun-e palanca*, [he] places a crowbar.

50. OBJECTIVE. Our material contains only three examples of a pronominal objective, of which one, perhaps, should be regarded as an indirect object. In each case it is represented by the verbal pronoun prefixed to or preceding the verb,

haiy-ěp no' tca-tcon-ox? How many of them (eggs) wilt thou sell?
tsět in-aw-ü-ti-an? What art thou doing to me?
matc in-a-cip-te, don't frighten me.

In the first example, the object is really the phrase, *haiy-ěp no'*. In the second, in which the pronoun is perhaps an indirect object, the verbal *inan* has been split like a possessive, the first half prefixed, the second suffixed, to the complete verbal compound. In the third example, the first element, *in-*, of the verbal pronoun is prefixed. I interpret these as being verbal pronouns because, were they possessives, coming as they do before vowels, we should have *tsět w-aw-ü-ti-an* and *matc w-a-cip-te*, respectively, in the second and third examples.

51. **TIME.** Unlike many Mayan languages, the pronoun in Jacalteca is not compounded with time particles, unless the auxiliary *tc-* can be so construed.

52. **REFLEXIVE PRONOUN.** This is formed much as in English, by affixing the possessive to an article, *b:a*, which corresponds to our *self* in this use. As the object of an active verb, it is suffixed, preceding the suffix of the subject, if any.

hilwi-a-b:a, prove thyself,
y-ü-ten-s-b:a-no', it made itself.

53. **RECIPROCAL PRONOUN.** Reciprocal action is expressed by the reflexive,

h-il-kō-b:a, we see each other.

54. **DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN.** There are three forms of this, *ha-*, a vague demonstrative prefix chiefly used with pronouns, and the suffixes *-ti'* and *tu'*, roughly corresponding to English "this" and "that" respectively.

ha-naq, he, the man,
ha-naq-ti', this man,
ha-naq-tu', that man,
c-i-naq-tu', says that man.

A second suffix, *-la*, is added to *-ti'* when referring to something definitely in sight, particularly if one is pointing to it,

tsēt s-bi hun-ti'-la? What is this [thing] called?
tcaq-a hun-e tcēn-matcit-ti'-la w-iñ-an, give me that machete there.

Compounded with the locative, *pět*, these form demonstratives of place,

pět-[t] i', here,
pět-[t] u', there.

With nouns, the article is usually prefixed as well,

naq-tcapa-tu', that Chiapa,
no'-tcoue-tu', that blanket,

but not when the possessive occurs,

s-ki't'ala-tu', that guitar of his.

This demonstrative is probably cognate with the *t-* which occurs in Tzeltal and Maya as a prefix.

55. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN. The general interrogative is *tsět*, which means "what thing?" fulfilling an indefinite function also.

tsět, or *tsět y-ět?* What is it?

tsět s-bi? What is it called?

tsět-naq? Who?

y-oxtak tsět, he knows something.

VI. THE VERB

56. More than in any other connection, the unfortunate lacunae in our material are apparent in connection with the verb. For some reason it seems to be characteristic of these people that they have the greatest difficulty in giving verb forms consecutively. This arises partly from the fact that, being unaware of the existence of *grammar*, they do not try to give forms, but translations and thus over and again will follow, for instance, the present tense of one verb with a periphrastic and idiomatic past from another verb, as that is the way they would most freely translate the phrase offered them. Again, one sees all through the texts a weakness of feeling in regard to tense, a kind of obtuseness, particularly in regard to the past, which led over and again to our simply getting the present forms for the past. Add to this the confusions and misunderstandings which always accompany linguistic interrogations, and the fact that this side of our work was purely incidental, and one may perhaps understand and excuse our shortcomings.

57. VERB BUILDING. The verb is built up of a stem, simple or compound, which undergoes no changes whatever, to which are affixed the pronouns, auxiliaries, and time particles. As has already been shown, the stem in itself is a kind of verbal noun.

58. TYPES OF VERBS. As far as the classes of conjugation are concerned, there is very little distinction made between active and neutral verbs or verbs expressing a state of being, except that active verbs, as far as our evidence goes, are not found in Class III.

59. VERBALIZING SUFFIX. The essential part of this is the vowel, *i*. It is found in the form *-i*, after final *-h*, *'*, *-m* and *-n*, and usually after *-l*,

c-kam-i, he dies,

tcin-tsotel-i, I converse,

c-munlah-i, they work,

tcin-wa'-i, I eat,

and after final vowels, except *-u*, automatically becoming *-wi*, or sometimes *-yi*,

tcin-tō-wi, I go,
tcin-wa-yi, I sleep,
tcin-to-yi, I go.

After *-t*, and sometimes after *-l* and *-p*, it becomes *-ni*, as well as after some vowels. This form is occasionally used with the third person of verbs that do not take it in the second or first,

tcin-pit-ni, I sing,
aigwal-ni-an, I want,
y-abe-ni, he knows.

After *-c*, and *-u*, it becomes *-ti*,

tcaq-ü-ti, thou dost,
pac-ti-naq, he returns,

with *ü*, "do," as a special case it sometimes becomes *-t'e* or *tce*.

There are various final vowels that occur with particular verbs, and may represent the application of the principle of vocalic harmony to the final *-i*,

s-tcoñ-ō, he sells,
tcaw-al-a, thou sayest.

This suffix is not structurally important. It may be retained before the suffix *-an* of the first person, but is regularly dropped before suffixes of the third, of tense, or *an* immediately following nominal object or subject. It may also be omitted at any other time at will.

60. CLASSES OF VERBS. There are three types of conjugation, Class I with the auxiliary *tc-* and the verbal pronoun (No. 39), Class II with the possessive pronoun, and Class III with the verbal pronoun as a subject. Class III seems to contain only neutral verbs, neutral or active verbs may be found in the other two classes interchangeably. *TŌ*, "go," a neutral verb, is found in both I and III, *ABE*, "understand," an active verb, in both II and I, and so on.

tcin-to-wi, *to-x-in*, I go,
tcaw-abe-h, *aw-abe-h*, thou knowest.

Verbs do tend to have a typical conjugation in a single class.

61. CLASS I. This is the only class for which we have anything like a complete paradigm in our material. As will be seen, in several tenses the verbs are conjugated as Class II, as is also the case in Chuj.

Beside two typical verbs, *PIT*, "sing," and *tsōtēl*, "converse," I give *UL*, "come," and *WA'* "eat" to show the effect of vowel and semi-vowel stems on the auxiliary.

62. CONJUGATION, CLASS I.

PRESENT

Singular	1.	<i>tcin-tsōtēl-i</i>	<i>tcin-pit-ni</i>
	2.	<i>tca- tsōtēl-i</i>	<i>tcatc-pit-ni</i>
	3.	<i>tsōtēl-naq</i>	<i>c-pit-ni-naq</i>
Plural	1.	<i>tcoñ-tsōtēl-i</i>	<i>tcon-pit-ni</i>
	2.	<i>tce- tsōtēl-i</i>	<i>čtēc-pit-ni (?)</i>
	3.	<i>tsōtēl-ěp-naq</i>	<i>{hěp-oti-c-pit-ni (?)</i> <i>{c-pit-ni-ěp-naq</i>
Singular	1.	<i>tcin-ul-i</i>	<i>tcin-wa'-i</i>
	2.	<i>tcatc-ul-i</i>	<i>tca-wa'-i</i>
	3.	<i>{tc-ul-i-naq, c-ul-naq,</i> <i>{tc-ul-naq</i>	<i>c-wa'-naq</i>
Plural	1.	<i>tcoñ-ul-i</i>	<i>tcoñ-wa'-i</i>
	2.	<i>tčēc-ul-i</i>	<i>tce-wa'-i</i>
	3.	<i>tc-ul-ěp-naq</i>	<i>c-wa'-ěp-naq</i>

FUTURE¹⁹⁰

Singular	1.	<i>tcin-tsōtēl-ox</i>	<i>tcin-pit-nox</i>
	2.	<i>tca-tsōtēl-ox</i>	<i>tcatc-pit-nox</i>
	3.	<i>tsōtēl-ox-naq</i>	<i>c-pit-nox-naq</i>
Plural	1.	<i>tcuñ-tsōtēl-ox</i>	<i>tcoñ-pit-nox</i>
	2.	<i>tce- tsōtēl-ox</i>	<i>tčēc-pit-nox</i>
	3.	<i>tsōtēl-ox-ěp-naq</i>	<i>c-pit-nox-ěp-naq</i>

CONTINUATIVE PRESENT¹⁹¹

Singular	1.	(Not obtained)	<i>lañan pit-ni, lañan pit-ni-an</i>
			<i>lañan a-pit-ni</i>
			<i>lañan s-pit-ni-naq, s-pit-naq</i>
			<i>lañan kō-pit-ni</i>
			<i>lañan e-pit-ni</i>
			<i>lañan s-pit-ni-ěp-naq</i>

¹⁹⁰ In Chuj this is a Class II Conjugation.

¹⁹¹ A Class II Conjugation. *lañan*, see Ideas Expressed by Verbs.

PAST

Singular	1.	<i>kin-tsōtēl-i</i>	<i>c-kin-pit-ni</i>
	2.	(Not obtained)	
	3.	(Not obtained)	
Plural	1.	<i>kon-tsōtēl-i</i>	<i>c-kon-pit-ni</i>
	2.	(Not obtained)	
	3.	(Not obtained)	

IMMEDIATE PAST¹⁹²

Singular	1.	<i>c-lahwi pit-ni</i>
----------	----	-----------------------

(Rest not obtained, probably, as in Chuj, conjugated exactly like continuative present).

63. DISCUSSION OF AUXILIARY. It is possible that the auxiliary *tc-* is to be derived eventually from the demonstrative *t-* which we find, for instance, in Yucatan Maya compounded with the pronoun in a manner strikingly similar in such phrases as

t-en batab, it is I, the chief; I am chief,
t-en cambezic, I am he who teaches him; I teach him.¹⁹³

In Yocótan, *tc-ēn* has become crystallized as a verbalizing auxiliary without connotation of tense, and is used with the prefixed possessive,

k^e-tcēn-tsomba', I shoot.

Something suggestive of this occurs in Mames, of Ostuncalco, in the first person singular, according to a list with which Dr. and Mrs. H. Dudley Peck have kindly provided me, as well as according to my own list made at Todos Santos,

in-tcin-bit-sane, I sing, (*stem* bit),
ma-tcin-ts'in-ane ux, I write a book,
ma-tcin-i'we, I go. (Todos Santos).

There is some, but less, evidence for a continuation of this auxiliary in the other numbers.

In Jacalteca there is a tendency to confuse initial *s-* and *c-* before consonants, as in *c-pican* for *s-pican*, "his soul," which raises the possibility that in the third person the auxiliary is nothing but the possessive pronoun, particularly as one sometimes finds a conjugation with *s-* where one would expect the *c-* or *tc-*,

s-tō-naq, he goes, for *c-tō-naq*.

¹⁹² A Class II Conjugation, *c-lahwi*, see Ideas Expressed by Verbs.
¹⁹³ Seler: Op. Cit. p. 74. After Beltrán. Seler's spelling is used.

But in Chuj, where the third person of the auxiliary is regularly *s-*, identical with the third person possessive, it remains unchanged, as in Jacalteca, before a vowel, merely interpolating a *-y-*, as is never done with the pronoun,

s-bat-vin, he goes,
sy-a-vin, he gives.

Probably this was originally *ts-*, only the change has gone further than in Jacalteca, where *tc-* is as common as *c-*. The *s-* form in Jacalteca may indeed be a Class II conjugation before a consonant.

64. CLASS II. This conjugation with the possessive pronoun is typical of Mayan in general. Unhappily our examples of it are confined to the present and future tenses. It may be taken that the continuative present and immediate past are the same as for Class I. For the present we have examples of both consonant and vowel stems:

AL, say. *KAN*, remain.

PRESENT

Singular	1.	<i>w-al-ni</i> (-an)	<i>in-kan-i</i> (-an)
	2.	<i>aw-al-ni</i> , <i>aw-al-a</i>	<i>a-kan-i</i>
	3.	<i>y-al-ni-naq</i>	<i>s-kan-i-naq</i>
Plural	1.	<i>haiyuñ w-al-ni</i>	<i>kō-kan-i</i>
	2.	<i>ěcey-al-ni</i> , <i>hatc aw-al-ni</i>	<i>e-kan-i</i>
	3.	<i>y-al-ni-ěp-naq</i>	<i>s-kan-i-ěp-naq</i>

FUTURE

Singular	1.	<i>w-al-nox</i>
	2.	<i>aw-al-nox</i>
	3.	<i>y-al-nox</i> (-naq)
Plural	1.	<i>haiyuñ w-al-nox</i>
	2.	<i>hětci ew-al-nox</i>
	3.	<i>y-al-nox</i> (-ěp-naq).

The present of *KAN* is quite regular. In the present of *AL* we see the necessity of stating the verbal pronoun to distinguish the first plural from the first singular, and the same thing in the future. In the second plural will be noted the usual confusion in the use of *-w-* or *-y-*, and in one case, as an alternate form, the second singular repeated more emphatically.

65. CLASS III. Our evidence of the existence of Class III is very meagre, practically no more than the two forms, *to-x-in*, "I shall go," and *w-al-in*, "I take action." The auxiliary in itself may be regarded as Class III.

66. IRREGULAR VERBS. A number of verbs, particularly ones in very common use, show irregularities of conjugation.

The verb *TO*, "go," sometimes takes a first person plural present identical with the pure auxiliary, *tcoñ*, instead of *tcoñ-tō-wi*. This also has a hortatory value, "vamonos!"

The verb *Ü*, "do," beside a regular Class I conjugation, *tcin-ü-wan*, *tcaq-ü*, *c-ü-naq*, etc., has a very curious Class II variant:

- | | |
|----------|------------------------------------|
| Singular | 1. <i>haiin c-ü-te</i> |
| | 2. <i>aw-ü-te</i> |
| | 3. <i>yoo-c-ü-te-ni, y-ü-te-ni</i> |
| Plural | 1. <i>haiyuñ c-ü-te</i> |
| | 2. <i>hëtc ey-ü-te</i> |
| | 3. <i>hep-o-tc-ü-te-ni.</i> |

The first singular and plural seem to be compounded with the softened root, *-c-*, of the auxiliary *tc-*, preceded of necessity by the free-standing verbal pronoun to indicate number. The second singular and plural are quite regular. The third singular prefixes an unusual form of the possessive to a Class I form, with an alternative regular Class II. The third plural forms a plural pronoun from this possessive *prefix* in a most unusual manner by prefixing *h-ep-*, this compound being again prefixed to a regular Class I form. This may be an archaic conjugation reminiscent of some of the steps in the formation of Class I.

In both the third persons we notice a double verbal ending, *-te-ni* (See No. 57), which is retained even in such an expression as *y-ü-te-n(i)-s-b:a-no*, "it makes itself." Very often in Class I, the *-te* with this verb becomes *-tce*. "Do," or "make," are often expressed by a stem *-atce*, which seems to be an extreme slurring of this,

- tcuw-atci*, I make,
c-kow-atci, we have made.

The two stems *Qe* and *ootc* (or *oo-tce*?) "want," which we have only in the present, are also remarkable:

Singular	1.	<i>aigwal-ni(-an)</i>	<i>tcin-w-ootc</i>
	2.	<i>tcim-a-Que</i>	<i>tcate-w-ootc</i>
	3.	<i>s-Que</i>	<i>c-y-otce-naq</i>
Plural	1.	_____	<i>tc-q-otce</i>
	2.	_____	<i>tce'-w-ote</i>
	3.	_____	<i>c-y-otce-h-ěp-naq</i>

The plural of *Que*, and indeed, usually, all its persons, are built up on the periphrasis, *s-Que in-kul-oñ*, "want our hearts," *s-Que e-kul*, "want your hearts," and so on. The *tcim-* of the second singular may be an interrogative, compare in Text I,

tcim-s-Que-a-kul? Does thy heart want, dost thou want?

ootc seems to be surely an archaic Class I conjugation, in which the auxiliary is followed by the appropriate possessive pronoun, as occurs occasionally in Chuj. The *tc-q-* of the first plural is noteworthy; for the auxiliary we should expect *tcoñ-*, and for the possessive, *-w-*. The use of *-q-* is reminiscent of Tzeltal.

67. UNCONJUGATED STEMS. Occasionally, particularly if the context makes the meaning clear, we find stems without indication of person. This is seen in the first singular of the continuative, if the suffix *-an* be dropped, as it often may be,

lañan pit-ni, I am singing.

In the texts, it even occurs with verbs beginning with vowels, despite the usual aversion to letting words begin thus, and ordinarily in the third person,

ok hun-e palanca, (he) places a crowbar,
kam-i, (they) are dying.

In the latter instance the subject, "people," had already been stated as a noun in a previous phrase.

IDEAS EXPRESSED BY VERBS

68. PRESENT TIME. Apparently the indication of present time is the simplest form of the verb, none of the affixes of the present tense are confined to it alone.

69. CONTINUED ACTION IN PRESENT TIME. An idea about the same as that expressed in English by the use of the verb "to be" with the present participle, is expressed by *lañan* with Class II conjugation,

lañan y-ac-ni-naq, he is bathing.

In Chuj the word is *lagan*, which also means "near," as a preposition, and it is probably to be taken here as an adverb with a somewhat similar meaning, to be expressed in English by "he is engaged in . . ."

70. FUTURE TIME. This is expressed by the suffix *-ox*, with the same conjugation as the Present. Like the verbal suffix of the past and present, this occurs also as *-nox*, *-tox*, and *-lox*.

71. IMMEDIATE FUTURE. This is expressed by the verb *tō*, "go," in the present tense, with the infinitive. (See No. 76).

tcin-tō ac-nox, I am going to bathe,

tcin-tō wa'-ox, I am going to eat.

This is not used for purpose.

72. PAST TIME. In Class I, this is shown by a change of the auxiliary *tc-* to *k-*, with a prefix, *c-*, which may be omitted,

c-kin-pit-ni, *kin-pit-ni*, I have sung, I sang.

Possibly in Class II, the past is indicated simply by *c-*, with the usual conjugation, of which we have one instance,

c-w-aa I gave.

In one case this prefix was given us as *cac-*,

cac-kin-ul-i, I came.

Chuj *co'*, Yocótan *ca*, mean "already," "now"; in Jacalteca *ca* or *cac* seems to be a particle indicating past time,

hun-ib ca-ti', a while ago, some time ago,

pai-ca, once upon a time.

Probably this is the origin of the prefix, and if so it is possible that the change of the auxiliary to *k* arose for reasons of euphony, *ctc* being a consonant-cluster not found in Jacalteca.

As was said previously, the past tense is not used in Jacalteca as much as in English. The texts are couched in the present to an amazing degree. One may compare the vulgar way of telling anecdotes in English, "He says to me . . . then he goes out . . . etc."

73. IMMEDIATE PAST. This is shown by the adverb *c-lahwi* followed, as in Chuj, by Class II conjugation. *lahwi* means "when," or "just after," or "as soon as,"

lahwi c-taq-no' tcu-wia-tox, when it is cooked I shall take it,
lahwi c-to naq, cin, c-tak'wi-kan, after he goes, then (*or*, when he is gone), it moves.

lahwi in itself seems to have a certain idea of past time, which is strengthened by the prefix *c-*, discussed above.

c-lahwi a-wa'-i, thou hast just eaten.

Another idea of recent past may be expressed by the suffix *kanox*, (see No. 82).

74. IMPERATIVE. The Imperative is expressed by the future,

a-kan-ox yiktahox, leave half! (for me).

tcaw-a-ox, give!

Occasionally it is shown by the bare stem, without indication of person, and in such cases is taken as second person,

tcoñ w-ět, sell to me,

h-al, tell!

A set expression for "come here!" is *sab:atc*, in which the verbal pronoun is suffixed to a stem, *sab:*, which was not found in any other connection. Similar in construction are the hortatory forms,

wal-oñ, let us take action, come now!

tc-(tō)-oñ, let's go!

75. INTERROGATION. A formal interrogative in the verb is shown by the prefix *mac-* or *mac-ka-*, expecting a negative reply, and *mac-ka-ma*, (the negative particle), expecting a positive answer, much as in English,

mac-ka-y-ěl-i tcaw-al-a? mac-ka-ma-ts'a-a-kül y-iñ a-familia?

Is it true what thou saist? Art thou not sorry for thy family?

The particle *-ka-* may be the emphatic *kau* or *qa*, (see No. 89) in which case *mac-ka-* is really to be translated "is it,"

mac-ka y-ěl-i? Is it, it is true?

Interrogations are often introduced by *tatō*, "perhaps,"

tatō ai no-hōs tca-tcoñ-ō, perhaps there are eggs thou sellest,
have you any eggs for sale?

76. INFINITIVE OR VERBAL NOUN. Strictly speaking, there is no infinitive in our sense in Jacalteca. In its function as a generalized word, the *name of an action*, it is formed by adding the future suffix, *-ox*, to the simple stem,

wa'-ox to eat,

tsōtěl-ox, to converse.

Occasionally this form appears with something of our sense of purpose,

patnabal baii wa'-ox, literally, a cornfield where to eat, i. e., a cornfield to provide food, or where they may eat.

According to the best information we could get, many verbs cannot be built into this form, *tō-ox*, "to go," for instance, was declared impossible. No substitute was offered.

77. PURPOSE. This may be expressed in two ways; by an ending, *-a'* or *-e*, probably derived from *-al*, or by the regular future, *tcim-tō w-il-a' tsēt cu w-uctaq-an*, I am going to see what happened (to) my brother,
c-tō no-burro aukul-e tēt naq hrey, the donkey goes to tell the king,
c-to-ic y-al-nox y-uctaq-naq, she goes to tell his brother,
tcu-wa' tax-et'an s-tohol-ox aw-uctaq, I give thee to pay (for) thy brother.

In the first instance with *-a'*, the prefix *w-* seems to indicate a regular Class II conjugation, and it may eventually prove that this is the rule, in which case we have a purposive mood, but probably the *w-* here, before a vowel, is merely an instance of the aversion to letting a word begin with a vowel of which we have spoken. In the second instance, there is no sign of number.

- Frequently purpose or result clauses are avoided by the use of two independent statements with a *post hoc propter hoc* inference, *ok palanca yalañ tcēn-tcēn, c-aijixco-naq*, he (Chiapa) put a crowbar under the stone, he (Tiltik) fell over,
katawani-kox col icim-wa, tce-wi'at-ox, put it in the tortillas, I shall take it.

78. DESIRE OR OPTATIVE. A wish, such as is expressed by the English "would that," "Oh if only," Spanish *ójala*, is shown by *tatō*, "perhaps, if."

tatō ai ninox tsēt w-oxtaq-an, if only there were a little something I knew!

79. RELATIVE CLAUSES. A relative clause is expressed as an independent statement, its dependence on the main clause being purely a matter of inference from the context,

ap:-ni-naq, s-peto-naq tcap'a, he arrives, he comes from Chiapa; he who comes from Chiapa.

This is what one would expect, in view of the lack of relative pronouns.

In some cases the *nomen actoris* serves this purpose (see No. 27).

80. **CONDITION.** This is introduced by *ta*, *tō*, or *tatō*, "if," with the present tense even where the future might be expected,

tatō bai c-to hun-ox-ēc, tcēc-meltso-yih, if where goes one of you, you return; if any of you go there, he will return.

The expression of a wish (see No. 78) is really a contrary to fact condition; in the case quoted, the speaker breaks off, leaving the apodosis to inference, "If only I knew some magic, (I should finish the enemy)." (Text I, 13). Here the present is used where in English we should expect a past.

81. **ATTRIBUTION.** Occasionally the conjugated verb is used as an adjective, in a form of passive, with the suffix *-ōt*, describing an attribute of the subject,

hun-e ic sakal y-il-ōt, a woman beautiful to look upon. (*IL*, see Class II conjugation).

hun-e naq tc-al-ōt tcap'ai, a man called Chiapa. (*AL*, say, speak. Class I).

It also occurs with an active verb taking an indirect object, the object being stated as though direct, the indirection being, as it were, in the verb,

matc-a-tsēt tc-ü-tu-ōht naq, nothing now they do to him.

Perhaps this would be better translated "Nothing now *is done* to him." It occurs twice in the Texts with the verb "give," followed by the usual indirect object shown by a preposition,

hun-kal tce-al mēl'yu a-ot t-ēt naq, twenty horse-loads of gold they give to him.

In this case the verb occurs with its bare root, unconjugated, as if in the attributive sense,

abe-ōt, cin, tolop naq-winaq-tu cal-ni kanox, knowing then, how that man had said.

Compare No. 68.

82. **THE SUFFIX *kanox*.** This suffix or verbal element has proven very difficult, and in some places in the Texts, as will be seen, it cannot be explained. It is constantly used. It is probably derived from a root **KAN**, "remain, stay," or "leave behind," and from that seems to have evolved into an indication of recently completed action, or of a present tense of the passive voice, referring to a continuous condition.

c-okla-kanox-naq, he remains stuck; he is stuck.
c-kam-kanox-naq, he remains dead, he has died.
kōw-atce-kanox, we leave done, we have done (arranged).

In many of these cases it is possible to translate literally in English. This suffix, which does not change with conjugation or with tense, is really the main verb, and the conjugated stem a participle, as far as translation is concerned.

Sometimes *-kanox* is used with a past tense, and is then meant literally, or else may mean "entirely, completely,"

c-kō-hōwi-kanox, we have left (it) surveyed, or, we have surveyed (it) completely.

The context in that case (Text III), favors the first translation. The idea of completeness, of course, is related to the idea of finished action, the English-Latin "Perfect Tense." It can be seen in the root meaning, i.e., the thing being completely finished, they leave it *done*.

This stem also seems to have an idea of becoming, in contradiction to the state of rest inferred by its primary meaning, but here again it refers to a completed change,

o-kanox-naq hun-e niman tcēn, he becomes a big stone.

The verb is probably made up of *OK-* "enter," *-kanox*, "having entered, he remains," hence, "he became."

83. **NOMEN ACTORIS.** See No. 27.

84. **THE VERB TO BE.** In view of the verbal idea implicit in nouns and verbal pronouns, it is not surprising that we should find no close equivalent of English "to be," Spanish "*ser*." Even *estar*, with its sense of something *happening* is not usually translated directly. When it is desired to express the existence of a quality, the adjective simply becomes a verb,

y-ēl-i, it is true (EL, true).

The nearest equivalent to *estar* is *E*, which is conjugated as a true verb. This is sometimes used with adjectives,

okanox-naq hun-e niman tcēn pak pak y-e-i, he becomes a stone flat, flat it is.

matc-aw-abeh tatō cikiltax y-e-i (peti), thou dost not know that it is dangerous here.

tatō kūl w-e-i, līnan-tika baHal-tu', if I am well, this ear of corn will be erect.

In all these cases, *E* expresses a condition of the moment, or one recently entered into. It emphasizes the distinction made in Spanish between *ser* and *estar*. Probably its meaning is best shown in the following example,

tsēt ax-e-i, y-u cin tcac-tit peti'? What comes over thee, that thou comest here?

"There is," with the idea of the Spanish *tiene* is sometimes expressed as a question with *mi*,

matc-mi nō-hos? Aren't there any eggs; have you any eggs?

A colorless, impersonal "there is, there are," is expressed by *ai* or *aix*, as in Tzeltal, which may be derived from Spanish *hay*, or, more rarely, by *an*, a stem found in Maya and Yocótan.

The suffix *-tika* has caused the writer some difficulty, it expresses existence in a neutral sense, but is associated with contradictory evidence of indicating time,

a-tc^e-wēt tika-man, I am thine forever,
tatō tc-aipiatco-wi, sen'ya-tika c-kin-kam-kanox, if it falls
 over, it will be a sign I have died,
ay-tika hun-e naq, there is a man,
ma[t]c-tika cin a-ōt t-ēt ic, nothing then he gives her.

The first two instances seem pretty clearly future, the fourth, if not in the past, is at least in the narrative present.

Sometimes definitely active is *cu*, "happen, come to pass,"

tcokca' cu kam-ik, there happened many deaths,
tsēt cu w-uctaq-an, what happened to my brother.

This may be the third person, *c-ü* of *Ü*, "do, make," with a special idiomatic meaning, but the characteristic palatalization of the root vowel is always missing.

VII. THE ADJECTIVE

85. It may be pointed out again that, in keeping with the other parts of speech, there is no root word which *per se* must be regarded as an adjective, constant use alone justifies us in thus classing certain words for convenience. The words themselves are, as usual, names of ideals, and capable of being adapted to any function. Verbs are readily built from adjectives,

sQeu, [it is] cold.
sQeu-ti-kanox, it has become cold,
tcin-nimexal-box-an, I shall be big.

Adjectives become nouns without change,

itcam, old, an old man,
matswalil, evil, evilness, badness,
naq-matswalil, the Devil.

When serving its normal function, one may regard the adjective as a neutral verb, expressing the existence of a quality. The noun qualified may then be taken as the subject, the adjective as the predicate,

yac ha', green water, or, the water is green.

But one may argue equally well that the predicate quality lies in the noun, and that the adjective is an adverb. That is, as we have seen, *ha'* in the example above is really a statement, "the water is," and *yac*, "greenness is," so that one has a free choice as to which verb one shall recognize. The positive predicate quality of the verbal pronoun, compounded with an adjective, overwhelms the merely latent verbal quality of the latter,

kül-atc, thou art good.

In view of the fact that the noun or pronoun is the central element about which the phrase is built, and that its verbal quality is so clear, the writer is inclined to prefer this explanation of the adjective as an adverbial modifier, although it runs counter to what has been accepted to date. In reality, here as in all other instances in the language, an attempt to pin any expression of an idea down to one particular part of speech must eventually break down. The words *in themselves* are coordinates, it is only the momentary chance of their use in each instance that enables us to rank them according to our categories.

86. CASE AND NUMBER. There is no expression of case or number.

87. GENDER. Generally speaking, gender is ignored, but in a few special cases different adjectives are used with male and female animate beings and all other classes,

itcam naq, old man,
icnam ic, old woman,
itcam no'-tce, old horse,
cil tcěn-matcit, old machete,
cil ña', old house.

88. POSITION. Except in a few phrases of special meanings, the adjective precedes the noun or pronoun which it qualifies.

89. COMPARISON. There is no true superlative, the comparative serving both purposes, as in Romance languages. The comparative is formed by prefixing the adverb *qa*, *ka*, or *kau*, "very."

kül, good,

qa kül, better,

qa kül hun-ti', better this one, i. e., this is the best.

niměxal, big,

qa niměxal hu(n)-naq-ti' satox hu(n)-naq-tu', this man is bigger than that man.

qa niměxal satěl hu-naq-ti' satox hěp-naq-tu', this man is bigger than those men. (Given for "this man is the biggest of all").

90. NUMERALS. The numeral system is vigesimal, but under Spanish influence the higher numbers have been lost, and counts above a hundred are usually made by adding the lower native numbers to the Spanish *ciento*,

wak winaq, or *hun-ěp ciento yoko hun k'al*, six score, or, one hundred and one score, 120

when one gets a little higher, the hundreds are always used,

oc-ěp ciento yoko oc-k'al, 360.

wacak-lañ winaq (eighteen score) is not heard.

91. NUMERATION.

1. *hun*
2. *ka*
3. *oc*
4. *kañ*
5. *ho*
6. *wax*
7. *huk*
8. *wacak*
9. *balun*, *p:alun*, *b:alun*¹⁹⁴
10. *lahun*
11. *hun-lañ*
12. *kap-lañ*
13. *oc-lañ*
14. *kan-lañ*
15. *ho-lañ*
16. *wak-lañ*
17. *huq-lañ*
18. *wacak-lañ*

¹⁹⁴ See the discussion of p: and b: in No. 2.

19. *palun-lañ*
20. *hun k'al*
21. *hun-e s-ka-winaq*
22. *kap s-ka-winaq*
30. *lahun s-ka-winaq*
31. *hunlañ-ěp s-ka winaq*
40. *ka winaq*
41. *hun-e y-oc-k'al*
50. *lahun y-oc-k'al*
51. *hunlañ-ěp y-oc-k'al*
60. *oc k'al*
61. *hun-e s-kañ-winaq*
70. *lahun s-kañ-winaq*
80. *kañ winaq*
90. *lahun s-o-k'al*
100. *ho kal, ciento*
101. *hun-e s-waq-k'al*¹⁹⁵
120. *waq k'al*
121. *hun-e s-huq-k'al*
140. *huq k'al*
200. *ka-p ciento*
300. *oc-ěp ciento.*
360. *oc-ěp ciento yoko oc k'al*
400. *kañ-ěp ciento (bak unknown, "means bones").*
1000. *hun-e mil.*

91a. ORDINAL NUMBERS. First is expressed either by *sat*, or *baběl*. The former word originally means the orbits of the eyes, hence the face. From this it has come to be a preposition, "on top of," and an adjective, "chief, head, or first." "Head" is perhaps its nearest English equivalent, by a similar process. *baběl* means literally "first," and may be regarded as the true ordinal,

baběl tsaiik yok' habil, first day of the new year, New Year's Day,
baběl winaq, first man, eldest son,

The remaining ordinals are formed regularly by prefixing the possessive pronoun, third person, to the cardinal number,

sat alkal tca', head alcalde Prayer Maker,
s-kap alkal tca', second alcalde Prayer Maker,
y-oc, third,
s-kan, fourth,
s-(h)o, fifth, etc.

¹⁹⁵ These were probably given by mistake for *watc-winaq*.

92. NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS. The numerals ordinarily do not stand alone, but are used with suffixes denoting the nature of the things counted. They are found alone in the count of twenties, as seen above, but not with the Spanish *ciento*,

hun k'al, one score,
oc k'al, three score,
oc-ěp ciento, three hundred,

and with the tens,

lahun y-oc-k'al, fifty,

and also in connection with time and the calendar,

lahun tsaiik, ten days, (but sometimes, *lahun-ěp tsaiik*), *hun k'al tsaiik*, twenty days, a month in the ceremonial count, *hun ahau*, *huk aH*, *wacaq k'anil*, etc., day names with their numbers.

Sometimes a measure of quantity, which also gives an idea of how the object is contained or counted, may replace the suffix,

ka kalan ts'í, two loads of firewood,
oc kalan telax, three loads of grass, or
oc-ěp kalan telax, three loads of grass,
hun-k'al tce-al mēl'yu, twenty horse-loads of money, but,
ho-wěp ci' pitci, five jars of *posol*.

The most general suffix is *-ěp*, which corresponds to Tzeltal *-ěb*, Yocótan *-pe*, Chaneabal-Chuj *-e'*, Maya *p'el*, etc. In Jacalteca, as in most of these languages, when one asks for the plain numerals, they are counted with *-ěp* up to and including nineteen. Beyond there in Jacalteca the tendency is to leave off the suffix unless one is definitely counting something. With one, the final *-p* is regularly dropped, and the *-ě-* becomes long, *hun-e*. With two, the *-ě-* is lost, *ka-p*, and, as will be seen in the numeration list, the resulting monosyllable is often used where other numbers are given without suffix,

kap-lañ, for *ka-lañ*, 12, Cf. *oc-lañ*, etc.

-ěp might be called the neuter suffix, being used for counting all inanimate objects,

kaplañ-ěp hiñat, twelve seeds,
holañ-ěp ci', fifteen *ollas*,
ho-wěp pé'so, fifteen *pesos*.

Human beings are counted with *-wañ*,

ho-wañ winaq, five men,
huk-wañ ic, seven women,
hun k'al-wañ soldado, twenty soldiers.

Sometimes the prefix of the plural is also used with *winaq* and *ic*,
huk-wañ ěp-ic, seven women.

Animals are counted with *-koñ*,

lahuñ-koñ tci', ten dogs,

ho-koñ tce, five horses,

but the distinction of gender is not as carefully observed as with the article *no'*, for we find eggs treated as inanimate,

kañ-ěp hōs, four eggs.

Sometimes *hun-e* is used as the indefinite article, as in Spanish, and then the suffix is constant,

ai hun-e naq kau mats'walil s-kul, there is a man of very bad heart.

93. DISCUSSION OF NUMBERS. The exact meaning of the numbers is interesting for the light it sheds on the general Mayan attitude toward counting. A remnant of a decimal system seems to be shown in the return, at ten, to one with *la-hun*. The tens are more like the older ones given by Beltran for the Maya, in which as here the unit is prefixed to ten, than Tozzer's¹⁹⁶ more consistent continuation by repeating the units with the prefix *la-*.

This brings up the interesting point of the number eleven.

Jacalteca, like Mames, *hun-laH*, Quiché *hu-lahuh*, etc., continues from ten exactly like Latin, or English above thirteen, one-ten, two-ten, three-ten, etc. Maya having formed ten from one by the prefix *la-*, *lahun*, in the general Mayan way, continues on that system. But it has already used its number "one" for the *zero position*, as though one wrote 11 for 10, and therefore must interpolate a new form, *buluk*, for eleven. Then it can continue, *la ka-*, *la oc-* or *oc la-hun*, etc. The same thing happens in Tzeltal, *la-hun*, 10; *bulutc*, 11; *la-s-tcai*, 12, and in Chaneabal, but in those two languages the count then switches inalterably to suffixing *lahun*. It looks almost as if *buluk* were provided to enable the count to make a transition from a nonary to a decimal system.

The Jacalteca-Quiché system is also inconsistent, since ten, *la-hun*, is formed as above, and really uses 1 for the 0 position again, but they avoid the difficulty by then treating *lahun* as a stem rather than a compound, and make use of one, *hun*, a second time for eleven, *hun-lañ* or *hun-lahun*.

¹⁹⁶ Tozzer: Op. Cit, p. 99.

The odd scores are called *k'al*, *hun k'al*, 20, *oc k'al*, 60, etc., the even scores are called *winaq*, "man," *ka winaq*, 40, *kañ winaq*, 80, etc. *k'al* is the regular Maya name for the score, *winaq* (*vinik*), the Tzeltal. In Quiché, and in Mames, the first score and all the even scores are *vinak*, the odd scores above twenty are *kal*. Jacalteca follows this system save that it is more consistent in naming the first score *hun k'al*.

The common translation of Mayan numerals above twenty, when as in Jacalteca, the count is made by stating the digit and the succeeding score,

hun-e s-ka-winaq, 21,
hun-e y-oc-kal, 41,

is "one toward the second score," "one towards the third score," and so on. This translation gives the general idea, but it is worth while to examine the literal meaning. Stoll¹⁹⁷ translated the Pokonchi *henah ru-ca-vinak*¹⁹⁸ (21) as "*ein sein 2 x 20*," which Thomas¹⁹⁹ says is the same as "1 of or belonging to . . . the second twenty. This is the same as saying one on the second score. The *ru* for which *sein* stands is the third person, possessive singular pronoun, as in *ru-pat*, 'his house'."

. . . "1 of or belonging to the second twenty" does not exactly render Stoll's literal translation of the Ixil, which is rather "the second twenty of the one," the possessive pronoun being prefixed to the thing possessed. But one would expect such a statement of possession to be in the order *ru-ca-vinak henah*, like *ru-pat vinak* (Thomas' translation would be paralleled by *ru-vinak pat*, "the house's man!") for it is true of all Mayan languages that the possessor follows the statement of the thing possessed. Similarly in Jacalteca one would expect *s-ka-winaq hun-e*, to correspond with *y-atut winaq*, for *winaq y-atut*, "the man his house," would be an absolute error. Special cases do occur in some languages in which the reverse order occurs, and these numbers might constitute such exception, but then the literal translation does not seem intelligible—"the one's two-score, the one's three score";

hun-e s- ka- winaq, *hun-e y- oc- kal*.
One its two score, one its three score.

It is, then, much simpler to take the scores with attached pronouns as ordinal numbers, formed as explained above, "one the second score, one the third score." This may be taken as meaning nothing more than those words, the score towards which one is counting (see

197 Stoll: 1888, p. 51.

198 Stoll's Spelling.

199 Thomas: 1900, p. 901.

below) being mentioned almost parenthetically after the digit, or one may suppose that, as is typical of these languages which leave out connectives much as the Hebrew writing leaves out vowels, an "of, on" or "towards" is to be understood. The writer prefers "towards."

This may seem a very small point for so much discussion, but it is worthwhile for making more clear the concept of the progression of numbers among the people using this system, which is interesting in view of the remarkable concept of the progression of time which is so intimately related to Mayan mathematics.

The Indo-European peoples, like the Maya of Yucatán, having reached the first score, proceed to count in terms of it until reaching the next unit of equal order, twenty-and-one, twenty-and-two, Maya *hun k'al yete hun*, *hun k'al yete ka*, or *hun tu k'al*, *ka tu k'al*, and so on. But other Mayan languages, Jacalteca, Pokonchi, Tzeltal, Quiché, etc., although they continue counting in terms of ten through the teens, having reached a score regard that as completed, and put it behind them, starting immediately to count toward the next. In short, twenty, forty, sixty, are not, as with us, the beginnings, but the endings of series of twenty.

This immediately fits in with the time count, a month and a score, as written in the long count, being practically interchangeable terms. Twenty, the completion of the first score, is just like the last day of the month Pop, 21, "one of the two-score," being the first day of Uo. In our system, and that of Yucatán, if one were consistent one would have to begin with a forty-day month.

It will be objected that the days of the Mayan month did not reach twenty, but, beginning with zero, ended at nineteen. This is due to the concept of elapsed time, by which a day is not named until it is done with, a system which (pp. 148, 155, 159, 167-171, Section I) exists today in Jacaltenango. The zero of the first day refers to the fact that, that day not having been completed, its number could not yet be used, and so the sign of zero, or of completion of the month just ended, became its mark. That day being completed, the number one was applied, according to our way of thinking, to day number two. Really it stated, not "day number two," but "one day having elapsed." When the twentieth day was completed, with it was completed the month, and the first day of a new month began instantly. Accordingly, the moment when the number twenty could rightfully be applied was the equivalent of a geometrical point in time, having locus but no duration.

Now, an egg does not elapse. It is there, and one counts it. Accordingly, when the first egg is put in a basket, there is no reason to count it as zero. The difference between the calendar and ordinary counting, then, is apparent, not real, and as we should expect, we find that the concept of the ordinary numeral system forecasts the remarkable method of handling time, upholding again the extraordinary clearness of the philosophy of Mayan mathematics.

VIII. THE ADVERB

In our texts we have only a few examples of the use of adverbs; the Jacalteca literary style is bare.

94. POSITION. Adverbs of manner precede the verb and subject,
kau sūk-in-an, very much I am stupid,
hak-tu cin anik'aiyoax koñop, thus then he destroyed the village.

Adverbs of time and place follow the verb,
a-tc^e-wēt tika-man, I am thine always,
tcin-tō peti', I go here,
t'uñan ca kañ y-ox, hang already above his feet, already his feet hang high.

In the last instance, *kañ*, which is translated as an adverb of manner, also follows the verb. It seems to be a special case, *kañ* may perhaps be a part of the verb. It is found just above in the same text (II, 35), compounded with *tcip*, "grow, rise," as part of the stem,

s-tcip-kañ-no', it grew.

Adverbial phrases do not have a fixed position, but are placed with regard to the general sense of the sentence, much as in English,

s-tcip-kañ-no' yalañ naq-tiltik, it grew under the Tiltik,
yēt lañan tcic-k'ap, c-alil-ox tcaw bēt Antigua-tu, while there were earthquakes, reeds sprang up in that place Antigua.

95. NEGATION. It is difficult to say whether this is expressed by the simple root-form, common to many Mayan languages, or by a special local form, *matc*, the *-tc* being dropped before another *tc-*, *ts-* or *c-*. The Jacalteca for "no" is *ma-tcō* (or *matc-ō*), and it may be owing to this that we have taken *matc-* for the form of the negative. With the great number of Class I verbs, beginning with *tc-*

the issue is further confused. The particle is prefixed to the pronoun or auxiliary,

matc-ax-abeh (or *ma-tcax-abeh?*), thou dost not know,
matc-x-abeh, I do not know.

The evidence of these Class II forms favors *matc-* as the negative. Sometimes it is found in the full form of *matc-ō*,

matc-ō kō-kan-i, not we stay, we cannot stay, or will not stay.
An emphatic statement.

The *-tc* is dropped as stated,

ma-tsčēt, not anything, nothing, there is none.
ma-tcumal, impossible,

but *matc-tcumal* was heard in one case. The *-tc* sometimes becomes *-ts*,

mats-walil, not leading towards goodness, wicked.

96. **TOTALITY.** This is shown by *hunil*, all, really a noun, "entirely," with the possessive pronoun, as an adjective qualifying the subject or object,

kō-unil c-kō-tokla-kanox, we all have paid,
c-maltox-ha' s-unil-e lugar, it floods the whole place.

97. **DEMONSTRATIVE, MANNER OR STATE.** The demonstrative *hak-tu*, "in this way, thus," is placed at the beginning of a sentence to express these ideas,

hak-tu cu cin, thus it happened, then.
hak-tu c-tō-kanox capital, thus the Capital was moved.

It is often strengthened with other particles, *cin*, "then," (Spanish *pues*), or the whole phrase given above will be used as an introductory,

hak-tu cin anik'aiyox koñop, thus then he destroyed the village,

hak-tu cu cin sQeyü-ti-kanox, thus it happened then that it grew cold (i. e., the trouble abated).

IX. THE PREPOSITION

There are no postpositions.

98. **CONCEPT.** The prepositions seem to be really expressions of a very vague relation between two objects; while certain ones, such as *-alañ*, "below," *-ul* "within," are quite specific, in other

cases, such as *-ět*, and *-in* or *-iñ*, one is finally reduced to translating them by some such phrase as "concerning," or "in regard to," while yet recognizing a clear distinction between them.

99. **USE OF POSSESSIVE PRONOUN.** As has been shown under that heading, the possessive pronoun is prefixed to prepositions beginning with a vowel, but unlike Tzeltal, and many instances in Chuj consonant stems are not so treated. One is tempted to see in the use of the possessive an expression of an idea of the preposition as a quality of its object, or of having a vague, active verbal relation toward it.

100. **EXAMPLES.** The meanings and use of the prepositions are best shown by some typical examples.

-alañ, *under*. This is specific in meaning, and used as in English, with its proper prefix,

y-alañ hwits, under the hill,
aw-alañ (haatc), under thee.

col, *Between*.

col tcoñbilal, between the market-places,
katawani-kox col icim-wa, put it among the tortillas.

-ět, *To, Regarding*. This has more or less the idea of the Latin *dative*, not the English "to" of place towards which. In the second person it takes a special form of the pronoun, *taw-*, and sometimes in the third, *t-* or *tey-*,

y-al-noq t-ět y-uctaq-naq, to tell it to his brother,
s-tit tap-ōm y-ět naq, come policeman for him,
tcin-wa' taw-ět an, I give to thee,
y-ět lañan tcic-kap, while earthquakes are going on, because of earthquakes?
w-atce un-ox wět-an, make one for me,
tcal-ni-s-b:a-ěp-naq t-ět, they fall in love with (her),
tcin-tsotěl taw-ět an, I converse with you.

-in, *On Account Of, In Regard To*,

ts'a-a-kül y-iñ a-familia, thou art sorry because of thy family,
c-kin-wa taw-in, I have eaten with thee,
nimañ tcaw-ü-ti a-kül w-iñ (or w-iñ-an), make thy heart big towards me,
sQeyü-ti-kanox y-iñ ěp-naq, the trouble abated for them,
tcap-c-al-s-kül h-in nictěk ko-picañ-ti', he plans evil towards these our poor little souls,

mats-walil s-kül y-iñ s-mi, his heart is evil towards his mother,
s-kam-s-kül y-iñ, his heart is dying on account of her, he is
 in love with her,
t-aw-in tika-kau-ko-kül, to thee we turn for help, in thee we
 look for help,
c-tō-naq soldado y-in howal, the soldiers go to war,
okanox icim-tu' y-iñ no-kal, that corn changed into locusts.

-ip:an, On Top Of. This is specific in meaning.

poq, With. This is used for instrument and accompaniment,
ya-ko-naq s-verso poq s-kit'ala-tu', he plays his song with
 that guitar of his,
tcin-tsotēl poq naq, I talk with him,

and again more indefinitely,

tika-kau-ko kül poq nictēk in mam, we look for help for our
 poor fathers.

sat, Above, Over, On Top Of,

sat mec'a, on the table,
sat hwits, on the hill-top.

-u, On Account Of, By Means Of,

kamik y-u hep-naq-tiltik, deaths on account of the Tiltiks,
tsēt aw-e-i, y-u cin tcac-tit peti', what has come over thee, for
 this that thou comest here?
s-tit tap-ōm . . . y-ū naq-hrey, policemen came in the king's
 name, for the king,
yū-cin kow-a-tce-kanox, for this reason we have arranged,
kam-i sunil y-ū hep-naq, they all die on account of them, at
 their hands.

-ūl, Within, Inside, Into,

ai-ko-naq itc-tiltik y-ūl na-tcēn, there is the old Tiltik in a
 cave,
cok'tox y-ūl hun-e niman servieta, they put it in a big napkin,
okañti' y-ūl ña', come into the house!
c-to un-e a-niman ha' y-ūl tcötc, flows a big river under
 (within the) ground.

X: TEXTS

TEXT I

CONVERSATIONS IN LEGEND OF CUWAN K'ANIL

(See Section I, p. 119)

Dictated by *Manĕl Mikin*

<i>wal-ti-nañ</i> ²⁰⁰	<i>tsĕt</i>	<i>s^e-ya-kül</i> ? ²⁰¹	<i>tcim-s-Que-a-kül</i>
"Now then,	what	says thy heart?	Does thy heart want
<i>cQa-b:ina-ox</i> ²⁰²		<i>nin-ōx</i>	<i>kō-konop-ti'?</i> "
we shall makes ourselves known		a little [in]	our village here?"
<i>wal-oñ</i> , ²⁰³	<i>y-alañ</i> ²⁰⁴	<i>maleta</i>	<i>c-koñ-tit-a'</i> . ²⁰⁵ <i>yahat-cin</i> ²⁰⁶
"Come now;	under	the pack	we came. And if, then
<i>w-al-in</i> ²⁰⁷	<i>haiin-ti-an</i> , ²⁰⁸	<i>tc'a-nian-in-kül-an</i> ²⁰⁹	<i>peti'</i>
I speak	I myself here,	it hurts my heart a little	here [for]
<i>tsĕt</i>	<i>an'ma</i>	<i>c-kam-i.</i>	<i>k'a-ti-ñan</i> ²¹⁰ <i>haiyon</i>
what	people	die.	It is better we put an end to them.
<i>tatō</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>nin-ōx</i>	<i>tsĕt</i> <i>w-oHtax-an</i> ²¹² . . .
If only	there were	a little	something I knew . . .
<i>wal-ti-cin</i> ²¹³	<i>kau</i>	<i>suk-inan.</i> "	
But then,	very	stupid I am."	
<i>mac-ka-yĕl</i>		<i>tcaw-al-a?</i>	<i>mac-ka-ma-ts'a-a-kül</i> ²¹⁴
"Is it true	[what]	thou sayest?	Is not thy heart sorry
<i>y-iñ</i>	<i>a-familia?</i>		
for	thy family?		

200 *wal*, perhaps the hortatory verb, (203), + *-ti*, demonstrative?, + *nañ*, ? Cf. (213).

201 *s^e*, for *c-i*, *say*, Class I, + *-ya*, *-y* euphonic, *-a*, second person possessive singular, + *kül*, *heart*, i. e., *What art thou thinking?*

202 *cQa*, Cf. (211), apparently means *to do something to something*, *-b:ina-*, ?, probably contains the reflexive, *-b:a*, one would expect *-kō-b:a*, *ourselves*, + *-ox*, future suffix, expressing purpose. See No. 78.

203 This verb was generally translated *vamos pues*. Perhaps it is the root *AL*, *speak*, with Class III conjugation, 1st pers. plur., *w-AL-oñ*. Cf. (200, 207).

204 *y*, 3d pers. poss. pron., before preposition beginning with vowel, see No. 100.

205 Regular Class I past tense. The final *-a'* probably stands for *-an*, suffix of 1st person.

206 *ya*, ?, + *-hat*, contracted from *hak-tu'*, *therefore, thus* ?, + *-cin*, equivalent to Spanish *pues*.

207 Cf. (200, 203).

208 Very emphatic, *haiin-*, verbal pronoun, + demonstrative *-ti-*, + *-an*, verbal suffix of 1st pers.

209 The auxiliary *c-* is dropped before *tc'*. The adverb *nian* is incorporated between the verb stem and its compound subject.

210 *k'a*-comparative prefix, see No. 90 + *ti-ñan*, Cf. (200, 364).

211 *c2a*, Cf. (202), + *-TAN*, *destroy, put an end to*, + *-ox*, future suffix.

212 For this construction see No. 81.

213 Cf. (200).

214 Note neg. particle *ma(tc)-*, expecting positive answer. *-ts'a-*, for *TC'A*, (209).

" <i>matc-ox</i> ²¹⁵ "Not	<i>tcaw-al-ti'</i> , ²¹⁶ thou sayest this;	<i>tatō</i> if only	<i>ai</i> there were	<i>ninōx</i> little
<i>tsēt</i> something	<i>w-oHtax-an!</i> " I knew!"			
" <i>ta-hak</i> , ²¹⁷ "If this is so,	<i>tcal-tu</i> therefore	<i>h-il-wi-nino-kō-b:a</i> ²¹⁸ test ourselves a little	<i>tcal-tu'</i> , therefore,	
<i>il-u-wi-a-b:a</i> test thyself	<i>pēti'</i> here	<i>tcal-tu'.</i> " therefore."		
" <i>k-atc</i> ²¹⁹ "Come	<i>cin</i> , then,	<i>a-kan-ox</i> ²²⁰ leave	<i>yiktah-ox</i> ²²¹ half	<i>w-ēt-an.</i> " for me."
<i>c-ul-i-naq</i> He comes	<i>cin</i> then	<i>y-itc mam-e</i> ²²² their old Father	<i>hěp-naq-enemigo.</i> the enemies.	" <i>waltinañ</i> , "Now then,
<i>yutcan-dyoc</i> ²²³ please	<i>au-wax-kan-ox</i> ²²⁴ leave	<i>yikal</i> , ²²⁵ seed of the race,	<i>pāt</i> from here	
<i>c-to-x</i> will go	<i>ordamento</i> dance costumes	<i>yěktse-ban-il</i> ²²⁶ for celebrating	<i>Qin</i> the fiesta	<i>pask'up</i> ²²⁷ Easter
<i>y-ūl</i> in	<i>e-koñop.</i> your village	<i>hak-tu'</i> Thus	<i>cin</i> then	<i>sQwü-te-kanox-ku-b:a</i> ²²⁸ it becomes cold for us
[our trouble ends]	<i>hey-u,</i> through you,	<i>ta</i> if	<i>y-ětsanil-ox.</i> it will suffice.	<i>a-wěx-kan-ox</i> ²²⁹ Leave
<i>hairwan-ox</i> ²³⁰ a little	<i>yik'al</i> seed	<i>yutcan-dyoc.</i> " please."		

TEXT II

CHIAPA AND THE TILTIK

Dictated by Maltic Silvestre

<i>tolop</i> ²³¹ They say	<i>tcokca'</i> many	<i>cu</i> were	<i>kam-ik</i> deaths	<i>y-u</i> because of	<i>ěp-naq-t'iltik</i> the Tiltiks
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215 An emphatic negative, the free-standing form, *matc-ō*, *no!*
 216 The verb is really treated as a noun, with demonstrative suffix. *Not this which thou sayest.*
 217 *ta-*, *if* + *hak-tu'*, *thus.*
 218 *h-*, euphonic, + *-IL-*, *see*, + *-wi-*?, hence *test.*
 219 *k-*, this stem is only found here. The construction, Class III, is analagous to *sab:-atc*, *come here!*
 220 Class II, future as imperative.
 221 The final *-ox*, as with many nouns, has not been explained. See No. 22.
 222 Note honorific suffix, *-e.*
 223 *Praise to God!* It really means *thank you.*
 224 Cf. (229) below. *a-* has probably been mispronounced *aw-* before the *-w-*. *-KAN-*, *leave*, *remain* + *-ox*, future suffix as imperative. Perhaps *awax* (30, *awěx*), for *awěc-*, pl. Cf. (220) and (296).
 225 A special term, *enough people to continue the tribe.*
 226 Not analyzed. *-BAN-*, *to celebrate*, + *-il*, No. 16.
 227 Spanish, *Pascual.*
 228 See Nos. 83, 86.
 229 Cf. (224).
 230 For construction Cf. (220-221).
 231 A conventional word for beginning a story.

*paii'-caa*²³² *hak-tu* *cu* *y-abe-ni*²³³ *hun-ěp*²³⁴ *naq*²³⁵
 long ago Thus was realizes a man
*tc-al-ōt*²³⁶ *tcap'-a'i*.
 called Chiapa.

“*tō-xin*²³⁷ *w-il-a*²³⁸ *ninox* *tatō* *y-ěl-i*. *tcuw-a-kan-ox*²³⁹
 “I am going to see a little if it is thus. I shall leave

hun-i *nian* *seña-ti'-la'*.”
 a little token this here.”

*s-liñ-ban-kanox*²⁴⁰ *hun-e* *nian* *b:aHal* *sat* *me'ca*.²⁴¹
 Erect he left a little ear of corn on the table-altar.

“*tatō* *kül-w-ę-i* *liñ-an-tika*²⁴² *baHal-tu'*; *tatō* *tc-ai'pixtcō-wi*
 “If well I am erect will be that ear of corn; if it falls

*seña -tika*²⁴² *c-kin-kam-kanox*.”²⁴³
 a sign will be I have died.”

lawi *c-tō-naq*, *cin*, *c-tak'-wi-kan*,^{243a} *c-ai'pixtcō-wi* *nian*
 After he goes, then, moves, it falls over, that

bahal-tu'.
 little ear.

“*c-kam-kanox* *w-itcam-il* *tcal-tu*,” *c-i* *y-ic-al-naq*.
 “Has died, my husband, therefore,” says his wife.

c-tō-ic *i-y-al-noq*²⁴⁴ *t-ět* *y-uctak-naq*.
 She goes to tell to his brother.

“*tatō* *hak-tu*, *cin* *c-kam* *w-uctak-an*,” *c-i-naq*,
 “If thus, then is dead my brother,” says he,

“*tcin-tō* *w-il-a'* *tsět* *cu* *w-uctak-an*. *c-taH no'-toi'o-ti'*,
 “I am going to see what happened my brother. Be cooked this hen,

tcaw-ak-ox *icim-wa*.²⁴⁵ *lawi* *c-taq-no'*, *katawani-kox*²⁴⁶ *col*
 make thou tortillas. When it is cooked, put [it] between

icim-wa, *tc^e-wia-tox*.”
 the tortillas, I shall take it.”

232 Also conventional, *tolop pai-ca* are about like *they say that once upon a time*. *pai-* is a particle, usually of place where, *-ca*, past time.

233 From *-abe-*, “to understand,” Class II.

234 Indefinite, *one man* would be *hun-wañ naq*.

235 The full form, *winaq*, is little used.

236 *-AL* Class I, *to say* + *-ōt*, attributive suffix. See No. 82.

237 Class III, *Tō* is usually Class I.

238 See No. 66.

239 *tcuw-* is the contracted Class I 1st Pers. Sing. Aux. *-a-*, from *ū*, *do?* See No. 67. Cf. (224, 229).

240 For the uses of *-kanox*, see No. 83.

241 Spanish *mesa*.

242 See No. 85, and Cf. (249).

243 It is not evident that *-kanox* here makes any change in the meaning of *c-kin-kam-i*, *I have died*.

244 See No. 73.

243a Cf. (234), for use of *-kan*.

244 The *i-* is probably a slip of speech, leaving a regular Class II future of purpose.

245 The prefixed *icim-*, *corn*, is unusual in Jacalteca but regular in Chuj.

246 Not satisfactorily analyzed. Cf. (374), *katawa-ni*, *thou givest*, from *WA* or *A*, give?

<i>c-okto-x</i> ²⁴⁷	<i>y-ül</i>	<i>hun-e</i>	<i>niman</i>	<i>servieta.</i>		
They put it	in	a	big	napkin.		
<i>s-tit-naq</i> ²⁴⁸	<i>cin,</i>	<i>ap:-ni-naq</i>	<i>y-ül</i>	<i>hun-i</i>	<i>nian</i>	<i>be</i>
He comes	then,	he arrives	in	a	little	trail
<i>p:ečēt</i> ²⁴⁹	<i>tcikaiyōh;</i>	<i>ai-kō-naq</i> ²⁵⁰	<i>itc-tiltik</i> ²⁵¹	<i>hy-ül</i>	<i>na-tcēn.</i> ²⁵²	
in the place	Pisallá;	there he is	venerable Tiltik	in	a cave.	
<i>cē-kan</i> ²⁵³	<i>no'-burro</i>	<i>y-i-x-um-al-naq.</i> ²⁵⁴				
Tied	was the burro	his carrier.				
<i>"tsēt</i>	<i>aw-e'-i,</i>	<i>y-u cin</i>	<i>tcac-tit</i>	<i>pēti'?</i> "	<i>c-i</i>	
"What	comes over thee,	that	thou comest	here?"	says	
<i>naq-tiltik,</i>	<i>tō</i>	<i>matc-aw-abeh</i>	<i>tatō</i>	<i>delicado</i> ²⁵⁵	<i>y-e-i.</i>	
the Tiltik,	"Perhaps	thou dost not know	if	dangerous	it is.	
<i>kau</i>	<i>a-tc^e-w-ēt</i> ²⁵⁶	<i>ti-ñan."</i>				
Very much	thou art mine	now."				
<i>"ma-tsēt</i>	<i>tca-la.</i> ²⁵⁷	<i>a-tc^e-w-ēt</i>	<i>tika-man.</i>	<i>yax</i>	<i>tca-kū'tcu</i> ²⁵⁸	
"Nothing	thou sayest.	I am thine	forever.	But	thou eatest	
<i>hun-ōx</i> ²⁵⁹	<i>hotc</i>	<i>w-iñ-an."</i>				
some	tortillas	with me."				
<i>"kau</i>	<i>cin</i>	<i>tcīñ-^eoh-tca-an,"</i> ²⁶⁰	<i>c-i</i>	<i>naq-tiltik-tu.</i>		
"Much	then	I suffer hunger",	says	that Tiltik.		
<i>tciltcoñ</i>	<i>y-ěl</i>	<i>cop</i> ²⁶¹		<i>icim-wa.</i>	<i>ahb:-ni-naq,</i>	
Violently	came forth	steam	[from]	the tortillas.	He arrives,	
<i>s-peto-naq</i> ²⁶²	<i>tca'pa.</i>	<i>tculbihl</i>		<i>hun-e</i>	<i>s-tcou.</i>	
who comes from	Chiapa.	Rolled up	[he had]	a	his Chamora blanket.	
<i>"ma-tcētc-pis-i</i>	<i>sat</i>	<i>tcōtc,</i>	<i>ai-yañ</i> ²⁶³	<i>y-ip:an</i>		
"Do not sit	on the	ground,	place thyself	upon		
<i>in-tcou-ti'."</i>						
this my blanket."						

247 OK, put, + *Tō*, go; -*okto*- usually means *enter*. The final -*x* is probably meaningless, or perhaps supplies the missing object?

248 There are several roots for *come*, *arrive*, as for *say*, *speak*, *tell*, not very clearly distinguished in meaning. *TIT* and *AP*: seem to have more the idea of getting to a place, -*L* of coming towards, particularly the speaker.

249 From *pēt*, locative.

250 The function of -*ko*- is not clear. Cf. its use below, *y-a-ni-kō-naq*, *y-a-ko-naq*, (284).

251 *itc*, *old*, hence honorific title.

252 Lit. house-stone.

253 *cē-*, ?, + *-kan*, *remain*.

254 i. e., his saddle-burro. See No. 16.

255 The Jacalteca word should be *cikiltax*, meaning *to be approached with caution for magical reasons*.

256 Cf. the same word with reverse meaning below.

257 i. e., *Don't mention it*.

258 The usual stem for *eat* is *WA'*.

259 The objective ending, -*ōx*, gives *hun-* a meaning analogous to Spanish *unos*.

260 A compound stem: *tcīñ-*, Class I, 1st pers. sing. + -*oh-*, *hunger!*, + *-TC'A-*, *suffer*, + *-an*, suffix of 1st pers.

261 These three words thus translated to us. Cf. Text VI, (346), *tceltōh*, *rush out*. *y-ěl*, *in truth?*

262 Class II. Stem from *pēt*, locative, + *TO*, *go!* It is regularly conjugated as a Class II verb.

263 Cf. the polite *pis-yañ*, *sit down*, *be seated*.

*stc'ip-kañ-no'*²⁶⁴ *y-alañ* *naq-tiltik,* *y-ü-těn-s-pa-no'* *nimp:al'*²⁶⁵
 It grows high under the Tiltik, it makes itself rollable
*tcěn-al,*²⁶⁶ *t'uñan* *ca* *kañ* *y-ox* *naq-tiltik* *y-ipañ*
 stone; hang now high his feet the Tiltik above
no'-tcowe-tu'.
 that Chamora.

yutcan tioc, *c-kin-wa'* *taw-iñ;* *a-tcũ-w-ět* *tika-man,"*
 "Thank you, I have eaten with tee; thou art mine forever,"
c-i *naq-tiltik-tu.*
 says that Tiltik.

y-a-ni-kō-naq *s-Qap* *y-ip:an* *tcěn;* *c-ok'la-k'nox-naq.*²⁶⁷
 He puts his hands on [the] rock; he remained stuck.

"tsět *cin* *aw-ü-ti-an?* *p:eqts-ō*²⁶⁸ *in-Qap-ti'!"*
 "What then art thou doing to me? Release my hands here!"

"waltinañ *tcaw-a-yox* *selěl* *w-uctaq-han?"*
 "Well, then, thou wilt give restitution my brother?"

*"tsikanap*²⁶⁹ *s-tcumal* *tō* *cac* *c-kam-naq* *hun-ib*
 "Not possible if already he has died a
ca'-ti'," *c-i-naq.*
 while ago," he says.

*ok*²⁷⁰ *palanca* *y-alañ* *tcěn-tcěn,*²⁷¹ *c-aipixco-naq.*
 He puts a crowbar under the stone, he fell over.
c-kam-kanox-naq. *c-to* *no'-burro* *y-ul* *wits* *aukul-e*²⁷²
 He died entirely. Went the burro into hill to tell
t-ět *naq-hrey.*
 to the king.

"waltinañ *c-kam* *w-ahau-an,"* *c-i-no'.*
 "Now then is dead my master," it says.

s-tit *tap-ōm*²⁷³ *y-ět* *naq* *y-u* *naq-hrey,* *ackato*
 Come policeman after him for the king, because

264 *stcip*, or *s-tcip*, *grow*. *-kañ* seems to carry a general idea of being on high, it is used adverbially; *nimezal y-ē-kañ te-ña'*, *big is on high the house, or big stands up the house*. Cf. Tzeltal *xo-kañ-ēl, colgar*. *no'*- because a Chamora blanket is made of wool.

265 Translated *rodadora*.

266 The reason for the suffix *-al* is not known.

267 *-ok'la,* ?

268 Not analyzed; *-o* for *-ox*, fut-imper?

269 Perh. an error for *tcin-k'ana'*, *I wish*, but doubtful.

270 Note the use of the pure root without affixes of any kind.

271 *tcěn-* as article of gender, and again as noun.

272 This is the only time this stem occurs.

273 *Nomen actoris*; literally, *seizers, people who seize*.

<i>s-tiltik-naq</i>	<i>iy-e-i.</i>	<i>ip:il</i>	<i>cu,</i>	<i>s-to-naq.</i>	<i>ap:-ni-naq</i>	<i>Antigua;</i>
his Tiltik	he is.	Taken	is,	he goes.	He arrives	Antigua;
<i>ok'-naq</i>	<i>y-ul</i>	<i>te',</i> ²⁷⁴	<i>hax-n-il-ti-s-bah-naq,</i> ²⁷⁵		<i>ai-c-alti-naq</i> ²⁷⁶	
he enters	into	jail.	He gets out by himself,		there he is outside	
<i>col</i>	<i>tcoñ-bal.</i> ²⁷⁷	<i>s-kěñ^e-ni-naq</i>	<i>s-ki'tala.</i> ²⁷⁸			
between	market-place.	He plays	his guitar.			
<i>y-il-ac-pac-tix:—</i> ²⁷⁹	<i>tsět-y-e</i>	<i>naq-ti'?</i> ²⁸⁰	<i>c-ap:-ac-e-naq.</i> ²⁸⁰			
When they saw him:—	“What is	this man?”	they say.			
<i>ok'to-naq</i> ²⁸¹	<i>un-ěl-ca</i> ²⁸²	<i>y-ul</i>	<i>tě-tu'.</i>	<i>y-i-pac-il-ti-s-bah-naq,</i> ²⁸³		
He enters	once again	into	that jail.	He gets out alone again,		
<i>y-a-kō-naq</i> ²⁸⁴	<i>s-verso</i>	<i>poq</i>	<i>s-ki'tala-tu'.</i>			
he places	his song	with	that guitar of his.			
<i>“tc-ok'tō-naq</i>	<i>y-ul</i>	<i>te',</i>	<i>katiyěl</i> ²⁸⁵	<i>pac-ti-naq</i> ²⁸⁶		
“He enters	into	jail,	he manages	he comes out		
<i>tsuHan-cac-in.</i> ²⁸⁷						
in a little while.”						
<i>matc-a-tsět</i>	<i>tc-ü-te-oht</i>	<i>naq.</i> ²⁸⁸				
Now nothing	they do to	him.				
<i>y-ü-te-naq</i>	<i>tcic-k'ap.</i> ²⁸⁹	<i>haktu-cin</i>	<i>ani-kai-yox</i> ²⁹⁰	<i>konop</i>		
He makes	earthquake.	thus, then,	he destroys	village		
<i>Antigua;</i>	<i>hatu'</i>	<i>c-tō-kanox</i>	<i>capital</i>			
Antigua;	accordingly	went entirely	[the]	capital	[to]	
<i>ce-k'a'.</i>						
Root of Fire.	(Guatemala City).					
<i>naq-hrey</i>	<i>cin</i>	<i>aiHaHnox</i> ²⁹¹	<i>t-ět</i>	<i>naq.</i>	<i>“matc-a-kai-loq</i>	
The king	then	knelt	to	him.	“Do not destroy	

274 Lit., *wood, stick*, referring to wooden bars of most Guatemalan jails?

275 The stem *hax-n-ü-* not satisfactorily explained. *hax-ni*, ?, + *-il-*, Cf. (279), *ti-s-b:a* means *alone*.

276 The verb, *c-alti* to *take out, liberate*, becomes an adjective. Cf. (376).

277 An idiom, *in the market-place*.

278 Spanish, *guitar*.

279 Thus translated. *y-*, 3d pers. poss. pronoun with Class II Conj., + *-IL-*, *see*, + *-ac-*, ?, + *-pac-*, perhaps *-PAC-*, *return*, hence *get cut*, Cf. (299) below, + *-tix* = *-ti*, vbl. suffix, — *when they saw him outside*.

280 *c-*, Class I, 3d pers., + *-AP-*, *say*, + *-ac-*, ?, + *-e-* = *-ěp-*, prefix of plural, + *-naq*, male human suffix. Cf. (305) *ap:ca-lom*, and *ap:cu-bal*, *language*.

281 Compound stem, *OK-*, *enter* + *-TÖ-*, *go*, hence *enter*.

282 *un* = *hun*, *one*, + *-ěl-*, ?, + *-ca*, *time, while*, here used without idea of past time. Cf. (331).

283 Cf. (279) Probably the idea of repetition is in the root *-PAC-*, “*return*.” Cf. also (299).

284 i. e., *he sings*. And Cf. (38).

285 This and (299) were translated *vuelta á salir*.

286 Cf. (299).

287 *-in*, ?. If this is the preposition, it is in a most unusual place.

288 See No. 82.

289 The old root, *k'ap*, *earth*, is preserved here.

290 *ani-*, ?, + *-kai-*, *destroy*, + *-yox*, ?.

291 Not analyzed.

s-unil *koñop*; *kantax* *nictěk*²⁹² *unin* *c-kam-i*,
all the village; how many poor little children die,
itcam-taq.²⁹³ *hantaq* *měl'yu* *tca-qana*²⁹⁴ *tcu-waa-taw-ět'an*
and old people. How much money thou askest I give to thee I
s-tōHol-ox *aw-uctak-tu'*, *tañ-i*²⁹⁵ *cin* *tcaw-a-kanox*²⁹⁶ *yik'al*
to pay for that brother of thine, so that then thou leavest seed
an'ma-ti."
of these people."

"*ma-tcumal* *w-al-ni* *hantaq* *měl'yu* *tcin-k'ana'*."
"Not possible I say how much money I require."

hun-kal *tce-al* *měl'yu* *a-ot*²⁹⁷ *t-ět* *naq*.
Twenty horse-loads money they give to him.
s-tit-naq. *haktu* *cu* *cin*, *stceyü-pi-kanox*²⁹⁸ *y-iñ* *ěp-naq*.
He comes. Thus it happens then, the trouble ends for them.

s-pac-kan,²⁹⁹ *ti-naq-tcap'a*.³⁰⁰ *ha'tu* *cin*, *y-ět*³⁰¹ *lañan*³⁰²
He went back, this man Chiapa. Thus then, while go on
tcic-k'ap, *c-alil-ox*³⁰³ *tcax* *bět* *Antigua-tu*.
earth-quakes, spring up reeds in that Antigua.

TEXT III

PARTING SPEECH OF OLD FATHER

(See Section I, p. 113)

Dictated by *Maněl Mikin*

"*matcu-kō-kan-i* *col* *nictěq* *h-unin-al*,³⁰⁴ *y-ěckato* *ap:ca-lōm*,³⁰⁵
"We cannot stay among little the children, because talkers,
ts'otel-ōm. *y-u* *cin* *kō-ä-tce-kanox*³⁰⁶ *baii* *c-kan-i*.
chatterers they are. For this For this we have made where they stay.

292 Translated *pobrecitos*. It is a standard word in prayers to arouse pity.293 *-taq* was translated as a copulative suffix, like Latin *-que*, but may be a repetition of the suffix of *kantax*, (= *han-taq*) immediately above.294 To ask for, as against to want, *QE*.295 From *TAN*, end, *fnish*; "to the end that." Cf. (369).

296 Class I, Cf. (224).

297 See No. 82.

298 *stceyü-pi*, for *sQeü-ti*. See Nos. 5, 86.299 *-PAC*, return, + *-KAN* in sense of "come in?" since he returned to the village, or *-kan-* for *kanca*, past time, see No. 83.300 Note unusual position of demonst. *-ti'*, corresponding to ordinary Mayan usage.

301 Cf. (341).

302 Sign of continuative, here with force of an auxiliary.

303 Translated *nascieron las cañas* . . . The termination is fut. *Sprang up reeds*, i. e., *was deserted*.304 *h-*, euphonic, one would expect *w-*, *our*. *-al*, see No. 16.305 Cf. (280), for *ap:c* as a variant of *AP:-*. *-lōm*, suffix of *nomen actoris*. This means *changeable* or *unreliable in talk*.306 *We have arranged, we leave it arranged*. See No. 83.

<i>y-äckatu</i>	<i>wal-oñ.</i>	<i>sxia-kan-tix</i> ³⁰⁷	<i>ku-b:a,</i>	<i>katcan</i> ³⁰⁸	<i>cin</i>
Therefore	come we.	We brought it	ourselves,	at least	then
<i>c-kuw-ä-tce-kanox</i> , ³⁰⁹		<i>c-kö-ho-wi-kanox</i> ³¹⁰		<i>ni^en</i>	<i>s-tcam</i>
we have arranged,		we have left surveyed	[a]	small	its forepart
<i>pě-l</i> ³¹¹		<i>pat'nabal,</i>	<i>t-ět</i>	<i>nictěx</i>	<i>h-unin-al</i>
trail	[to the]	cornfield,	for	the little	children
				<i>baï</i>	where
<i>wa-ox.</i>					
to eat.					

TEXT IV

OLD FATHER AND THE ENEMY

(See Section I, p. 115)

Dictated by *Maněl Mikin*

<i>"waltinañ,</i>	<i>bai-tcüc-to-yi,</i>	<i>tsět</i>	<i>c-i</i>	<i>a'-pensar</i> ³¹²	
"Now then,	where are you going,	what	says	your thought	
<i>beti'?</i> "					
here?"					
<i>"ma-tsět;</i>	<i>tcon-ortō</i>	<i>inox</i> ³¹³	<i>Jacaltenango-ti</i>	<i>an,</i> ³¹⁴	<i>tcon-tō</i>
"Nothing;	we enter	a little	Jacaltenango	here,	we go
<i>ninox</i>	<i>Guatemala-ti</i>	<i>an,</i> ³¹⁴	<i>hat</i>	<i>cin</i>	<i>tcon-ok-ō-to-x.</i> " ³¹⁵
a little [to]	Guatemala City	here.	Thus	then	we shall enter."
<i>"Bueno,</i>	<i>tatōh</i>	<i>tcēc-okto-x,</i> ³¹⁶	<i>tcey-ahbeh—</i>		
"All right,	if	you enter,	know ye—		
<i>matc-ěk'-y-in-e-kul</i>	<i>tatōh</i>	<i>bai</i>	<i>c-tō</i>	<i>hun-ox-ēc,</i>	
not pass through your hearts	if	where	go	some of you,	
<i>tcēc-měltso-yih.</i>	<i>hat</i> ³¹⁷	<i>tcec-tañ-kan-il-ox</i> ³¹⁸	<i>běti',</i>	<i>y-äckato</i>	
you return.	Here	you stay done for	here,	because	
<i>haiin-ti'</i>	<i>Jacaltenango-hin-an."</i>				
I myself here,	I am Jacaltenango."				

307 Thus trans, with *ku-b:a*. But *ku-b:a* cannot be subjective.

308 Thus translated.

309 Definitely past tense, shown by *c-*.310 Said to mean literally, *we have left it walked around, rodeado*.311 *ni^en s-tcam pě-l* is an idiomatic expression for *a small by-path*.312 Instead of *c-i a-kül*, says *ycur heart*. *a-*, sing, for *e-*, plur., see No. 42.313 Should be *ninox*.314 *an, we*, referring to *tcon-*.315 Apparently here both the roots, *OK-* and *-Tō* of the compound verb *-oktō-*, *enter*, take the future suffix, *ok-ox-* + *to-ox?*316 Final *-x* of future? This informant had a habit of adding *-x*, *-H*, or *-h* to final vowels indiscriminately.

317 Thus trans., but more likely a demonstr. advb. referring to the following phrase.

318 *-TAN-* 'destroy, *-kanox-*, with passive effect, + *-il-*, ?

"pac-ox-añ-to-x"³¹⁹ *tcalt'u'*, *ta' an* *ha-naq-ti'*³²⁰ *s-mam*
 "We shall go back therefore, for is this man their father
hěp-naq-Jacaltenango-ti', *tcaltu'.*"
 these men of Jacaltenango, therefore."

TEXT V

PRAYER FOR PROTECTION OF NAGUALS

(See Section I, p. 135)

Dictated by Señor Hernández, collected by him from his servant

tcōx-a-we'ba-toq,³²¹ *tcōx-a-ku'-ba-toq*,³²¹ *ma-tcaw-al-tix*
 Thou guard them for me, thou hide them from me, Bring them not out
hap:an. *tatō* *aiH* *kañbīlal*,³²² *tatō* *aiH* *wīnaq*
 open. If there is a sorcerer, if there is a man
tcap-c-al *s-ku'*³²³ *h-in*³²⁴ *nictēk* *ko-picañ-ti'*, *t'aw-iñ*
 who intends evil against poor little these our souls, to thee we
*tika-kau-kō-kul*³²⁵ *pox* *nictēq* *in-mam*, *in-mi-an*, *cim-wal*
 look for help for poor little my fathers, my mothers, so that
ma-tsēt *c-in-i*.³²⁶ *tatō* *aiH*³²⁷ *ko-kawil walil*.³²⁸
 nothing happens to them. If there may be our life and felicity.

TEXT VI

ORIGIN OF THE LOCUSTS

(Collected by Señor Hernández and written with Spanish alphabet after our departure. This was forwarded to us with a very free translation. See Section I, page 126)

*paiica*³²⁹ *tolop*³³⁰ *aiH* *hun-e* *naq* *kau* *mats'walil*
 Long ago they say is a man very bad

319 *PAC*-return, + -ox-, fut. suffix, or -OK-?, + -añ-, suffix of 1st pers., + -TO-?, or -tox, fut. suffix? Perh. a better trans. would be, *Let us go back*.

320 Emphat. pron.

321 I have not been able to analyze these two words, and could get no good explanation. *tcōx* might be *tcōq*, harm, sickness, bad, i. e., *hide them from harm*. The second person sing. poss. pron., -a- is visible, and perh. the reflexive -b:a- and fut.-imper. suffix -tox. *ku-ha'* means *Covered Water*.

322 Should be *kuñbīlal*, one who makes evil magic.

323 We were told that *kūl-tcap* meant to think, but *c-al s-kūl* means his heart says, Cf. *c-i s-kūl*, regularly used for *he thinks*.

324 Euphonic *h-* instead of the *y-* of third person.

325 We were told that *kau-kūl* means to turn to another for help. For *tika*, Cf. (242, and 349).

326 Tentative division as Class I verb.

327 *tatō aiH* expresses a wish, Cf. (212).

328 *kawil walil*, a technical phrase for a general state of blessedness.

329 Cf. (231).

330 Cf. (232).

<i>s-kul</i>	<i>y-in</i>	<i>s-mi,</i>	<i>a un-el</i> ³³¹	<i>cin</i>	<i>caro</i>
his heart	towards	his mother,	so that	when [?]	dear
[was]	<i>icim-icim</i> ³³²	<i>cek-ic saya y-ět mactika pai ci ic,</i> ³³³		<i>ap:ni-ic</i>	she arrives
	corn	<i>she could find no one to sell her any;</i>			
<i>s-ti</i> ³³⁴	<i>y-atut-naq</i>	<i>y-unin-tu</i>	<i>s-kampen y-ět:</i>		
its door	his house that	son of hers	to ask him:		

<i>"niman</i>	<i>tcaw-ü-te</i>	<i>a-kul</i>	<i>w-iñ,"</i>	<i>c-i-ic-ti,</i>	
"Big	make	thy heart	towards me,"	says this woman,	
<i>"tatō</i>	<i>aiH</i>	<i>tcupi-lox</i>	<i>ey-icim</i> ³³⁵	<i>tcaw-a</i>	<i>wia</i> ³³⁶
"Perhaps	there is	for sale	your corn	thou givest	in sale
<i>tō</i>	<i>matsět</i>	<i>tcila."</i>	<i>c-i-ic</i>	<i>t-ět</i>	<i>naq-unin-tu.</i>
for [?]	nothing	<i>I have."</i>	Says she	to	that son.

<i>kaHkam</i>	<i>cin</i>	<i>hun-e</i>	<i>kuña'</i>	<i>nohnax</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>s-tcoñ-ot</i>
Although	then	a	crib	full?	very	for sale

<i>icim,</i>		<i>mactika</i>	<i>cin</i>	<i>a-ot</i> ³³⁷	<i>t-ět</i>	<i>ic.</i>
corn	[he had],	nothing	then	he gives	to	her. [As]

<i>y-il-ni-ic</i>	<i>cin</i>	<i>matc</i>	<i>razon,</i>	<i>mělso-ic</i>	<i>pis-kul-al</i> ³³⁸
she sees	then	no	help,	she returns	sad

ye yan ma man icim-al.
for the lack of corn.

<i>c-al-ni-ic</i>	<i>cin,</i>	<i>"waltiñan</i>	<i>naq-unin-tu</i>	<i>matc-a-naq</i>
She says	then,	"Now then	that son	does not give

<i>y-icim-tu</i>	<i>wia</i>	<i>y-in</i>	<i>lokbilal,</i>	<i>ma-tsět</i>	<i>tc-al-a.</i> ³³⁹	<i>ta</i>
that corn of his	in sale	?	?,	it does	not matter.	For

<i>haktu</i>	<i>y-in</i>	<i>mantcetal</i>	<i>tcok-oh-kanox</i> ³⁴⁰	<i>y-icim-naq,</i>	<i>mat-c-ia-naq</i>
this	to the	owner ?	is turned bad	his corn,	he does not gain

<i>s-mělyu</i>	<i>y-in,"</i>	<i>c-i-ic.</i>
his money	for it,"	says she.

<i>aca</i>	<i>y-ět</i> ³⁴¹	<i>cin</i>	<i>ap:ni-naq</i>	<i>saHa</i>	<i>te-kuña'</i> , ³⁴²	<i>s-tcoñ-o</i> ³⁴³
When		then	he arrives	?	the crib,	to sell

331 Cf. (282).

332 This form is common in Chuj, in which language *icim-* is regularly used as an affix of gender.

333 Owing to the free translation, certain phrases could not be translated word for word. Their probable gist is given in italics. In this case, *mactika* means *nothing* or *no one*.

334 Lit. *its mouth*.

335 Apparently the second person plural, but this is probably an error.

336 *For sale! I buy!* This whole speech follows a rigid formula.

337 Cf. (297). V. No. 82.

338 See No. 16.

339 Lit. *nothing thou sayest, tc[aw-] al-a.*

340 *tcog-, bad, + oh-kanox, = o-kanox, to transform?* Cf. (347).

341 Cf. (301).

342 *te-* because the crib is of wood.

343 Probably should be *s-tcoñ-ox*.

<i>icim,</i> corn,	<i>y-al-ni</i> ³⁴⁴ ?	<i>s-kai-s-kul-naq</i> ³⁴⁵ he is astounded	<i>hantax</i> how many	<i>no-kal</i> locusts	<i>tceltoh</i> ³⁴⁶ rush out?	
<i>toptoni,</i> flying?,	<i>s-laHwiltix-no'</i> ?	<i>matc</i> not	<i>hun</i> one	<i>pilanoH</i> grain?	<i>icim</i> corn	<i>s-kani</i> they leave
<i>y-ul</i> in	<i>kuña'</i> crib.	<i>okanoH</i> Transformed	<i>icim-tu'</i> that corn	<i>s-unil</i> all	<i>y-in</i> into	<i>no-kal-tu'</i> those locusts.
<i>haktu</i> Thus	<i>cin</i> then	<i>cu</i> happened	<i>y-okanox</i> ³⁴⁷ their creation	<i>no-kal-tu'</i> those locusts	<i>ko-col.</i> among us.	
<i>toka</i> ?	<i>cin</i> then	<i>ko-unil</i> we all	<i>c-ko-tokla-kanox</i> have paid ?	<i>s-mats'walil</i> its wickedness	<i>s-kul</i> his heart	
<i>naq-tu.</i> that man.	<i>y-u cin</i> For this reason	<i>kau</i> very much	<i>icim-agwal</i> cornfields	<i>s-tcumpel</i> seek to devour?	<i>y-ini-lox</i>	
<i>no-kul</i> the locusts	<i>s-unil</i> all	<i>bai</i> wherever	<i>puHankantox-noh.</i> they may pass?			

TEXT VII

CU RON'YA

(Collected by Señor Hernández in Spanish alphabet with literal and free translation. See Section I, p. 124)

<i>tolop</i> They say	<i>y-ět</i> in	<i>payat</i> ancient	<i>tiempo</i> ³⁴⁸ times	<i>aitika</i> ³⁴⁹ there was	<i>hun-e</i> a	<i>ic</i> woman
<i>sak-al</i> ³⁵⁰ beautiful	<i>y-il-ot,</i> to see,	<i>Juana</i> Juana	<i>s-bi.</i> called.	<i>matc-mak-s-koh-i</i> ³⁵¹ No one could equal her	<i>y-in</i> for	
<i>y-eltitcan-ic.</i> her charm.	<i>mactika-mak-t-ět</i> For no one	<i>sQe-ic,</i> she cares,	<i>cin;</i> then;	<i>tc-al-ni-s-p:a-ěp-naq</i> ³⁵² they fall in love		
<i>t-ět.</i> with her.	<i>ai</i> There is	<i>hun-e</i> a	<i>naq</i> man	<i>kau</i> greatly	<i>c-kam-s-kül</i> his heart dies	<i>y-in,</i> for her,
<i>matc</i> not	<i>nap</i> possible	[to make her care]	<i>sQe-ic.</i> she wants.	<i>tcirwa-kan-s-kül-naq,</i> His heart is troubled,		
<i>ai-tika</i> there is	<i>tsět</i> something	[magic]	<i>y-oHtax.</i> he knows.	<i>c-tō-naq</i> He goes	<i>bai-tika</i> where	<i>c-tō</i> goes

344 Perh. an error for *y-il-ni*, when he sees.

345 Lit. his heart fights.

346 Cf. (261), *tciltcoñ*.

347 *y-ckanox*, from *OK-*, enter, + *kanox*? The transformation of the locusts, or the locusts became. The relation of noun, pronoun and predicate might equally well be taken as subject and predicate, or as possessor and substantive.

348 *payat tiempo* instead of *paica*.

349 *ai-*, indef., + *-tika*, which appeared before as future, (243).

350 Probably from *sax*, white, but does not infer that her color was light.

351 *matc-*, neg., + *-mak-*, a person, + *s-koh-i*, equal?

352 The stem is *-al-*, Class I, *-s-p:a-*, reciprocal. Perh. *-AL-*, talk, they talked among themselves about her?

<i>un-e</i> a	<i>a-niman</i> ³⁵³ big	<i>hä'</i> river	<i>y-ül</i> under	<i>tcötc.</i> ground.	<i>okanox-naq</i> He becomes	<i>hun-e</i> a	
<i>niman</i> big	<i>tcën</i> stone	<i>pak</i> flat	<i>pak</i> flat	<i>y-e-yi,</i> it is,	<i>mahi-kanox</i> is stopped up	<i>hölan,</i> the hole,	
<i>s-tsaplo-kan</i> begins	<i>s-tcip</i> it rises	<i>a-ha';</i> the river;	<i>c-maltox-ha'</i> it floods	<i>s-unil-eh</i> the whole	<i>lugar,</i> place,		
<i>s-tsaplokan</i> begin	<i>s-kam no-no',</i> they die animals,	<i>s-unil</i> all	<i>an'ma</i> people	<i>s-tsaplokan</i> begin	<i>ciwi</i> to fear		
<i>hun-hun</i> every	<i>tsaik</i> day	<i>s-tcip-kan</i> ³⁵⁴ keeps rising	<i>ha-hä'.</i> the river.	<i>s-unil</i> Every	<i>mak</i> person	<i>s-kai-s-kül</i> ³⁵⁵ wonders	
<i>tsët</i> what	<i>y-ü</i> because	<i>cin</i> of	<i>haktu</i> thus it	<i>tcu.</i> happens.	<i>ape-ot</i> ³⁵⁶ Knowing	<i>cin</i> then	<i>tolop</i> ³⁵⁷ how
<i>naq-winaq-tu</i> ³⁵⁸ that man	<i>c-al-ni-kanox</i> ³⁵⁹ left it said	<i>y-elpanox</i> ³⁶⁰ he would remove	<i>s-owal</i> ³⁶¹ his anger	<i>y-in</i> towards			
<i>ic</i> her	<i>toka</i> so	<i>cin</i> then	<i>s-unil</i> everyone	<i>mak</i> should	<i>s-ts'a-tox</i> ³⁶³ suffer for	<i>y-in.</i> her.	<i>s-tsaplo</i> Begin
<i>s-tö</i> to go	<i>an'ma</i> people	<i>y-al-noq</i> to talk	<i>t-ët</i> with	<i>ic-Juana-tu',</i> that Juana,	<i>qa-tiñan</i> ³⁶⁴ it is better	<i>s-tawe-ic</i> ³⁶⁵ she [should]	
<i>t-ët</i> acceed to	<i>naq,</i> him,	<i>taka</i> ³⁶⁶ if	<i>mat</i> ³⁶⁷ not	<i>cin,</i> then,	<i>y-il-a</i> to see	<i>tsët</i> what	<i>razon-al</i> provision
<i>tc-ok</i> ³⁶⁸ she [should]	<i>y-in</i> make	<i>tañ-e</i> ³⁶⁹ to	<i>s-koltca-kanox</i> the end that	<i>s-unil</i> are saved	<i>an'ma</i> all	<i>the people</i>	
<i>poq</i> with	<i>no-no'</i> the animals	<i>c-kam-i.</i> who are dying.					
<i>ts'a-s-kül-ic</i> She is sorry	<i>y-in</i> for the	<i>koñop.</i> village	<i>c-tö-ic</i> She goes	<i>y-il-a'</i> to see	<i>bai</i> where	<i>mahan</i> stopped	
<i>ha'.</i> river.	<i>c-al-ni-ic</i> She says	<i>t-ët</i> to	<i>naq,</i> him,				

353 The prefix of gender applied to the adjective, most unusual.

354 Cf. (264).

355 Cf. (345). The meaning is between *astonishment* and *fear*.

356 Attributive, see No. 82.

357 Cf. use of *tolop* as conventional, *they say*, beginnings texts (II, VI, VII, VIII).358 This full form of *winaq* with the article is very rare.359 This corresponds exactly with the Spanish idiom, *lo dejó dicho*.360 Surely an error for *y-el-kanox*. Cf. (378b).361 *howal, war, anger*. The *h* drops after the *s*, but the *s* is retained as for a consonant stem.

363 Future of purpose.

364 Cf. (210).

365 Cf. (370).

366 *ta-, if. + -ka, interr?*367 *mat, for mate, the -c lost before cin*. These three words are run together as one.368 Literally, *place*.

369 Cf. (295). If the idiom is the same as the English, we have it here even with the corresponding

preposition.

"*wal-tinñan* *ta* *tca-peh-kanox* *y-in* *tsět* *tcaw-ü-tu*,
 "Now then if thou givest over from what thou art doing,
*tcin-tawe*³⁷⁰ *tsět* [*t*]*caw-al-a*," *c-i-ic*.
 I concede what thou sayest," says she.

tawi-kan-naq,³⁷¹ "*wal-tinan*, *matc-a* *razon*. *cac*
 He answered, "Now then, there is no use. Now
tañ-kanox *y-ül* *in-kül-an*; *napa* [*t*]*ca-ñe* *tc-ul-aw-al-a*."³⁷²
 is ended in my heart; in vain thou ? comest to say."

"*tato* *haktu* *cin*, *siquiera* *tcaw-iltix* *a-wi'* *yip:an*
 "If thus then, if thou wilt thou raisest thy head above
ha' *toñe*, *tca-tcin-la-kanox*,³⁷³ *katawani*³⁷⁴ *niman* *kul-al*³⁷⁵
 water only, I shall kiss thee, thou givest big heart
w-in." *c-ap* *ic-Juana*.
 to me." Says Juana.

*c-alti-naq*³⁷⁶ *s-wi* *yip:an* *hä'*, *aikantox-ic* *y-ul*
 He takes out his head above water, she goes in under
ha'. *tsax-an-tika*³⁷⁷ *pac* *s-kül-ic*. *okanox-ic*^{378a} *s-lakni-kanox*
 water. It is white also ? her heart. She begins she embraces
s-nuk-naq *y-in* *s-takpal*, *s-pitclac-kanox* *kam-ox* *naq*,
 his throat to say farewell, causing ? to die him,
el-kanox^{378b} *tcěn-tcěn* *s-mah-tcěn* *holan*. *pac-aitix*³⁷⁹ *a-hä'*,
 and removes the stone it blocks hole. Abates the river,
haktu *cin* *cu* *s-tañ-kanox*.
 thus then happens it is ended.

y-u *cin* *c-okanox* *s-bi* *ic-Juana-tu* *y-in*
 For this then is changed her name that Juana to
"*cū ron'ya*,"³⁸⁰ *ackato* *ic*³⁸¹ *s-kolni-kanox* *s-unil* *an'ma*
 "Juana Lady," because she saved all the people

y-in *naq-kam-ik-al*³⁸²
 from Death.

370 Cf. (365 and 371).

371 Is this *tawi* the same as *tawe*, *accept*, *concede*, of (18, 24?) with a general meaning of *respond?*

372 [*t*]*ca-ñe* *tc-ul-aw-al-a* trans. by Sr. Hernández, *procuras venir decirlo*. The latter word contains the roots *-UL-*, *come*, and *-AL-*, *say*, the latter with apparent Class II conjugation.

373 Not analyzed. *tca-* looks like the Class I, 2nd pers. aux., which could hardly serve as an object, *tcin-* is probably the Class I, 1st pers. aux.

374 Cf. (246).

375 A regular formula when asking a favor.

376 Cf. (276).

377 i. e., she, too has magical knowledge.

378a Cf. usual meaning, *change*, *transform*. Señor Hernández trans., *pusose*.

378b Cf. (360).

379 *PAC-*, *return*.

380 *ron'ya*, from Spanish *Doña*. *cu* or *cuwin* are Jacalteca forms of *Juana*.

381 An unusual position for the pronominal affix. Perhaps for emphasis, *it was she who . . .*

382 *naq-*, prefix of male humans and deities, + *-KAM-*, *die*, + *-ik-*, ?, *kam-ik*, noun, *death*, + *-al*, see No. 24.

TEXT VIII

CUWAN K'ANIL

(Dictated by Santos Camposeco)

<i>tolop</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>un-e</i>	<i>howal.</i>	<i>c-tō</i>	<i>e-naq-soldado</i>	<i>y-in</i>
They say	was	a	war.	Go	the soldiers	to
<i>howal.</i>	<i>c-kam</i>	<i>tropa</i>		<i>naq-Gobierno</i>	<i>y-ū</i>	<i>naq-enemigo.</i>
war.	Die	troops	[of]	the Government	by	the enemy.
<i>s-mozo-e-naq</i>	<i>c-itoq</i>	<i>y-alañ</i>	<i>maleta.</i>	<i>ha-ěp-naq</i>	<i>caani-ganar</i>	
their servants	they bring	under	the pack.	These men	win	
<i>howal;</i>	<i>kam-i</i>	<i>s-unil</i>	<i>hěp-naq-enemigo</i>	<i>y-u</i>	<i>hěp-naq.</i>	<i>y-iñ-ěp-naq</i>
war;	die	all	the enemies	through	them.	through them
<i>k'aiilok-hěp-naq.</i>		<i>tsax-an-s-kül-e-naq,</i>		<i>haktu</i>	<i>cin</i>	<i>cu</i>
they are destroyed.		White are their hearts,		thus	then	happened
<i>y-agari-naq ?</i>	<i>howal.</i>	<i>c-wa-tci</i>	<i>Qin.</i>	<i>pac-kantěx-hěp-naq</i>		
they win	war.	They make	<i>fiesta.</i>	They return		
<i>s-koñop.</i>						
their village.						

TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS

TEXT I

"Now then, what art thou thinking? Dost thou want us to make ourselves famous in our village?"

"Well, we have come this far as burden-bearers. And I say now, that I am sorry because of so many people who must die. It would be better if we ourselves could put an end to the enemy. If only I knew a little magic—but then, I am very stupid."

"Is this true, what thou sayest? Art thou not sorry to leave thy family?"

"Don't say that! If only I knew a little magic——."

"If that is so, then let us try ourselves a little here; try thyself here, then."

* * *

[After half the enemy had been killed, *curwan* said]:

"Come, leave half for me."

Then the Old Father of the enemy came:

"Now, then, please leave enough to continue the race. From here will go dance costumes for celebrating the Easter *fiesta* in your village. Thus then our trouble will end, if that is enough. Leave a little seed please."

TEXT II

They say that many people died on account of the Tiltiks long ago. That it was so, thought a man called Chiapa.

"I am going to see a little if this is so. I shall leave a little token here."

He left a little ear of corn standing on the table altar.

"If I am well, that ear will stand up; if it falls, it will be a sign that I have died."

After he had gone, then, it moved, it fell over, that little ear.

"Then my husband has died," said his wife.

She went to tell it to his brother.

"If that is so, then my brother is dead," he said. "I am going to see what happened to my brother. Let this hen be cooked, and make *tortillas*. When it is cooked, put it in the *tortillas* for me to take."

They put it in a big napkin.

He came, then, he reached a little path in the place Pisallá; there was the Tiltik in a cave. His saddle burro was tethered.

"What comes over thee, that thou comest here?" said the Tiltik. "Perhaps thou dost not know that it is very delicate here. Now thou art absolutely mine."

"Don't mention it, I am thine forever. But eat some *tortillas* with me."

"I am very hungry," said that Tiltik.

Violently came forth steam from the *tortillas*. He arrived, he who came from Chiapa. He had his Chamora blanket rolled up.

"Do not sit on the ground, sit on this blanket."

It grew high under the Tiltik, it turned into a rounded stone; now his feet hung high from that blanket.

"Thanks, I have eaten with thee; thou art mine forever," said that Tiltik.

He put his hands on the rock, he got stuck fast.

"What art thou doing to me? Release my hands!"

"Well then, give me back my brother."

"That is not possible, if already he has died some little while ago," he said.

[Chiapa] put a crowbar under the stone, [the Tiltik] fell over. He died completely. The burro went into the hill to tell the king.

"Now my master has been killed," it said.

Policemen came after him in the king's name, because that was his [the king's own] Tiltik. He went a prisoner. He came to Antigua. He went into jail. He got out by himself; there he was free, in the market-place. He played his guitar.

When they saw him, "What is this man?" they said.

He entered that jail again. He got out alone again, he sang his song with that guitar of his.

"He goes into jail, he comes right on out!"

Now they did nothing to him.

He made earthquakes, thus he destroyed the village of Antigua, for that the capital was moved to Root of Fire.

Then the king knelt before him, "Do not destroy all the village; how many poor little children and old people will be killed! I will give thee as much money as thou askest to pay for that brother of thine, so that thou wilt leave seed of these people."

"I cannot say how much money I require."

They gave him twenty horse-loads of money. He came. Thus it was that the trouble ended for them. He went back, this man Chiapa. Thus then, while earthquakes were going on, reeds sprang up in that Antigua.

TEXT III

"We cannot stay among these little children, for they are changeable and chatterers. On account of this we have arranged a place for them to stay. So come, then. We have brought it ourselves, at least we have arranged and surveyed a trail to the corn-field, where they may find food."

TEXT IV

"Now then, where are you going, what are you planning here?"

"Nothing; we just enter Jacaltenango, we are just going to Guatemala City. So we shall enter here."

"All right: if you come in here, know ye—Do not imagine that any of you will come back from where you may go. Here you will stay, done for, because I myself am Jacaltenango."

"Let us go back, then, for this man here is the father of these men of Jacaltenango."

TEXT V

Thou guard them for me, thou hide them for me! Do not bring them out into the open. If there is any sorcerer, if anyone plans evil against our poor little souls—to thee we look for help for our poor little fathers and mothers, so that nothing happens to them. Let us have life and felicity.

TEXT VI

They say that long ago there was a man who was very evil towards his mother. Once when corn was dear, and she could find no one to sell her any, she came to her son's door, saying,

"Be kind to me. Perhaps you have corn you will sell me, for I have none," she said to that son.

Although he had a crib full of corn for sale, he gave her none. As she saw it was no use, she came back, sad on account of the lack of corn. She said then,

"Now it does not matter that my son will not sell that corn of his. For this, let it turn bad for the owner, let him not gain money for it," she said.

When he went to the crib to sell corn, he was astounded to see the quantity of locusts that flew out. They did not leave one grain in the crib. All that corn was changed into locusts.

Thus came to pass the creation of locusts among us. For this now we all must pay for his wickedness. For this reason locusts seek to devour all the cornfields wherever they may pass.

TEXT VII

They say that long ago there was a woman, beautiful to look upon, called Juana. No one could compare to her for charm. She cared for no one. They all fell in love with her. There was one man who loved her greatly, but he could not make her care for him. He was sad.

He knew some magic. He went to where a big river flowed underground, and became a big stone, flat, flat, that stopped up the hole. The river began to rise; it flooded the whole place, the animals began to be killed, the people began to be alarmed. Every day the river went on rising. Everyone wondered why this was happening. They knew how that man had told that he would work off his anger towards her so that everyone should suffer on her account. The people went to talk to Juana, [saying that] it would be better that she should give in to him, but if not, to find out what she would do to save all the people and animals from being killed.

She was sorry for the village. She went to where the river was stopped, and said to him,

"Now then, if thou wilt give up what thou art doing, I will give thee what thou hast asked."

He answered, "But now it is of no use. Now all that has died in my heart, thou comest in vain to talk."

"If it is so, then please lift thy head above water that I may kiss thee, do me that favor," Juana said.

He raised his head above water, she went into the water. She, too, had magical power. She began to hug his throat in farewell,

choking him, and so removed the stone that blocked the hole. The river went down, thus it came to an end.

Because of this her name was changed to Lady Juana, that she saved all the people from death.

TEXT VIII

They say there was a war. The soldiers went to war. The troops of the Government were killed by the enemy. They brought their servants as burden-bearers. These won the war; all the enemy were killed by them, by them they were destroyed. They were magicians, thus it was that they won the war. They held a fiesta. They came back to their village.

XI: JACALTECA—ENGLISH VOCABULARY

This list includes some five hundred and seventy English words and their Jacalteca equivalents. It could, perhaps, have been made longer, but I have omitted many doubtful words. In the texts are to be found words translatable from their contexts, the exact meanings of which cannot be determined. Moreover, there are many words and particles in Jacalteca having a wide significance, determined in specific instances by their use, which cannot be catalogued under the heading of any single English term. Many of the prepositions, for instance, must be omitted for this reason. The forms of the pronouns are so varied, that I have not attempted to give other than the standard independent verbal forms here. For all these, the reader is referred to the Texts, and to the various headings of the Grammar.

Varieties of corn and beans, and some technical terms, will be found explained in Section I.

Certain important roots, from which words of slightly different meanings, or various grammatical forms are derived, are given in capitals. Where two or more pronunciations of the same word were noted, the preferred form is given first.

VOCABULARY

(A)

Above	(prep.)	kañ; sat ("On top of," see "Eye").
Accept	(vb.)	taw-e, <i>Class II.</i>
Accursed	(adj.)	See "Enchanted."
After	(temp. adv.)	lawi
Afterbirth	(n.)	tcik (<i>Compare</i> "Blood").
Aguardiente	(n.)	uk'e (<i>Compare</i> "Drink").
Air, Wind	(n.)	kaQe
Alcalde	(n.)	alkal (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Alive	(adj.)	koh (<i>Compare</i> "Live").
All	(adj.)	hunil (<i>used with poss. pron.</i> —s-unil mak, "Everyone").
Alligator Pear	(n.)	koye'uw; tsumoñ (<i>see Chapter V, Section I</i>).
Already	(temp. adv.)	ca, cac, aca (<i>see also No. 73 for sense of immediate past</i>).
Altar [in house]	(n.)	meeca (<i>from Spanish</i>).

Although	(conj.)	kaHkam (?)
Always	(adv.)	tikaman
Ancient times	(n.)	payat
And	(conj.)	-taq (<i>copulative suffix, doubtful</i>).
And if	(conj.)	yahat
Anger, War	(n.)	howal
Animal	(n.)	no' (<i>also affix of class of animals, see No. 19</i>).
Answer	(vb.)	tawikan (?) <i>Class II</i> .
Ant	(n.)	hokoc
Any	(indef. adj. and n.)	hun-ox (<i>see No. 90</i>).
Arm	(n.)	<i>See "Hand."</i>
Arrive	(vb.)	ap:ni, ahbni, <i>Irregular; tit, Class II</i> .
Arrow	(n.)	hlit (<i>Concepción Dialect, also "Bow"</i>).
Ashes	(n.)	tañ
Atole	(n.)	pitci' (<i>see "Posol"</i>).
Aunt	(n.)	mi (<i>see "Mother"</i>).
Axe	(n.)	ětce (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Ayote	(n.)	k'um (<i>generic?</i>); qok; muk'un (<i>see Section I, Chapter V</i>).

(B)

Baby	(n.)	hunin; tsūla, tsul (<i>and small children in general</i>).
Back	(n.)	itcin (<i>compare "Spine"</i>).
Bad	(adj.)	mats ^e walil; tcoq (<i>see "Sick," which may be its primary meaning</i>); tcap (<i>found in tcap c-al-s-kül, "Evil says [plans] his heart"</i>); ya'ai (<i>Concepción dialect</i>).
Bake pottery	(vb.)	mus ^e ni, <i>Class I?</i> ; muslac'-i, <i>Class I?</i>
Balché	(n.)	tcul-yal-icim (<i>teul, archaic for kuul, "holy?"</i>); yal-icim, <i>"beverage corn." Compare "Sugar Cane Wine"</i>).
Baptism	(n.)	tcī-ha' (<i>Compare "Water"</i>).
Basket	(n.)	motc; cuk (<i>a coiled, twined basket</i>).
Basketry strands	(n.)	ciql-b:al
Bat	(n.)	sots
Batten, for weaving	(n.)	tcēm-bal-te, <i>literally, "Weaving stick."</i>
Be	(vb.)	e-i, <i>Class II (equivalent to Spanish "ser"?)</i> ; ai, aiH, aitika, an, <i>Impersonal, "There is"</i> ; kau (<i>see No. 84</i>); mi, <i>Impersonal, "There is," (with sense of Spanish "tiene")</i> .
Bead	(n.)	lon
Bean	(n.)	ūp:al, hōp:al (<i>for varieties, see Chapter V, Section I</i>).
Beard	(n.)	cil-in-ti-an, <i>literally, "Hair-my-mouth."</i>
Beautiful	(adj.)	sakal (<i>from tsaq, "White?"</i>).
Because	(conj.)	ackatō; -ū (<i>see No. 100</i>).
Bed	(n.)	tcat
Bee	(n.)	no-k'ap, no-pal-k'ap (<i>see "Sweet"</i>); k'an-tsip (<i>a large yellow bee</i>); p:in-k'ap (<i>not identified</i>); us-k'ap (<i>"Sweat Bee"</i>).

—hive	(n.)	tcilap
—wax	(n.)	See "Wax."
Begin	(vb.)	tsapkan, tsaplokan, <i>Class II.</i>
Bench	(n.)	ěskan'yo (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Between	(prep.)	col
Big	(adj.)	NIM; nımex, nımexal (implies "Tallness"); nimañ, niwañ (general sense of "Largeness").
Bird	(n.)	tcik'
Bitter	(adj.)	pa
Black	(adj.)	kěq, kěx
Blanket	(n.)	tcowe
Block	(vb.)	mah-a, <i>Class I.</i>
Blood	(n.)	tcik, tei'
Blow-gun	(n.)	ūp:al, hōp:al
—pellets for	(n.)	pa, pa-la; tcin-pa-la, <i>Class I</i> , "to make pellets."
—one who shoots	(n.)	hop-lum
Blue	(adj. and n.)	yac (<i>see Green</i>); kau-yac, <i>literally</i> "Very green."
Bone	(n.)	baq, baq-il (<i>Compare</i> "Skeleton").
Backbone	(n.)	baq-il tēl k'-itcin
Body	(n.)	imanil
Book	(n.)	hūm (<i>see Paper</i>).
Boundary	(n.)	mōhon (<i>from Spanish</i>); nahatc, (<i>particularly refers to ancient boundaries as against modern ones laid out by surveying. From nahat, "Far?"</i>).
Bow	(n.)	See Arrow.
Bowl	(n.)	laupal; sēk (<i>made in Huehuetenango</i>).
Boy	(n.)	tcō', naq-tse (?)
Bread	(n.)	wa' (<i>from WA'</i> , "Eat?").
Breast	(n.)	s-tcam- -kūl, <i>literally</i> "Forepoint of the heart."
Breath	(n.)	pican (<i>see Spirit, Nagual</i>).
Broom	(n.)	tcisp:al
Brother	(n.)	uctax
—younger	(n.)	nitcan uctax
—in-law	(n.)	p'ac (<i>also means</i> "Sister-in-law").
Brush	(n.)	cucal, cucūl
Bullet	(n.)	bal'a (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Burn	(vb.)	mus <i>Class I, trans.</i> ; ts'a'i, tca'i, <i>Class I, intrans.</i>
Buzzard	(n.)	usmix

(C)

Cabbage	(n.)	kulic
Calendar	(n.)	pis-om tsaiik (<i>refers exclusively to the native calendar</i>).
Candle	(n.)	ha'bal (<i>when used with prefix no'-, compare "Flower"</i>).
Capixaij	(n.)	tcok'an
Captured	(vbl. adj.)	ip:il
Carry	(vb.)	it-i <i>Class I</i> ; IQ, hence iq-um, iq-um-al, "Carrier, Bearer."

Cat	(n.)	mis
Cattle	(n.)	gwakac (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Cave	(n.)	na-tcĕn, <i>literally</i> , "House-rock."
Ceiba [<i>Eriodendron</i> Anfractuosus]	(n.)	inūp
Chatterer	(n.)	ap:ca-lōm (<i>see</i> "Speak").
Chest	(n.)	kaca' (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Chief	(n.)	ahau (<i>see</i> "Moon, Guardian").
Child	(n.)	hunin (<i>see</i> "Baby").
Chile	(n.)	ite
Church	(n.)	y-atūt dyoc, <i>literally</i> , "God's house."
Cigarette	(n.)	sik (<i>see</i> "Tobacco").
Claw	(n.)	isk'ax
Clear	(adj.)	<i>See</i> "White."
Clear a field	(vb.)	aQin, <i>Class I?</i>
Clouds	(n.)	asūn
Clothing	(n.)	k'ap, cik'ape
Coffee	(n.)	kape, kafe (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Cold	(adj.)	sQeu, stecu; sQue-ti, <i>vb. Class ?</i> , "To grow cold?" sQeu-ti-kanox, <i>idiomatic</i> , "The trouble abated."
Come	(vb.)	ūl-i, hūl-i, <i>Class I</i> ; pēt-o, <i>Class II</i> , "To come from" <i>in the sense of being a native of a place</i> .
Converse	(vb.)	tsotēl-i, <i>Class I</i> .
Cook	(vb.)	taH, <i>Class I</i> .
Corn, Zea Maiz	(n.)	icim (<i>generic, and perhaps affix of class, see No. 19. For varieties of corn, see Chapter V, Section I</i>).
—Ear	(n.)	ñal (<i>includes the husk, and refers particularly to the ear ready for harvesting</i>).
—Green Ear	(n.)	aHan
—Ripe Ear	(n.)	b:aHal
—Grain	(n.)	sat-icim, <i>literally</i> , "Corn's Eye?"
—Field	(n.)	icim-agwal (<i>see</i> "Field" and "Seed").
—Crib	(n.)	kuña'
Corner	(n.)	cūkut (?); teikin (?) (<i>see</i> "Ear").
Corner posts	(n.)	oiH
Corpse	(n.)	kamon (<i>see</i> "Death").
Cotton	(n.)	cok'
Cough	(n.)	ĕhōm
Cousin	(n.)	aitōwuh
Coyote	(n.)	ox
Crab	(n.)	teap'
Cross	(n.)	kulus (<i>from Spanish. Used with prefix naq- or ko-mam, instead of te- as would be expected</i>).
Crowbar	(n.)	palañ'ka (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Cure	(vb.)	añ-li, <i>Class I</i> .
—Curandero	(n.)	añ-lōm
—Cure, Remedy	(n.)	añ-al
Curse	(n.)	kun (<i>see</i> Enchantment).
Cypress	(n.)	tsikap

(D)

Dance	(n.)	soñ (<i>ordinary dancing</i>); kañal, (<i>ceremonial dancing, from KAN̄, "To pray?"</i>).
—Dance	(vb.)	kañal-wox
Darkness	(n.)	a'balil (<i>see "Night"</i>).
Dark	(adj.)	kěx-holo (<i>from kěx, "Black"</i>).
Daughter	(n.)	kutsin, kuutsin
Dawn	(n.)	ts'a-asūn, <i>literally, "Clouds burn."</i>
Day	(n.)	tsaiik, ts'aiik (<i>from ts'a-i, "Burn?"</i>).
Death	(n.)	KAM; naq-kam-ikal, <i>personification, "Death."</i> (<i>see Die</i>).
Deer	(n.)	tce; tsaq-tce, <i>a small deer.</i>
Delicate	(adj.)	cikiltax (<i>in the sense of "Ceremonially to be approached with caution"</i>).
Demand, Desire	(vb.)	KAN̄ (<i>hence, "Pray"</i>). <i>Class I.</i>
Destroy	(vb.)	anikaiyox, <i>Class ?</i> ; tan-i, <i>Class I, "Destroy, Finish, Put an end to."</i>
Destruction	(n.)	tan-iloX
Dew	(n.)	lěnte'y'u
Die	(vb.)	kam-i, <i>Class I.</i>
Digging stick	(n.)	aub:al
Divination, make	(vb.)	tcum-li, <i>Class I.</i>
Do	(vb.)	ü or üte (?) <i>irregular (see No. 66).</i>
Dog	(n.)	tci'
Door	(n.)	pu'ltax
—Way	(n.)	s-ti-atüt, <i>literally, "Its mouth the house."</i>
Dream	(n.)	wai-yik (<i>see "Sleep"</i>).
Drink	(vb.)	uk', <i>Class I (with special meaning of drink liquor).</i>
Drum	(n.)	tina', tinam (?), tinap (<i>Concepción dialect?</i>) (<i>See also "Tunkul"</i>).
Dry season	(n.)	taxinwits

(E)

Ear	(n.)	tcikin
Earring	(n.)	ome
Earth	(n.)	tcötc, "Land, Territory," <i>hence also "Yard of house."</i>
Earthquake	(n.)	tcick'ap
East	(n.)	bai tit ko-mam tsaiik, "Where arrives our father sun," bai tc-ül ko-mam tsaiik, "Where comes our father sun."
Easter	(n.)	pask'üp (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Easy	(adj.)	mate-nim, <i>literally "Not big."</i>
Eat	(vb.)	wa'-i, <i>Class I (see "Bread")</i> .
Eclipse	(n.)	s-kai-tsaiik, <i>literally "The sun fights"; s-kai-cahau, "The moon fights."</i>
Eight	(adj.)	wacak
Eldest	(adj.)	<i>See "First."</i>
Enchanted, one who is	(n.)	kuñ-nebil
Enchantment	(n.)	kuñ

Enter	(vb.)	ok, <i>irregular</i> (see No. 67); ok-tō, <i>Class I</i> .
Erect	(adj.)	See Stand.
Escape	(vb.)	pac-ti, <i>irregular?</i>
Evening	(n.)	kěx-balil (<i>compare</i> Black).
Evil	(n. and adj.)	See Bad.
—Eye	(n.)	sat niyot
Eye	(n.)	sat (<i>originally</i> the "orbits," now applied to "Face," and hence <i>adj.</i> "First," and <i>prep.</i> "On top of").

(F)

Face	(n.)	See Eye.
Fall over	(vb.)	aipixtō-wi, <i>Class I</i> .
Family	(n.)	ko-hunil-um, <i>literally</i> , "We all."
Far	(adj. and adv.)	nahat
Fat	(adj.)	paqaite
Father	(n.)	mam (<i>also</i> , "Uncle," and "Father-in-law").
Feather	(n.)	cik
Felicity	(n.)	walil (<i>ceremonial term</i>).
Fiancé, fiancée	(n.)	k'anap
Fingers	(n.)	y-icimal- -k'ap (<i>compare</i> "Hand").
Field	(n.)	patnabal (<i>i. e.</i> , "a cleared place?"). <i>Compare</i> Chuj patan, "rosadura de milpa." Means especially a cornfield; coltēlax (?); agwal (<i>see</i> Seed).
Fight	(vb.)	kai, <i>Class II</i> .
Finish	(vb. and n.)	See Destroy.
Fire	(n.)	k'a', k'ak (<i>Concepción dialect, doubtful</i>).
First	(adj.)	sat (<i>see</i> "Eye"); babēl (<i>also used as</i> "Eldest" with "Brother, Sister, Daughter, Son")
Fish	(n.)	kai
Five	(adj.)	hō
Flat	(adj.)	pak
Flint	(n.)	cit, cit'hi; iclapum; cit'kut (<i>a fine, crystalline silicate found in the Low Country, used for tempering pottery</i>).
Flower	(n.)	ha'bal (<i>when used with prefix</i> te-, <i>compare</i> "Candle").
Flute, reed	(n.)	pilu
Flute	(n.)	pit, bit (<i>see</i> Song).
Food	(n.)	WA' (<i>See</i> Bread, Eat).
Foot	(n.)	ok, ox (<i>also</i> "Leg." <i>Compare</i> "Enter").
Forehead	(n.)	palañ
Forepart	(n.)	tcam (<i>hence</i> "Nose").
Four	(adj.)	kañ
Fright	(n.)	See "Startle."
Frog	(n.)	poñom; pahtsa (<i>Concepción dialect</i>).
Fruit	(n.)	lopehal

(G)

Gable-Rafter	(n.)	tal-tcikin
Garlic	(n.)	acuc
Gemini	(n.)	manya' tcūmel (<i>see</i> "Star" and "Twin").
Girl	(n.)	ic-k'opō
Give	(vb.)	wa, wa-a, <i>Class I.</i>
Go	(vb.)	TO, tō-i, <i>Class I, occasionally Class II, irreg.</i>
God	(n.)	tioc, tyoc, dyoc (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Good	(adj.)	k'ūl, kūl, kūil; watc (<i>San Miguel dialect</i>); be (<i>Concepción dialect, compare Mames baan</i>).
Gourd	(n.)	tsimaH, ts'uh.
—rattle	(n.)	lōkop, tsox-tsox
Grandfather	(n.)	mam-itcam, <i>literally, "old father."</i>
Grandmother	(n.)	mi-icnam, <i>literally, "old mother."</i>
Green	(adj.)	yac (<i>also "Blue," q. v.</i>)
Grow	(vb.)	tc'ip, <i>Class II.</i>
Guardian	(n.)	ahau (<i>in the sense of "Guardians of Hills,"</i> <i>etc.</i>)
Guatemala City	(n.)	ce-k'a, <i>literally, "Root of Fire."</i>
Gun	(n.)	alkapūs, alkēpūs (<i>from Spanish</i>).
—barrel	(n.)	kanyon (<i>from Spanish</i>).
—powder	(n.)	tañke'

(H)

Hair	(n.)	cil
Half	(n.)	iktah (?)
Hammock	(n.)	atepañ
Hand	(n.)	k'ap, Qap (<i>also "arm," and "grinding stone"</i> <i>for metate</i>).
Handsome	(adj.)	kultcan
Happen	(vb.)	u, <i>Impersonal.</i>
Harvest	(n.)	hatcoñal (<i>Compare "Corn, Ear of"</i>).
—festival	(n.)	Qek'tsē'
Hat	(n.)	pōk-wi'e (<i>Compare "Head"</i>).
He	(pron.)	-naq (<i>See No. 35</i>).
Head	(n.)	wi; hōlan
—band	(n.)	sintaHe (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Heart	(n.)	kūl (<i>seat of emotions, perhaps rather the</i> <i>stomach</i>).
Heaven	(n.)	sat-kān
Heavy	(adj.)	al
Heddle	(n.)	lēm
Hen	(n.)	tcio'
Here	(loc. adv.)	pet-[t]i'
Hide	(vb. trans.)	k'u, <i>Class ?</i>
Hill	(n.)	hwits, wits.
Honey	(n.)	no-k'ap (<i>Compare "Bee" and "Sweetness"</i>).
Horse	(n.)	tce (<i>Compare "Deer"</i>).
Hot	(adj.)	k'acañ
House	(n.)	atūt (<i>a residence</i>); na', ña' (<i>any building or</i> <i>shelter within which one might dwell or</i> <i>store goods</i>).

How much	(adv.)	hantax, kantax; tcub:i (<i>meaning unsure, used of price</i>).
How many	(adv.)	haiy-ëp
Huipil		kole; kuts'bën (<i>a spotted huipil of old type</i>).
Hunt	(vb.)	mo-i, mo-yi, <i>Class I</i> .
Husband	(n.)	itcamil (<i>Compare "Old"</i>).

(I)

I	(pron.)	hai-in-an (<i>See No. 34</i>).
If	(conj.)	ta, tatō, tō
Impossible	(adj.)	ma-tcumal
Incense	(n.)	pom, pōm (<i>especially "Copal Incense"</i>).
—burner	(n.)	tcäh-p:al
Interrogation		<i>See Nos. 55 and 75.</i>
Iron	(n.)	këx-puak

(J)

Jaguar	(n.)	balam, b:alam
Jail	(n.)	te' (<i>in reference to the wooden bars, compare "Wood." y-ül te' suggests the same idea as English "behind the bars"</i>).
Jar	(n.)	tcō', tcok, (<i>ordinary water jar</i>); tsahap (<i>large jar for storing water</i>); k'ip (<i>Amatenango jar</i>).
Jaw-bone	(n.)	k'alām
Judge	(n.)	cuwes (<i>from Spanish</i>).

(K)

Keen	(n.)	piit (<i>See also "Song"</i>).
Know	(vb.)	ootax, oHtax, <i>Class II</i> ; ahbe, abe, <i>Class I</i> (?) or <i>II</i> ("To Know" or "Understand").

(L)

Lack	(n.)	man
Lake	(n.)	pam, p:am
Lancet	(n.)	tcai
Land	(n.)	tcōtc (<i>See "Earth"</i>).
Language	(n.)	ap:cūbal (<i>particularly "Jalalteca." Compare "Speak"</i>).
Leave	(vb. trans.)	kan-i (<i>Also, "To Stay," and used with idea of "Continuing"</i>).
Left	(n.)	mëk
Leg	(n.)	ok, ox (<i>also "Foot"</i>); pul (?)
Lemur	(n.)	sax-pin
Liana [vine]	(n.)	k'ō:u (<i>generic</i>); molux; patc; aQ.
Light	(n.)	oq
Light	(vb.)	suxba, <i>Class I</i> .
Light	(adj.)	añe

Lightning	(n.)	tc'ai-teesqne-k'ū [tc'ai-tsetna-k'ū?] (<i>Compare</i> "Thunderstorm" and "Burn"); kaiyunpa (?)
Like	(adj.)	hak, haka (<i>hence, with</i> tū, "That," hak-tū, "Thus").
Little	(adj.)	nian, ni ⁿ , niēn-tcan, ni-tcan ("Little" or "Small," and <i>hence</i> "Young"); nictēk ("Small," <i>with the sense of</i> "Poor Little," <i>used when mentioning children in prayers</i>); ninox (<i>rare, see below</i>).
Little	(n. and adv.)	nin-ox
Live	(vb.)	koh, <i>Class ?</i>
Llano	(n.)	tcan
Locative		PET
Locust	(n.)	kul, kal
Long ago	(adv.)	paic'aa
Loom	(n.)	tcēm (<i>Compare</i> "Weave").
Love	(vb.)	kam-s-kūl ("To be in love with," <i>indir. obj. with</i> -iñ. <i>Conjugated like</i> QE, <i>see No. 66</i>). <i>Literally</i> "His heart dies."

(M)

Machete	(n.)	matcit (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Magician	(n.)	nagwal, na'wal; cipte-lōm (<i>Magician who causes fear</i>).
Make	(vb.)	Ü, ü-te, <i>irregular (See No. 66)</i> ; cQa (?)
Man	(n.)	winaq
Many	(adj.)	tcokca' (?)
Market Place	(n.)	tcoñ-bal (<i>Compare</i> "Trade").
Marriage	(n.)	moh-ilal
Marry	(vb.)	moh-yi, <i>Class I</i> .
Mask	(n.)	qo
Mat	(n.)	pop, pōp
Metate	(n.)	ka'
Midday	(n.)	tcuman
Milky Way	(n.)	s-be lēnte'y'u, <i>literally</i> "Road of Dew."
Molars	(n.)	tcapal
Money	(n.)	mēl'yū
Monkey	(n.)	mac ("Spider Monkey").
Moon	(n.)	cahau (<i>hence also</i> "Month," <i>whether 20 or 30 days</i>); ahau (<i>Concepción Dialect, doubtful</i>).
Morning	(n.)	sapsahakalil
—star	(n.)	saxbes, saxapes
Mother	(n.)	mi', mi-yai
—in-law	(n.)	mi-w-ical, <i>literally</i> , "My wife's mother."
Mouth	(n.)	ti
Move	(vb.)	tak'wikan, <i>Class I</i> .
Much	(adj.)	tc'ial
Music	(n.)	lo'uson (<i>See also</i> "Song").

(N)

Nagual	(n.)	iq-om picañ, <i>literally</i> , "Soul Bearer."
Name	(n. and vb.)	bi (<i>as verb.</i> , Class II, "To Be Called").
Necklace	(n.)	uwe
Needle	(n.)	agu'ca (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Negation		MA (<i>negative root and prefix</i> , see No. 95); matc- (<i>negative prefix</i>); matco ("No," and "There is none"); mā-tsēt ("Nothing," and "There is none"); ma-ctika ("No one," and emphatic for "Nothing"); tsikanap (<i>Nega-</i> <i>tive particle</i> , doubtful).
Net	(n.)	tcispa; yu'lap (<i>heavy storage net</i>).
Night	(n.)	a'balil (<i>Compare</i> "Darkness").
Nine	(adj.)	balūn, b:alūn
Nose	(n.)	team (<i>originally</i> , "Forepart").

(O)

Ocelot	(n.)	tcis-balam
Offer	(vb.)	matan-i, Class II?
Offering	(n.)	matan
Old	(adj.)	itc, itcam (<i>with</i> "Man," see No. 87. Also means "Reverend, Venerable," as <i>honorific title</i> <i>without regard to gender</i>); icnam (<i>with</i> "Woman," see No. 87); cil (<i>with</i> "Things," see No. 87. Also means "Rags, Old Clothes," and hence <i>parody dances in which rags are</i> <i>worn</i>).
One	(adj. and indef. article)	hun
Open	(n.)	hap:an
Orange	(n.)	lalancēc (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Orion's Belt	(n.)	oc-ēp tcumēl, <i>literally</i> , "Three Stars."
Owl	(n.)	coots
Owner	(n.)	ahau (<i>Compare</i> "Chief"); mantcetal (?)

(P)

Pack	(n.)	malet'a (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Paint [pottery]	(vb.)	tcaH ^e -ni, Class II?
Palm-leaf	(n.)	paan
Paper	(n.)	hūn (<i>Hence also</i> "Book").
Payment	(n.)	tōHol (<i>or perhaps verb</i> , "To Pay," Class II).
Penis	(n.)	yat
People	(n.)	an'ma (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Perhaps	(conj.)	tatō (<i>Compare</i> "If").
Person	(n.)	mak (<i>indefinite</i> , "A Person, An Individual," s-ūnil mak, "Everyone").
Pine	(n.)	tax, caxta
Pitcher	(n.)	calu'

Place	(vb.)	akō, anikō (<i>Hence also, "To Sing" or "Recite a Song"</i>).
Plain	(n.)	tc'eqan, tcan (<i>Flat or open country</i>).
Play [a guitar]	(vb.)	kēñ ^e -ni, <i>Class II</i> .
Plate	(n.)	pulato' (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Plate [architect]	(n.)	wi'-oiH, <i>literally, "Head-Post."</i>
Pleiades	(n.)	mōts
Policemen	(n.)	tap-ōm, <i>literally, "Seizers."</i>
Post for porch	(n.)	pilal (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Possible	(adj.)	tcumal
Pot	(n.)	ci'
Potato	(n.)	sis
Posol	(n.)	pitci'
Pray	(vb.)	TCA', tcax-li, <i>Class ? (To pray in the older fashion); lecal, Class ? (To pray in Christian fashion)</i> .
Prayer	(n.)	kañ-bal (<i>A ceremony of prayer for something, also the rite of asking one in charge of a ceremony to see that it is properly conducted. Compare KAÑ, "Desire, Demand"</i>).
Prayer Maker	(n.)	tca'-lōm
Pretty	(adj.)	kañ-yei (<i>From KAÑ, "Desire" plus y-e-i, "She is?" "She is desirable?"</i>).
Priest	(n.)	pale (<i>from Spanish?</i>)
—native	(n.)	wate winaq
Prosperity	(n.)	kawil
Purlin	(n.)	baq
Purpose		tañi, toñe (<i>"So that, to the end that"</i>).

(Q)

Quetzal	(n.)	t'e'iyu
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(R)

Rabbit	(n.)	cik
Rafter	(n.)	sax-te'
Rain	(n.)	nap, ñap
Rainy Season	(n.)	nap-il, naap-il
Raise	(vb.)	wil-ti, <i>Class I</i> .
Rat	(n.)	tc'ou, tc'ac (?)
Rattle	(n.)	lōkop, tsox-tsox (<i>Compare "Gourd"</i>).
Rattlesnake	(n.)	<i>See "Snake."</i>
Read	(vb.)	il-ni, <i>Class II (Compare "See")</i> .
Red	(adj.)	kaq, k'aq
Reed	(n.)	tcax
Reel [for winding warp]	(n.)	holbaltca
Regidor	(n.)	lēctol (<i>from Spanish?</i>)
Remain	(vb.)	<i>See "Leave."</i>
Remedy	(n.)	AÑ (<i>Compare "Cure"</i>).
Result		toka (<i>"So that, with the result that"</i>); a unēl (?)

Return	(vb.)	měltso-yi, <i>Class I and II.</i>
Ridge Pole	(n.)	te-stcuñikul
—false	(n.)	te-stc'on
River	(n.)	ha' (<i>See "Water"</i>).
Road	(n.)	be
Rolled up	(adj.)	tcuhibihl
Roof	(n.)	s-wi-na', <i>literally, "Head of the House."</i> istcuk-na' (<i>Concepción Dialect</i>).
Rooster	(n.)	itcam tciyo (<i>Compare "Hen" and "Husband"</i>).
Root	(n.)	ce
Rope	(n.)	las'o (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Run	(vb.)	añe, añne, <i>Class I.</i>

(S)

Sacrifice	(n.)	cahampal
Sad, to be	(vb.)	pis-kūl (<i>See No. 66</i>).
Saint	(n.)	san'tu (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Salt	(n.)	ahtsam
Sandal	(n.)	canap
Sash	(n.)	tcañ-bale, paca'e
Say	(vb.)	al-a, al-ni, <i>Class I and II, irregular. (Also "To speak" in the sense of speaking a language. See also "Speak, Converse"); i, Class I.</i>
Scented	(adj.)	cuq
Score	(n. and adj.)	k'al (<i>See Nos. 90, 93</i>).
Scorpion	(n.)	no-ic-kap (<i>Compare "Bee"</i>).
Seat	(vb.)	pis-i (<i>Hence "Calendar," pis-om tsaiik, "Seater of Days"</i>).
Seat	(n.)	pis-yox
—oneself	(vb.)	yañ, <i>Irregular.</i>
Seated, be	(vb.)	pis-yañ (<i>Formal expression, Compare above</i>).
Seated	(adj.)	pis-an
See	(vb.)	il-ni, hil-ni, il-a', <i>Class II (Compare "Read")</i> .
Seed	(n.)	agwal (<i>Hence also, a piece of planted ground</i>); hiñat.
—for divination	(n.)	aHte
—of race	(n.)	ikal (<i>i. e., enough people to continue a race or tribe</i>).
Self	(pron.)	b:a (<i>See No. 52</i>).
Seven	(adj.)	huk
Sew	(vb.)	ts'is'e-wi, <i>Class I.</i>
Shares, work on	(n.)	alip, a'lip (<i>Also, for son-in-law to work for wife's family in lieu of payment</i>).
Shears (architect.)	(n.)	kuteūp
Sheep	(n.)	kanēlu (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Shirt	(n.)	kamic (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Shuttle	(n.)	p:alpalwa'
Sick, to be	(vb.)	teoq-bi- -kūl, te'oq-y-e- -kūl (<i>Compare "Heart" and "Bad"</i>).
Sickness	(n.)	yāb:il

Sign	(n.)	sen'ya (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Silver	(n.)	cil-mél'yu (<i>Compare "Money"</i>); t'ümin (<i>Also, "A real"</i>).
Sing	(vb.)	pit-ni (<i>See "Song"</i>).
Singer	(n.)	pit-nom
Sister	(n.)	anap
—younger	(n.)	nitcan anap
Six	(adj.)	waq, wax
Skeleton	(n.)	baq-il an'ma (<i>an'ma from Spanish</i>).
Skin	(n.)	ts'umal
Skirt	(n.)	teañe (<i>see "Weave"</i>); hitsbile.
Skull	(n.)	baq in-sat-an, <i>literally, "Bone my face."</i>
Sleep	(vb.)	wai-yi, <i>Class I.</i>
Small	(adj.)	<i>See "Little."</i>
Small-pox	(n.)	tcaq
Small-shot	(n.)	munision (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Smooth	(adj.)	piQitc [<i>This word was originally written down as pirkite, the r being short and rough. The very rough Q frequently takes on this quality</i>].
Snake	(n.)	laba, lab:a (<i>Generic, or "Rattlesnake?"</i>)
—Boa Con- strictor	(n.)	këx-sop (<i>Compare "Black"</i>).
—Coral	(n.)	kaq-ta'in (<i>Compare "Red"</i>).
—Rattle	(n.)	tce-kan
—Miscellaneous		tco'-laba'; siyb-cahau (<i>Compare "Moon"</i>); ikam.
Soft	(adj.)	piQtin [<i>This was originally written down as pirtin, see note s. v. "Smooth"</i>].
Some	(indef. adj.)	hun-ox (<i>See No. 90</i>).
Something	(n.)	tsët (<i>Also, interrogative, "What"</i>).
Son	(n.)	k'aol
—in-law	(n.)	itcamil in-kütsin, <i>literally, "My daughter's husband."</i>
Song	(n.)	piit (<i>from root, PIT, meaning "Song, Lamentation, Rhythmic and Musical Mourning for the Dead"</i>).
Soothsayer	(n.)	ahbe (<i>Compare "Know"</i>).
Sorry, to be	(vb.)	tsa- -kül, (<i>See No. 66</i>), <i>literally, "Heart burns."</i>
Southern Cross	(n.)	kulus teumël, <i>literally, "Star Cross."</i>
Sow	(vb.)	agwal-wi, <i>Class I (Compare "Seed")</i> ; tsonowawal (?)
Speak	(vb.)	ap:ac, ap:ca, ap, <i>Class I (Root AP:C? Compare "Language." See also "Say, Converse")</i> .
Spider	(n.)	y-alañ-cil kap-e, <i>literally, "Under Hair Bee"</i> ; ce-k'ap.
Spindle	(n.)	pëtët
Spine	(n.)	<i>See "Backbone."</i>
Spirit	(n.)	pican
Spring	(n.)	HaHan (<i>i. e., planting time</i>).
Squirrel	(n.)	kuk'
Stand	(vb.)	liñ, <i>Class I.</i>

Star	(n.)	teumël (See also under "Morning Star, Orion, Pleiades," etc.)
Startle	(vb.)	cip-te, <i>Class II.</i>
Startled, to be	(vb.)	kai- -kûl <i>literally</i> , "Heart is destroyed," (See No. 66).
Stay	(vb.)	kan-i (<i>Compare</i> , "Leave").
Stick	(n.)	See "Wood."
Stock of a gun	(n.)	kahit'a (<i>from Spanish</i>).
Stone	(n.)	teċn (<i>Also affix for class of minerals, See No. 19</i>).
Stool	(n.)	teċm
Strainer	(n.)	paHpal
Strength	(n.)	ip'
Stringer	(n.)	patsap
Strong	(adj.)	ai-yip, <i>literally</i> "Has strength."
Stuck, to be	(vb.)	okla-kanox (<i>See No. 82</i>).
Suckle	(vb.)	teut-u, <i>Class ?</i> ; ut-wi, <i>Class II.</i>
Suckling	(n.)	teut-s-wi
Sufficient	(adj.)	koqbil
Sugar cane	(n.)	wale'
—candy	(n.)	sax-k'ap, <i>literally</i> , "White sweet."
—wine	(n.)	yal-wale
Sun	(n.)	tsai-ik, ts'ai-ik (<i>Compare</i> "Day," and "Burn").
Sunset	(n.)	tša-asün (<i>Compare</i> "Dawn").
Sweet	(adj.)	K'AP ("Sweetness, Honey," and "Bee").

(T)

Tail	(n.)	ne', nieh
Tamale	(n.)	cuheVu
Tapir	(n.)	tsimin
Ten	(adj.)	lahun, lañ
Test	(vb.)	il-wi, <i>Class II</i> (?)
That	(demonst. adj.)	-tū'
Thatch	(n.)	teim; k'an-teim, "White under-thatch."
Thatching poles	(n.)	cucül
Then	(conj.)	cin (<i>See below</i>).
There	(loc. adv.)	pě[t]-tū'
Therefore	(conj.)	cin (<i>Used like Spanish "pues"</i>); tcal-tū'
Thou	(pron.)	ha-ate (<i>See No. 34</i>).
Thread	(n.)	te'al
Three	(adj.)	oc
Throat	(n.)	muk'
Thumb	(n.)	nimanic y-icimal in-kap-an, <i>literally</i> "Big maize-sprouts (? icim equals maize) of my hand."
Thunder	(n.)	qañi
—bolt	(n.)	k'u (<i>Compare</i> "Lightning").
—storm	(n.)	tsetna-k'u (<i>Compare</i> "Lightning").
Thus	(adv.)	hak-ti' (<i>in this way</i>); hak-tū (<i>in that way</i>).
Tied	(vbl. adj.)	cekan (<i>From kan, "To Remain?"</i>)
Time	(n.)	K'IN, QIN, k'in-al

Toaster, cacao	(n.)	tcilma-b:al
Tobacco	(n.)	sik
Tomatoes	(n.)	icpic
To	(prep.)	-ët (<i>See No. 100</i>).
Tobacco	(n.)	sik'
Tomorrow	(n.)	hekal
Tongue	(n.)	hak'; wa' (<i>Compare "Eat, Food"</i>).
Tooth	(n.)	we
Tortilla	(n.)	hote; icim-wa', <i>literally, "Corn bread."</i>
—griddle	(n.)	sam
Totopostle	(n.)	hokoc
Trade	(vb.)	tcoñ-ō, <i>Class I (?)</i>
Travel	(vb.)	be-i, <i>Class I (Compare "Road")</i> .
Tree	(n.)	<i>See "Wood."</i>
Trousers	(n.)	pantalon (<i>from Spanish</i>).
True	(adj.)	ël (<i>Hence verb, ël-i, Class II, "To be true"</i>).
Tumpline	(n.)	pöpom
Tunkul	(n.)	ak-te; s-team koñop, <i>literally "Forepoint of the Village," (used of the tunkul of Jacalte-nango)</i> .
Turkey-cock	(n.)	tunuk
Turkey-hen	(n.)	äetsok, ahtsok
Transform	(vb.)	o-kanox, <i>Class II</i> .
Twins	(n.)	manya'
Two	(adj.)	ka

(U)

Uayeb	(n.)	hō-p-ic (ho equals "Five").
Umbilical cord	(n.)	mūcuke
Under	(prep.)	-ül (<i>See No. 100</i>).
Upon	(prep.)	-ip:an (<i>See No. 100</i>).

(V)

vain, in	(adv.)	napa (?)
Very	(adv.)	kau, qa (<i>Sign of comparative, See No. 89</i>).
Village	(n.)	koñop
Vine	(n.)	<i>See "Liana."</i>

(W)

Wake, to		
[over the dead]	(vb.)	il-o a'bal, <i>literally, "To watch the night."</i>
Wall	(n.)	piitsap, pitsap (<i>mud wall</i>); te-aiko-yiñ, <i>literally, "Wood there is in it" (stick wall)</i> .
Want	(vb.)	kan-a', <i>Class I (Compare "Demand," with a sense of asking for)</i> ; Qe, <i>Irregular (See No. 66)</i> .
War	(n.)	howal (<i>Compare "Anger"</i>).
Warp-strands	(n.)	stël
Watcher	(n.)	il-um (<i>Compare "See"</i>).
Water	(n.)	ha', a' (<i>Affix of class of liquids, see No. 19</i>).

Wax	(n.)	ic-k'ap, kĕx-ic-k'ap (<i>Compare "Bee" and "Black"</i>).
We	(pron.)	haiy-oñ (<i>See No. 34</i>).
Weak	(adj.)	pik'in (<i>Compare "Smooth," and "Soft"</i>); matc-ip, (<i>literally, "Not Strong"</i>).
Weave	(vb.)	tcĕm-li, tcĕm-wi, <i>Class II</i> (<i>Compare "Loom"</i>); hal, <i>Class II</i> (<i>To weave or plait</i>).
—Woven goods	(n.)	tcañ
Weft	(n.)	suwa'
West	(n.)	bai c-tō-i ko-mam tsaiik, <i>literally, "Where goes our father sun."</i>
When	(interr. and demst. pron.)	ba-Qin, ba'in (<i>Compare "Time"</i>).
Where	(interr. and demst. pron.)	bai (<i>"Where," or "whence"</i>); bai-tō (<i>with strong idea of place towards which</i>).
White	(adj.)	tsaq, tsax, sax, (<i>Also "Clear," and in a ceremonial sense, "Competent to understand the mysteries"</i>).
Wife	(n.)	ic-al (<i>Compare "Woman"</i>).
Wild-cat	(n.)	wĕtc
Wild pig	(n.)	tcitam
Wind	(n.)	kaQe
Wing	(n.)	cik (<i>Compare "Feather"</i>).
Wish	(vb.)	Qe (<i>See "Want"</i>).
With	(prep.)	poq, boq (<i>accompaniment</i>).
Within	(prep.)	col; ūl (<i>With a sense of "Under"</i>).
Woman	(n.)	ic (<i>Affix of class of female humans, see No. 19</i>).
Wood	(n.)	te (<i>Affix of class of growing things, see No. 19. Also means "Tree," and "Stick"</i>).
Woods [bosque]	(n.)	colk'ĕptax
Write	(vb.)	tsib-li, <i>Class I</i> .

(Y)

Year 365 days	(n.)	habil
—Bearer	(n.)	iq-ŭm habil
Yellow	(adj.)	k'an
Yesterday	(n. and adv.)	e'wi
You	(pron.)	ĕc (<i>See Nos. 34, 42</i>).
Young	(adj.)	nitcan (<i>Compare "LiHle"</i>); poqo; tco'.
Younger	(adj.)	tsuxan (<i>Referring to children, or brothers and sisters</i>).

APPENDIX I

COMPARATIVE LINGUISTIC LISTS

In these lists I am confining myself to the material actually gathered on the expedition, plus comparative material from my Chaneabal list published in *TRIBES AND TEMPLES*. Señor Gustavo Kanter of Chaculá has since given me excellent material on the Chuj of Chaculá, including a wide range of grammatical data and texts, the analysis of which is still incomplete. I also hope shortly to be able to secure sufficient information to establish the position of the Santa Eulalia dialect. Detailed examination of the position of Cuchumatán in the Mayan Stock in general should, I feel, wait until the dialects in themselves have thus been studied.

Briefly, it may be said that I disagree with Dr. Termer¹ in affiliating Cuchumatán primarily with the Mam group. His argument that the Indians of San Juan Ixcoy can understand "a little" Ixil, is balanced by that fact that, according to our informants, the Chuj of the Nentón district can understand some Tzeltal. In structure, particularly of the pronouns and verb conjugations, Cuchumatán differs strongly from Mam as portrayed in Jaramillo's exhaustive monograph.² On the whole, I am inclined to place this group midway between Quelén and Mam, while noting that the peculiarities of Class I conjugation set it somewhat apart from the rest of the Western Division of the Mayan Stock as a whole.

These lists bring out clearly the slow transition from village to village. At Jacaltenango, and more markedly so at Concepción, the Mam influence in the vocabulary is strong. Of the material given here, I should select the San Miguel Acatán dialect as being the purest Jacalteca. Santa Eulalia stands midway between the Jacalteca and the Chuj, understood with some difficulty by both groups, and having the appearance of an arch-type from which the two have deviated, one under Mam, the other under Tzeltal, or Chaneabal, influence. Although between extremes, as between Jacalteca of Jacaltenango and true Chuj of the San Mateo Ixtatán-

¹ Termer 1930.

² Jaramillo: MS.

Chaculá country, the differences are so great as to set off separate languages rather than dialects, the grading from town to town is so delicate, that grouping can only be arbitrary.

The Jacalteca Indians themselves recognize a linguistic unity embracing the villages of Concepción, Petatán, Santa Ana and San Antonio Huista, Jacaltenango, San Marcos, San Andrés and San Miguel. An outstanding common feature of the speech of these villages is the tendency to shift from *tc* to *k*, resulting in an increased resemblance both to Mam and Maya.

The Chuj list was made at Chanquejelvé with an intelligent Indian, and the help of Señor Rosendo Hernández, who understood the dialect and checked up on the informant. According to the Indians, it is the same as the speech of San Mateo Ixtatán; it differs but slightly from the Chaculá list given me later by Señor Kanter. The Santa Eulalia list was made with two suspicious but intelligent Indian officials at that town. The Alcalde, a Ladino, listened and made some corrections, partly helpful, partly not. At San Miguel the list was made with a single friendly Indian, whom I had to myself, but with hardly enough time. His Spanish was not fluent, but misunderstandings were easily cleared up through my acquaintance with Jacalteca. The Todos Santos list is not very reliable. An Indian, who was assigned to us by the Secretario Municipal, was extremely reluctant and suspicious, although by and by he became more friendly, and two Mayores de Convento, Indians whom I already knew, helped us. None of them spoke good Spanish, and there were many misunderstandings. Dr. and Mrs. Dudley H. Peck, who are familiar with the Mam of Ostuncalco, kindly went over my list, and pointed out many errors, which I have accordingly omitted.

The Jacalteca material given here and in Section II, entirely supersedes that published by me in "TRIBES AND TEMPLES." Although that list is fairly accurate, in the light of further knowledge, I find that I then stumbled into many of those pitfalls which await the investigator who makes a linguistic list without any knowledge of the language under consideration. Whatever material was valid in that list, has been incorporated into the present one, or into the vocabulary of Section II.

The Alphabet used is that given in Section II, No. 2.

SPANISH	CHANEBAL	CHUJ	SANTA EULALIA	JACALTECA		MAM
				SAN MIGUEL	JACALTE-NANGO	
Abeja	tcaq	tcaap	kap	kap	k'ap	ci'
Abuela ¹	mee'cep	nun itcam	teute itcam	ic-teite	mi-icnam	yal
Abuelo ¹	amee'cep	mam-itcam	ite-mam	ite-mam	mam-itcam	tcimañ
Agua	ha'	haa'	aëx	ha'	ha'	a'
Aire ²	.....	ik'	.....	qaqëx	kaQe	tcqi'q
Alma	pican	pican	pican	pican	pican	.....
Amarillo	k'an	kankan	k'an	.....	k'an	qën
Animal	.....	nök'	nö	noq	no'	.....
Año	ha'bil	ab:il	abil	aabil	habil	hnaubi
Árbol	te'	te'	teex	te'	te	k'ul ³
Azul	yaac	yac	yac	yac	yac	tcaas
Baile	.....	tcañal	kañal	.....	kañal	.....
Blanco	t'on (?)	saksak	saQ	sax	tsaq	sak
Boca	ti'	ti'	ti'	ti'	ti'	tsi
Brazo	k'a'ap	kaäp	Qap	qap	Qap	qāp
Brujo ⁴	axnanu ⁵	a'bal ⁵	.....	.....	na'wal	hunakti'ya
Bueno	lëk	wäte	wate	wate	k'ül	baan
Buho	tuHkul	kuhuk	cötc'	tonton	coots'	tsuH
Caballo	.....	tce	.....	.....	tce	.....
Cabello	.....	cil-kaal	cihl	cil-olan	cil- -wi	s-mal- -wi
Cabeza	holom	xolöm	holöm	holan	wi	wi
Calabaza	.....	k'üm	mukün	tsima'	k'üm, tsimah	.....
Cargador del Año	.....	kutcum hab:il	.....	teoltei keceyi abil	iqüm habil	ko-mane mactax lekate
Casa	na'	pat	atüt	atüt	atüt, na'	xa
Mi Casa	.....	te-im-pat ⁶	w-atüt	.....	w-atüt-an	.....
Tu—	.....	te-a-pat	waiy-atüt	.....	aw-atüt	.....
Su—	.....	te-s-pat-vin	y-atüt-nak	y-atüt-naq (?)	y-atüt-naq	.....
Nuestra—	.....	te-ko-pat	baiH- atüt-on	.....	w-atüt-oñ	.....
Su— (de Vds.)	.....	te-e-pat	atüt-acti	.....	ey-atüt-ëcti	.....
Su Casa	.....	te-s- pat-e-vin	y-atüt- ëp-nak	.....	y-atüt-ëp- naq	.....
Cerro	wits	wits	.....	.....	hwits	hwits
Chiquito	tei ^a	yune (?)	yalic (?)	.....	nian	.....
Cielo	sukin-al	sa't-tcan	sat-kan	sat-kan, y-iban k'inäl	sat-kan	.....
Colorado	teak	teakteak	kagin	kaq-teak	kaq	t'yak'
Conejo	teite'	teite'	teite'	teite'	cik	cik'
Corazón	shuhoël	kol	pican	an'ma ⁷	kül	anim ⁷
Coyote	.....	ökes	.....	.....	ox	.....

1 Cf. "Madre," "Padre" and Section II, Vocabulary, s. v. "Old."

2 Cf. "Viento."

3 Cf. "Monte"; Ostumcalco, tse.

4 Cf. "Zahorin."

5 Cf. "Noche."

6 te-, prefix of class, see Section II, No. 19.

7 Spanish, "anima."

SPANISH	CHANEABAL	CHUJ	SANTA EULALIA	JACALTECA		MAM
				SAN MIGUEL	JACALTE-NANGO	
Cuerpo	.....	nibanil	cam-in-kul (?)	mimanil	imanil	.....
Culebra	tean	tean	labax	lab:a	lab:a	lubaq
Curandero	waxnax-nanēl ³	añ-tum	ax ⁴ han	y-otaq te-an ⁴ wai ⁴	añ-lōm	yokol
Danta	tsemēn	tsimin	holōm-teai ⁵	.....	tsimin	.....
Dedo	s-niwoyal kap	hicimal-kap	y-icimal Qap	icimal- qap	icimal-Qap	twi- qāp
Dia ⁶	k'akum ⁷	yo-k'u ⁸	k'ū	kuwalil	tsaiik	meēc ⁹
Diente	iyeb	ke	e	we	we	its
Eclipse	tcak-ic-au ¹⁰	kikbi	mec-kai-kūh ¹¹	coq-ewanin-kū	s-kai-tsaiik ¹¹	.....
Espalda ¹²	.....	patik	itcin	itcin	itcin	tsalwi*x
Espinazo ¹²	batik	.....	nan itcin ¹³	.....	baq-il tel-itcin	.....
Esposa ¹⁴	biil	istsil	istil	ic	ical	ckuhl
Esposo ¹⁵	.....	itc*mil	itcamil	naq-winaq	itcamil	tcimihl
Esqueleto	.....	bakil	baQil	motc	baqil an'ma	cumlal
Estrella	kanal	kanal	waikan	weikan	tcumēl	tceu
Flor	nitcim	nitcim, cumakil	cumak'	cumak-til-te	ha'bal	bhete
Frijol	teenek	tūt	ūb:al	ūb:al	ūp:al	.....
Frío	.....	siik	six	.....	sQeu	tceyu
Fuego	k'āk	k'ak'	k'a'	kaq	k'a'	.....
Hermana Mayor	nu ^a	wanap	ic-satap-anap	ic- anap	anap	uncibo'
—Menor	suats	.....	yalic- anap	yalic- anap	nitcan anap	i'tsin
Hermano Mayor	bamkil	bo'utag	babēl winaq ¹⁶	ictax	uctax	tsik
—Menor	iitsin	kelēm-cu	ictak	yal-icton	nitcan uctax	itsin
Hija ¹⁷	yal	wisil	kutsin	une	kutsin	mel
Hijo ¹⁷	y-un-tik'il	buunin	k'ahol	kahol	k'aol	kuwal
Hombre	winik	vinak	winūq	winaq	winaq	cinoko ¹⁸
Hueso	bakēl	bāk	bäQ	bax	baq	.....
Iglesia	.....	tepan	y-atūt dioc ¹⁹	y-atūt dyoc ¹⁹	y-atūt dyoc ¹⁹	t-qa dyos ¹⁹

3 "Está curando."

4 "Sabe curar."

5 "Cabeza de Pescado?"

6 Cf. "Sol".

7 Cf. "Fuego."

8 Cf. "Luz" (Jacalteca yoq), and "Relámpago."

9 Ostuncalco, Qix.

10 "Está acabanda la luna."

11 "Se pelea el sol."

12 Cf. "Espalda, Espinazo."

13 "Madre espalda"?

14 Cf. "Mujer."

15 Cf. Vocabulary, Section II, s. v. "Husband" and "Old."

16 "Primer hombre." Cf. Jacalteca "First," Vocabulary, Section II.

17 Cf. "Niño de Pecho."

18 Ostuncalco, itcañ.

19 "Casa de Dios."

SPANISH	CHANEABAL	CHUJ	SANTA EULALIA	JACALTECA		MAM
				SAN MIGUEL	JACALTE- NANGO	
Invierno [Tiempo de lluvias]	.....	ay-asūn ⁴	ai-na' ⁵	napil ⁶	napil ⁶	.....
Incienso	pom	.....	pom, ha'bal ⁷	pōm	pōm	.....
Jefe	.....	ahal	aHau	aau	ahau	.....
Leñgua	ak	kak	.....	.....	ak	.....
Leña	.....	si'	.....	.....	tsi'	.....
León [puma]	tcex	tcak-tc'og	kōx	b:alam	b:alam	.....
Lucero de Mañana	niwañ kanal ⁸	niVan kanal ⁸	pūH	kaq	saxbes	.....
Luna ⁹	icau'	ux	tcūtc-ahau	cahau	cahau	cqhau
Luz del Sol	kak	y-o'-kū	sat-kūh	y-aHan-kūh	y-oq- tsaiik	keintix
Madre	nan	nun	tcūtc	ic-tcūtc	mi	tcuH
Maíz	icim	icim-icim	icim	icim	icim	iicin
Malo	malo	tcuk	.....	.....	matswalil	nyam-weni ¹⁰
Mañana	sak'bel ¹¹ hetcel ¹²	a'wal-to ¹³ kinilbalil	.....	yeekal ¹²	sapsaha- kalil ¹¹ hekal ¹²	ntci'q ¹¹
Mano	s-yal-kaap	.....	Qap	.....	Qap	qāp
Masorca	.....	ñal	.....	.....	ñal	hal
Mediodia	kulan- k'aku ⁿ	tcimkalil	tciman-k'ū	tcumañ-kū	tcuman	teil-kiq
Mes ¹⁴	icau	hun ux	cahau	cahau	cahau	cxau
Miel ¹⁵	tcaq	iyal-tcaap ¹⁶	kabil-no	yal-kap ¹⁶	no-k'ap	us-kap
Milpa	.....	awal	awal	a'wal	a'wal	kho'on
Mono	matcin	tcab:in ¹⁷	maltin	mac	mac	cmac
Monte	.....	kūltak	ak'ūn	altsap (?)	colk'eeptax	kul
Muchacha	akic	utni	kapox-ic	qopo-ic	ic-k'opō	maitcin
Muchacho	kermano (?)	kelēm	watc'a	atce-winaq	tco'	maitcin ¹⁸
Muerte	tcam'ēl	.....	kami	.....	kami	tc'imno ¹⁹
Está—	tcamta (?)	tcam'-nak	e-kam-nak	e-kam-i	c-kam-i	ma-tcin ¹⁹
Mujer	icukm	ic-ic	ic	ic	ic	cūxh
Murciélago	sots	sōts	sōts	sots	sots	.....
Nagual	.....	pican-vin ²⁰	.....	no-nox iqūm-al pican ²¹	iqūm pican ¹¹	.....
Nariz	ni'	ni'	tcam	tcam	tcam	tcañ

4 "Hay nubes."

5 "Hay lluvia."

6 Cf. nap, "Lluvia."

7 Cf. Jacalteca "Candle," *Vocabulary, Section II.*

8 "Estrella grande."

9 Cf. "Madre, Mujer, Jefe".

10 -weni from Spanish "bueno"? Cf. baan, "Bueno" and Ostunzalco hyam-baan.

11 "Morning."

12 "Tomorrow."

13 "Se va la oscuridad."

14 Cf. "Luna," "Jefe," "Mujer," "Madre."

15 Cf. "Abeja."

16 Cf. "Sugar-cane Wine," *Section II Vocabulary.*17 Cf. day-name, *Section I, p. 161.*

18 Ostunzalco, Qa.

19 Ostunzalco, kamik, ma-tci-kim.

20 "Alma de hombre."

21 "Animal cargador del alma."

SPANISH	CHANEABAL	CHUJ	SANTA EULALIA	JACALTECA		MAM
				SAN MIGUEL	JACALTE-NANGO	
Negro	kik	kiik	qeQ	k'ëq	këq	ëq ¹
Nieto	-----	-----	wi' (?)	ica	-----	-----
Niño de pecho	tcinuntik	ak-unin	ūnin	ts'ulik unin	teut-s-wi	une'
Noche	ākwal	agwalil	a'balil	agbalil	a'balil	k'en-a'w ¹
Nopo [Zopilote]	use	ostok	ostok'	mix	usmix	-----
Ojo	sat'	yol-sat	sat'	sat	sat	t'baa- -wits
Oreja	tcikin	tcikin	tcikin	tcikin	tcikin	ckin
Padre	tat	mam	mam	mam	mam	mañ
Pájaro	tcuyaltcan	mute	-----	tsikin	teik'	untx'it
Pared	p'akap	-----	yite bitsap	bitsap	piitsap	loq
Perro	tsis ²	tcī	tcī'	tcī'	tcī'	tciañ
Pescado	tcax	tcāi	tcāi	tcāih	kai	tcic ²
Petate	pop	pōp	pōp	pōp	pōp	pōp
Pié	ok	icimal- -ok	ak	samil- -ax	ok	k'en ³
Piedra	t'on	keēn	tcēn	-----	tcēn	-----
Piel	-----	suñal	tsumal	sumal	ts'umal	bute
Pierna	yetc'mal	haku-cū	ucūp	cūp	ok	kūc
Poniente	otci-k'āku ⁿ	bag	baic-tō-ku	c-tō-kū	baic-tō	-----
Pluma	kuku'm	ciil	ñe	cik'	cik	tsmale
Quetzal	-----	mam-kū'	ūn	-----	t'e'iyu	quetzal
Ratón	co'o'	teo	tcō	teau	tc'ou	itce
Relámpago	lixbi	-----	kicka' ⁴	-----	tcāi-tset-na-k'ū ⁵	kaintcok
Rezador	-----	elictu (?)	tcaHe-lom	-tea	tea'lōm	enaatsoñ
Reza para lluvia	-----	xaat	-----	-----	kañ-bil ñap	-----
Saliente	telhani	bag	bai tcāiHol	teelēl kū	bai te-ūl	-----
Sangre	teikēl	tcik'	k'ū	tcik'	tsaiik	tcī'
Sapo	wōk	kokoom	tcīQ	peHe	tcik, tcī'	woo
Semilla	-----	iñat	peiQaiH	hinat	poHōm	i'ya
Sol	k'aku ⁿ	k'ū	iñat'	k'ū	hiñat	kix
Tabaco	maix	-----	atcam kūh,	sik	tsaiik	-----
Tarde, el	-----	yēm kalī	k'ū	sik	sik	-----
Techo	s-olum-na-its ⁷	-----	caī k'ū	ci kwalil	këx-balil ⁶	euw
Tia	hwits	nule'	tc'in ⁸	s-te-al	s-wi-na ⁷	kute
Tierra	luum	luūm	wikan	-----	mi	-----
Tio	hnu	bu'tag ⁹	tcōte'	tcote'	tcōte	tcote'
			wikan	kan	mam ¹⁰	tcimañ ¹¹

1 *Ostuncalco*, qēQ.2 *Ostuncalco*, kic.3 *Ostuncalco*, qañ.4 Cf. *Jacalteca* tcic-k'ap, and *Chuj* kic-k'ap, "Earthquake;" also Cf. "Fuego," and *Termer*: 1930, p. 388.5 Cf. "Lightning," *Vocabulary*, Section II.

6 "Evening," Cf. "Negro."

7 "Cabeza de la Casa."

8 Cf. *Jacalteca* "Thatch," *Vocabulary*, Section II.

9 Cf. "Hermano Mayor."

10 Cf. "Padre."

11 Cf. "Abuelo."

SPANISH	CHANEABAL	CHUJ	SANTA EULALIA	JACALTECA		MAM
				SAN MIGUEL	JACALTE-NANGO	
Tortilla	waH	wa-il	p:at	pat ⁴	icim-wa'	nwal
Trueno	awon-tcauwuk ⁷	s-kan kũ'	.....	.....	qañi, tsetna-k'ũ	.....
Verano Tiempo Seco	.....	katcan	katcam	.....	HaHan, taxinwits	s-kiq
Verde	yaac	yaac	yac	yac	yac	tcaas
Vida	.....	pitsan	ikes	.....	koh	.....
Viento	ik ⁴	ik ⁴	kaQe ⁸	.....	kaQe	.....
Zahorin	.....	.....	ah-tcum ⁸	.....	ah-be ⁹	.....
Zaraguatē	bats ⁴	bāts	wōxbats	wotiñ	.....¹⁰	.....
1	hun-e'	hūn-e	hun-ēp	.....	hun-e	hu ⁵
2	tca-be'	tcaa'	k'a-p	.....	ka-pe ¹¹	ka'-bo ¹²
3	oc-e'	oc-e	oc-ep	.....	oc-ep	oc'-o
4	tcañ-e'	tcañ-e	kan-ep	.....	kan-ep	tyax ¹³
5	hō-e'	ō-ye	ō-yep	.....	hō-ep	h ⁶ -we'
6	wak-e'	.....	.....	.....	wak-ep	hukak'(?) ¹⁴
7	huk-e'	.....	.....	.....	huk-ep	wūk ⁴
8	wacak-e'	.....	.....	.....	wacaq-ep	wak ¹⁵
9	balun-e'	.....	.....	.....	p:alūn-ep	belx ¹⁶
10	lahun-e'	lahun-e	lahūn-ep	.....	lahūn-ep	laH, lahux
11 ¹⁷	lahtco	.....	.....	.....	hun-lañ ¹⁸	hun-laH ¹⁹
12	hulute	.....	.....	.....	kap-lañ	ka-b ⁶ -laH
13	oc-lahun	.....	.....	.....	oc-lañ	oc-laH
20	hun tab	hu-nak	hun kal	.....	hun kal	wink ⁴ⁿ
21	.....	hun-e-s-tca-winak	hun-s-ka-winak	.....	hun-e-s-ka-winaq	wink ⁴ -u ²⁰
30	.....	.....	.....	.....	lahun-s-ka-winaq	winak-hun-laH
40	tca wink	.....	.....	.....	ka-winaq	kyañ-winuk ²¹
60	oc wink	.....	.....	.....	oc-kal	oc-q'al

7 "Está tronando."
 8 "El que echa suertes."
 9 "El que sabe."
 10 The animal is unknown, as probably also at Todos Santos.
 11 See Section II, No. 90.
 12 In the Ostuncalco list, the ending is -e throughout.
 13 Ostuncalco, kixax-e.
 14 Ostuncalco, waqaq.
 15 Ostuncalco, wacac.
 16 Ostuncalco, belhux.
 17 Numeral classifiers are omitted from here on.
 18 The uncontracted form, lahūn, also occurs.
 19 The contraction to laH does not occur in the Ostuncalco list.
 20 Cf. wink'-[k]ap, "22", and kyañ-winuk-ti-hun, given for "41."
 21 Surely kyañ is an error. Ostuncalco, ka-winaq.

APPENDIX II

PHYSICAL MEASUREMENTS

It was our original intention to make a good series of physical measurements at Jacaltenango, but this proceeding met with such violent opposition on the part of the natives that we were forced to desist for fear of spoiling the chances for further ethnological work in that section. There was a general belief that being measured would cause stunting. We did manage to obtain measurements on thirty-seven individuals at Jacaltenango, and eleven at Concepción, with great difficulty. It was impossible to measure the women, unless we had appealed to the Jefe Político for troops, which we feel would have been a great mistake.

These two series are too small to base conclusions on; however, one may point to the wide variation in almost all measurements of the Jacalteca group, in many cases exceeding the standard deviation, a feature which emphasizes their mixed blood. We have not attempted to classify the subjects by admixture of blood, since such a classification would have to be made on the basis of the figures themselves—all the Indians consider themselves pure! We regard the Indians of Concepción as relatively pure-blooded, although in this very short series, also, the variation is high.

The mixed bloods fall into three types, of which the first is tall and gangling, physically not strong, rather inclined to chronic diseases, light in color, long-headed, narrow-nosed, narrow-faced, and with a receding chin. These are often found to be the less prosperous relatives of the second type, which is also light in complexion, stockier in build, and more Indian in feature, and usually mesocephalic. The third type reverts strongly to the Indian in color and in features, but is likely to be taller and to have a slightly higher and narrower nose. Among these latter two groups are to be found the most progressive people of the village. The individuals who appear to be purely Indian are usually small farmers, and in this group are found almost all the born or natural shamans.

Among the Ladinos, who have varying amounts of Indian blood, these three types tend to repeat themselves. The original stock seems to have been "Nordic," tall, fairly blond, long-headed and narrow-faced, plus Mediterranean with a slight, wiry build. The

occasional occurrence of heavily-built individuals, and of heavy face and body-hair, argues a slight trace of Alpine.

At present one finds here, as throughout the Highlands of Southern Mexico and Guatemala, many tall and lanky individuals with long heads, fine noses, and remarkably small chins, corresponding to the first mixed-blood group mentioned above. Roughly corresponding to the second is a fairly tall, relatively heavy-set type, usually mesocephalic and inclined to dark brown hair and brown or hazel eyes. Some red hair is found in this group. The writer's personal impression is that in character and mind, as well as in physique, they show none of the weakness of the tall, small-chinned, shiftless type. A small number of Ladinos show an apparent reversion to the Indian which may partly be the result of crossing Indians with the compact, brunette, Mediterranean type. Alveolar prognathism occurs more frequently in this group than in the others. This last type is usually progressive and intelligent.

It would be interesting if someone could devote himself to a thorough physical study of one of these mountain sections, where we know that the white blood is that of 16th Century Spain, and pure-blooded Indian controls could be easily obtained.

The writer believes that among the pure Indians, there are several physical types to be found, introduced by successive intrusions. Data on the distribution of these types might be of great historical value.

Herewith are presented Tables A and B, statistical summaries of the measurements, for which we are indebted to the staff of the Peabody Museum. Table C summarizes Starr's* measurements on the Indians of Tenejapa, Chiapas, who have mixed rather little with the Spaniards, and who yet show a wide range of variation.

We are also indebted to Dr. E. A. Hooton, of the Peabody Museum, for his kindness in reading and criticizing these measurements and remarks.

*Starr: 1902.



FIG. 80—Jacalteca types, No. 19.



FIG. 81—Jacalteca types, No. 20.



FIG. 82—Jacalteca types, No. 11.



FIG. 83—Jacalteca types, No. 32.

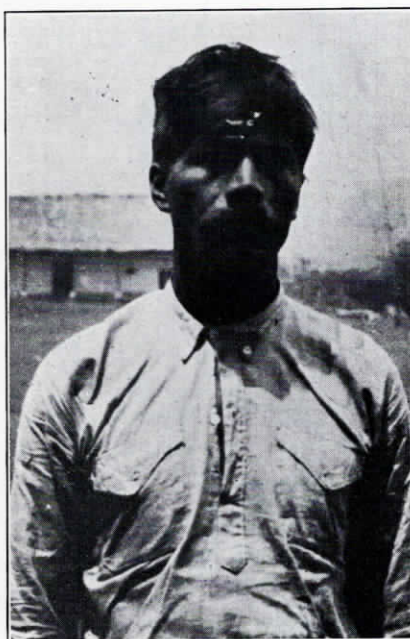


FIG. 84—Jacalteca types, No. 36.

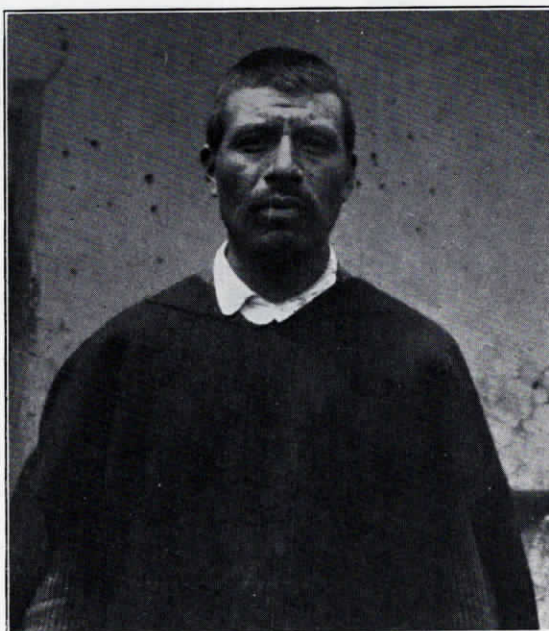


FIG. 85—Jacalteca types:
Alcalde at Concepción; No. 43.

TABLE A
INDIANS OF JACALTENANGO

	No.	RANGE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	VARIATION
Standing Height.....A	37	144-168	cm. 156.32 ± .62	5.64 ± .44	3.61 ± .28
Sitting Height.....B	37	74-88	cm. 81.24 ± .33	2.98 ± .23	3.67 ± .29
Fathom.....C	37	150-175	cm. 161.16 ± .74	6.64 ± .52	4.12 ± .32
Chest.....D	36	71-89	cm. 81.58 ± .44	3.91 ± .31	4.79 ± .38
Head Length.....E	37	169-194	mm. 180.08 ± .66	5.99 ± .47	3.33 ± .26
Head Breadth.....F	37	137-153	mm. 143.97 ± .44	4.01 ± .31	2.78 ± .22
Cephalic Index.....	37	73-87	79.84 ± .35	3.18 ± .25	3.98 ± .31
Nasion-Menton.....G	37	106-128	mm. 116.70 ± .49	4.41 ± .35	3.78 ± .30
Nasion-Alveon.....H	37	57-77	mm. 64.49 ± .46	4.16 ± .33	6.45 ± .51
Malar Diameter.....I	37	113-152	mm. 132.81 ± .83	7.50 ± .59	5.65 ± .44
Bizygomatic Diameter.....J	37	120-140	mm. 130.68 ± .56	5.09 ± .40	3.90 ± .31
Facial Index $\frac{100 \times G}{J}$	37	82-97	89.41 ± .42	3.80 ± .30	4.25 ± .33
Nose Length (Height).....K	37	46-64	mm. 54.65 ± .42	3.75 ± .29	6.86 ± .54
Nose Width (Breadth).....L	37	32-45	mm. 36.76 ± .30	2.75 ± .22	7.48 ± .59
Nasal Index.....	37	54-79	67.51 ± .60	5.38 ± .42	7.97 ± .62
Age.....	37	15-41	yrs. 25.92 ± .77	6.98 ± .55	26.92 ± .11

TABLE B
INDIANS OF CONCEPCIÓN

	No.	RANGE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	VARIATION
Standing Height.....A	11	150-172	cm. 156.27 ± 1.15	5.66 ± .81	3.62 ± .52
Sitting Height.....B	11	79-87	cm. 83.46 ± .48	2.35 ± .34	2.82 ± .41
Fathom.....C	11	157-178	cm. 163.73 ± 1.20	5.91 ± .85	3.61 ± .52
Chest.....	---	---	---	---	---
Head Length.....E	11	171-192	mm. 181.46 ± 1.26	6.18 ± .89	3.41 ± .49
Head Breadth.....F	11	140-148	mm. 143.00 ± .50	2.45 ± .35	1.71 ± .25
Cephalic Index.....	11	74-84	78.91 ± .63	3.09 ± .44	3.92 ± .56
Nasion-Menton.....G	11	108-129	mm. 120.09 ± 1.19	5.85 ± .84	4.87 ± .70
Nasion-Alveon.....H	11	62-73	mm. 66.45 ± .71	3.50 ± .50	5.27 ± .76
Malar Diameter.....I	11	122-139	mm. 133.55 ± 1.00	4.92 ± .71	3.68 ± .53
Bizygomatic Diameter.....J	11	120-133	mm. 127.18 ± .88	4.35 ± .63	3.42 ± .49
Facial Index $\frac{100 \times G}{J}$	11	84-107	94.45 ± 1.27	6.26 ± .90	6.63 ± .95
Nose Length (Height).....K	11	49-60	mm. 54.82 ± .70	3.43 ± .49	6.26 ± .90
Nose Width (Breadth).....L	11	35-42	mm. 38.45 ± .50	2.46 ± .35	6.40 ± .92
Nasal Index.....	11	64-78	69.82 ± .88	4.32 ± .62	6.19 ± .89
Age.....	11	20-50	yrs. 30.54 ± 1.92	9.43 ± 1.36	30.88 ± 4.44

TABLE C
INDIANS OF TENEJAPA

	No.	RANGE	MEAN
Standing Height.....	100	140.7-172.2	cm. 155.7
Cephalic Index.....	100	68.0- 86.4	76.8
Facial Index.....	100	65.6- 94.5	81.6
Nasal Index.....	100	64.1-102.2	83.8

INDIANS OF JACALTENANGO

Subject No.	1	2
Age	27	30
Comment		
A Height Standing (cm.)	161.0	151.2
B Height Sitting	84.5	82.9
C Fathom	163.5	157.0
D Chest	87 <i>plus</i>	78.0
E Head Length	17.5	16.9
F Head Breadth	15.0	14.3
<i>Cephalic Index</i> $\left\{ \frac{F \times 100}{E} \right\}$	85.71	84.61
G Nasion-Menton	12.3	11.2
H Nasion-Alvea	6.0	6.1
I Malar Diameter	13.4	12.5
J Bi-Zygomatic Diameter	13.8	13.3
<i>Facial Index</i> $\left\{ \frac{G \times 100}{J} \right\}$	89.13	87.21
K Nose Length	5.0	5.35
L Nose Width	3.6	4.0
<i>Nasal Index</i> $\left\{ \frac{L \times 100}{K} \right\}$	72.00	74.76
HAIR—		
1 Form	Straight	Straight
2 Color	Black	Black
3 Texture	Coarse	Medium
DISTRIBUTION—		
4 Face	Medium	Slight
5 Body	None	Slight
6 Grayness	None	None
EYES—		
7 Color	Dark brown	Dark brown
8 Fold	None	None
NOSE—		
9 Bridge	Medium straight	Medium high
10 Cartilage	Medium	Broad
11 FACE	Orthog.	Prog.
12 BROW RIDGE	Medium	Slight
LIPS—		
13 Form	Coarse	Thin
14 Seam	None	None
15 Color	Dark	Light
16 TEETH	Good, slight over-bite	Good
17 SKIN COLOR*	Red-brown	Light brown
18 MUSCULATURE	Strong	Arms thin, legs strong
19 MISCELLANEOUS	.....	Hands short and stubby

*Owing to the universal habit of bathing and of working nearly naked in fields it was impossible to get the Indians to show us any really unexposed surface without offense to their modesty.

THE YEAR BEARER'S PEOPLE

No.	3	4	5	6
Age	23	27	25	25
Com.	-----			
A	158.0	159.5	164.2	168.3
B	79.8	81.4	81.5	88.5
C	154.0	171.5	175.0	170.6
D	80.5	80.9	86.5	83.1
E	17.6	17.4	18.6	17.2
F	13.75	14.4	14.4	14.3
C. I.	78.12	82.75	77.41	83.13
G	10.6	11.25	11.6	11.3
H	5.7	6.6	6.6	6.8
I	12.1	11.3	13.2	13.8
J	13.0	12.55	14.0	13.3
F. I.	81.53	89.64	82.85	84.96
K	5.7	5.25	5.3	6.0
L	3.5	3.75	4.1	3.8
N. I.	61.40	71.42	77.35	63.31

1	Straight	Wavy	Very wavy	Straight
2	Black	Dark brown	Black	Black
3	Medium	Coarse	Coarse	Coarse
4	Sparse	Med. and Lt. brown	Very slight	Slight
5	None	None	None	None
6	None	None	None	None
7	Dark brown	Light brown	Dark brown	Dark brown
8	None	Slight outside	Slight outside	None
9	Medium	High	Medium	High, convex.
10	Thin	Medium	Coarse	Strongly curved
11	Orthog.	Orthog.	Prog.	Orthog.
12	None	Slight	Very slight	Medium
13	Medium	Coarse	Everted	Thin
14	None	None	None	None
15	Medium	Dark	Light	Medium
16	Good, irregular and slight over-bite	Crowded, poor condition, over-bite	Strong, regular	Good, slight over-bite
17	Reddish brown	Nearly white	Medium brown	Reddish brown
18	Medium	Slight, legs medium	Strong	Strong
19	Brother of No. 13	Slight goitre receding chin	Rather fat	-----

THE YEAR BEARER'S PEOPLE

No.	7	8	9	10
Age Com.	25 Very short hair cut	17	15 (?)	23
A	150.5	159.9	155.5	154.4
B	76.9	84.0	78.9	82.2
C	155.9	167.5	159.0	159.4
D	77.5	77.8	83.	84.1
E	17.5	18.5	17.7	18.3
F	13.7	14.5	14.4	14.7
C. I.	78.28	78.37	81.35	80.32
G	11.5	12.3	11.7	11.6
H	6.5	6.5	6.4	6.2
I	12.3	12.5	12.8	15.2
J	12.5	12.7	13.3	13.2
F. I.	92.00	96.85	87.96	87.87
K	5.35	5.5	5.7	5.4
L	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.8
N. I.	67.28	65.45	63.15	70.37
1	Straight	Straight	Straight	No observation*
2	Black	Black	Black	Black
3	Coarse	Coarse	Medium	Coarse
4	None	None	None	Slight
5	None	None	None	None
6	None	None	None	None
7	Brown	Dark brown	Dark brown	Brown
8	Slightly Mongoloid	None	None	None
9	Medium	Medium	Low, convex.	Low, convex.
10	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
11	Prog.	Slightly Prog.	Slightly prog.	Slightly prog.
12	Slight	None	Slight	None
13	Medium	Medium	Slightly everted	Medium-fine
14	Medium	None	Slight	None
15	Dark	Medium	Dark	Dark
16	Irreg., strong, Med. over-bite. Dark brown.	Even, strong and slight over-bite.	Even, close, slight over-bite	Irreg., strong
17	Dark brown	Light brown, hands reddish.	Med. hands, very dark	Med., hands reddish
18	Stringy, arms weak	Slight	Arms medium, legs heavy	Arms weak, legs heavy
19	Looks subnormal mentally. Red tinge on back of hands.	.....	Pock-marked, decayed upper incisors.	Lower left pre-molar missing

*Very short hair-cut.

No.	11	12	13	14
Age	32	22	32 (?)	18
Com.	-----	-----	-----	-----
A	158.0	162.5	159.6	157.3
B	80.9	81.6	85.2	81.6
C	161.0	173.0	165.6	157.7
D	81.1	84.0	89.1	82.4
E	17.6	17.9	18.4	18.05
F	13.75	13.95	14.35	14.68
C. I.	78.12	77.93	77.98	81.32
G	11.49	11.68	12.41	12.08
H	6.1	5.79	6.95	6.12
I	12.4	12.95	13.2	14.05
J	13.3	12.91	13.88	13.45
F. I.	86.39	90.47	89.40	89.81
K	5.7	5.2	6.06	4.79
L	3.7	3.2	3.98	3.67
N. I.	64.91	61.53	65.67	76.61
1	Straight	Straight	Straight	Straight
2	Black	Black	Black	Black
3	Coarse	Medium	Coarse	Coarse
4	Slight	Slight	Medium	Slight
5	None	None	None	None
6	None	None	None	None
7	Dark brown	Dark brown	Dark brown	Dark brown
8	None	Slightly Mongoloid	Slight outside	Slight Mong. and outside
9	High	Medium	Medium	Low
10	Thin	Arched	Medium	Broad
11	Orthog.	Orthog.	Orthog.	Orthog.
12	Slight	None	None	Slight
13	Thin	Thin	Medium	Medium coarse
14	None	Slight	None	None
15	Light	Medium	Medium	Dark
16	Strong, even, slight over-bite	Small, even, slight over-bite	Even	Strong, even
17	Light brown	Medium, not red	Medium	Light brown, hands ruddy
18	Arms light, legs heavy	Stringy	Arms medium, legs heavy	Arms thin, legs heavy
19	-----	Right ankle swollen	Left upper second incisor missing. Eyes slightly bulging, forehead flat over temples. Brother of No. 3	Coronal cavities in molars

THE YEAR BEARER'S PEOPLE

No.	15	16	17	18
Age	20 (?)	18	18	18
Com.	.....	.....	.....	.....
A	162.9	153.4	145.3	156.8
B	81.6	79.9	77.6	78.6
C	166.3	153.5	151.5	159.9
D	82.8	75.1	78.3	75.4
E	18.11	17.8	17.45	18.35
F	14.26	13.95	14.38	13.98
C. I.	78.74	78.37	82.40	76.18
G	11.41	11.5	11.42	12.0
H	6.17	5.75	6.46	6.1
I	13.25	12.8	13.65	13.85
J	12.39	12.6	13.47	13.45
F. I.	92.09	91.26	84.78	89.21
K	5.32	5.03	5.98	5.19
L	3.44	3.64	3.25	3.64
N. I.	64.66	72.36	54.34	70.13

1	Slightly wavy	Wavy	Straight	Straight
2	Black	Black	Dark brown	Black
3	Coarse	Coarse	Coarse	Coarse
4	None	None	None	Medium
5	None	None	None	None
6	None	None	None	None
7	Dark brown	Dark brown	Dark brown	Dark brown
8	None	Slt. Mongoloid	None	None
9	Med. straight	High	High	Low, convex
10	Medium	Arched	Narrow	Medium wide
11	Orthog.	Orthog.	Orthog.	Prog.
12	Slight	Pronounced	None	Slight
13	Medium	Fine	Fine	Medium
14	None	None	None	None
15	Light	Light	Medium	Medium
16	Upper even, lower irregular, slight over-bite	Strong, even, med. over-bite	Strong, reg., slight under-bite	Even, strong
17	Med., no red	Light, no red	Light, no red	Light
18	Arms thin, legs medium	Arms thin, legs medium	Arms weak, legs medium	Arms medium, legs heavy
19	.....	.....	Left ear shriveled, no aperture	No ear lobes

No.	19	20	21	22
Age	37 (?)	31	23	28
Com.				
A	155.4	164.5	157.6	152.0
B	80.9	85.3	81.2	81.1
C	157.0	174.2	164.8	153.0
D	83.1	84.1	83.5	86.3
E	17.55	18.32	18.84	18.75
F	14.48	14.75	13.82	14.46
C. I.	82.50	80.51	73.35	77.12
G	11.65	11.83	11.34	12.83
H	6.52	6.58	6.50	7.21
I	13.29	14.38	13.65	13.61
J	12.95	13.22	12.36	13.40
F. I.	89.96	89.48	91.74	95.74
K	5.6	5.85	5.55	6.39
L	3.84	3.94	3.52	4.18
N. I.	68.57	67.35	63.42	65.41

1	Straight	Straight	Straight	Straight
2	Black	Black	Black	Black
3	Coarse	Coarse	Coarse	Coarse
4	Medium	Slight	Slight	Slight
5	None	None	None	Hairy legs
6	None	Trace	None	None
7	Brown	Dark brown	Dark brown	Dark brown
8	Slt. Mongoloid	None	None	Slt. outside
9	Low, convex.	Medium	Medium	Medium
10	Flaring	Medium	Narrow	Thick
11	Alveolar Prog.	Orthog.	Prog.	Prog.
12	Slight	Slight	None	Slight
13	Coarse	Medium	Medium	Medium
14	None	None	Slight	None
15	Dark	Dark	Dark	Light
16	Good, large pronounced canines	Large, sound, slt. over-bite	Small, even, slight over-bite, flat incisors	Large flat incisors
17	Med, no red	Dark	Med., hands ruddy	Medium
18	Arms thin, legs medium	Arms slight, legs medium	Arms slight, legs slight	Medium
19	Apparently good pure blooded type		Small ear lobes	Large lobe to right ear, swollen red, slight cast to eyes. Irreg. pigment on face. Left leg shorter than right.

THE YEAR BEARER'S PEOPLE

No.	23	24	25	26
Age	25	39	41	22
Com.	-----			
A	153.4	149.9	149.3	161.5
B	76.7	78.4	76.6	84.6
C	160.9	152.8	154.6	163.4
D	80.4	-----	80.6	84.6
E	18.19	17.72	17.80	18.21
F	13.81	15.28	14.27	14.22
C. I.	75.92	86.23	80.16	73.08
G	11.41	11.6	11.50	11.12
H	6.60	7.72	6.22	6.0
I	12.72	13.61	12.51	13.41
J	12.05	13.60	12.43	13.16
F. I.	94.68	85.29	92.51	84.50
K	5.41	5.77	5.06	4.93
L	3.63	3.76	3.30	3.78
N. I.	67.09	65.16	65.21	76.67

1	Straight	Straight	Straight	Wavy
2	Black	Black	Black	Black
3	Coarse	Coarse	Coarse	Medium
4	Slight	Medium	Medium	Slight, heavy brow
5	None	None	None	None
6	None	None	None	None
7	Brown	Dark brown	Light brown	Brown
8	Slt. Mong.	Slt. Mong.	None	None
9	Medium	Slight	Slight	Slight
10	Thin	Medium	Tilted	Wide
11	Prog.	Orthog.	Orthog.	Othog.
12	Medium	None	None	None
13	Medium	Thin	Medium	Medium
14	None	None	None	None
15	Medium	Medium	Medium	Light
16	Even, good, slight over-bite	Large, even	Large, bad	Good, large, even
17	Light, face freckled	Light	Light, ruddy	Light
18	Slight	Arms heavy, legs medium	Arms slight, legs medium	Med.
19	Attached ear lobes	Lower left molar, right upper incisor and bicuspids missing. Slt. occipital deformation?	Pock marks, upper bicuspids missing	-----

THE YEAR BEARER'S PEOPLE

No.	27		28		29		30	
	16 (?)		35		30		40	
Age	16 (?)		35		30		40	
Com.	-----		-----		-----		-----	
A	144.1	148.6	159.2	153.0				
B	73.9	79.1	82.8	81.9				
C	150.5	150.1	164.3	156.8				
D	71.2	82.1	87.4	81.0				
E	17.76	17.25	17.34	18.23				
F	14.08	14.40	14.28	14.8				
C. I.	79.27	83.47	82.35	81.18				
G	11.13	11.50	11.49	11.31				
H	6.09	6.23	7.14	6.64				
I	12.25	13.36	13.21	13.15				
J	12.32	13.21	12.50	12.31				
F. I.	90.34	87.06	91.92	91.88				
K	4.58	5.69	5.60	5.93				
L	3.30	3.71	3.49	4.01				
N. I.	72.05	65.20	62.32	67.62				
1	Straight	Wavy	Wavy	Wavy				
2	Black	Black	Black	Black				
3	Coarse	Coarse	Medium	Coarse				
4	None	Medium ruddy	Heavy, curly	Medium				
5	None	None	Legs hairy	Legs hairy				
6	None	None	None	None				
7	Light brown	Dark brown	Dark brown	Brown				
8	Slt. Mong.	None	None	None				
9	Short	Med. convex	Low, acquiline	High, convex				
10	Narrow	Flattened	Medium	Arched				
11	Orthog.	Orthog.	Orthog.	Prog.				
12	Slight	None	Slight	Slight				
13	Fine	Thin	Fine	Medium				
14	None	None	None	None				
15	Light	Light	Medium	Medium				
16	Sound, even, small	Meet evenly	-----	Med. over-bite				
17	Light	Medium	Medium	Light				
18	Slight	Medium	Medium	Arms medium, legs heavy				
19	-----	Upper incisors missing	-----	Spots in whites of eyes. Many teeth missing				

THE YEAR BEARER'S PEOPLE

No.	31	32	33	34
Age	23	23	28	30
Com.				
A	159.8	159.8	158.9	151.7
B	82.6	81.3	83.8	78.5
C	162.9	165.4	165.7	161.1
D	84.7	79.2	82.5	81.8
E	19.0	18.15	17.20	19.35
F	14.81	14.25	14.95	14.90
C. I.	77.94	78.51	86.91	77.00
G	12.35	12.09	11.80	11.61
H	6.87	6.33	6.98	6.41
I	13.8	13.55	13.85	14.35
J	13.4	13.3	12.90	13.75
F. I.	92.16	90.90	91.47	84.44
K	5.73	5.49	5.32	5.20
L	4.52	3.28	3.42	3.78
N. I.	78.88	59.74	64.28	72.69
1	Straight	Straight	Straight	Straight
2	Black	Black	Black	Black
3	Coarse	Coarse	Coarse	Coarse
4	None	Medium	Medium	Heavy
5	None	Slight	None	Slight
6	None	None	None	Slight
7	Dark brown	Dark brown	Dark brown	Dark brown
8	Slt. Mong.	Slt. outside	None	None
9	Med. convex	High, straight	High, straight	Medium straight
10	Coarse	Arched	Medium	Thick
11	Prog.	Prog.	Orthog.	Orthog.
12	None	Slight	Slight	Medium
13	Medium	Fine	Medium	Fine
14	None	Medium	None	None
15	Dark	Dark	Medium	Dark
16	Even, sound, slt. over-bite	Small, irreg., med. over-bite	Large, irreg.	Good, large
17	Dark, ruddy	Dark	Medium	Dark
18	Arms medium, legs heavy	Arms slight, legs heavy	Arms medium, legs heavy	Medium
19	Spotted whites of eyes	"Tump line" deformation. Brother of No. 33	"Tump line" deformation. Upper incisors bad	Outbreak like poison ivy on nose

THE YEAR BEARER'S PEOPLE

No.	35	36	37
Age	35	18 (?)	20
Com.	.....	.....	.....
A	162.0	147.1	159.1
B	83.7	77.4	85.9
C	163.7	155.0	162.2
D	80.2	74.3	86.0
E	17.75	19.15	18.75
F	14.20	14.35	15.30
C. I.	80.00	74.93	81.60
G	12.10	12.20	11.75
H	6.72	6.59	6.40
I	13.35	13.75	14.35
J	12.60	13.10	13.80
F. I.	96.03	93.13	85.14
K	5.49	5.59	5.06
L	3.72	3.52	3.59
N. I.	67.75	62.96	70.94

1	Straight	Wavy	Straight
2	Black	Dark brown	Black
3	Coarse	Medium	Coarse
4	Medium	None	None
5	Slight	None	None
6	None	None	None
7	Brown	Dark brown	Dark brown
8	Slight outside	Slight outside	None
9	High, convex	Med., convex	Med., convex
10	Straight	Arched	Arched
11	Orthog.	Orthog.	Orthog.
12	Slight	None	Medium
13	Fine	Fine	Fine
14	None	None	None
15	Dark	Light	Dark
16	Badly worn	Large, irreg.	Irreg.
17	Dk., ruddy, freckled	Light, sickly	Dark, ruddy
18	Medium	Slight	Medium
19	Attached ear-lobes. Upper left bicuspid missing	Pigmentation, irreg. on face. Upper right canine growing over bicuspid. Both fourth toes size of little toes and grow partly over them. Cousin of No. 30.	.....

INDIANS OF CONCEPCIÓN

Subject No.		38	39	40
	Age	28	25	35
	Comment	-----	-----	-----
A	Height Standing (cm.)	153.4	154.4	156.4
B	Height Sitting	85.3	81.9	85.4
C	Fathom	157.4	158.6	162.3
D	Chest	-----	-----	-----
E	Head Length	17.1	18.35	18.50
F	Head Breadth	14.45	14.70	14.05
	<i>Cephalic Index</i>	84.50	80.10	75.94
G	Nasion-Menton	10.80	12.30	12.20
H	Nasion-Alvea	6.60	7.31	6.99
I	Malar Diameter	13.60	13.40	12.75
J	Bi-Zygomatic Diameter	12.85	12.95	12.15
	<i>Facial Index</i>	84.05	94.98	100.41
K	Nose Length	5.60	5.71	5.44
L	Nose Width	3.98	3.72	3.48
	<i>Nasal Index</i>	71.07	65.14	63.97
HAIR—				
1	Form	Wavy	Straight	straight
2	Color	Black	Black	Black
3	Texture	Coarse	Coarse	Coarse
DISTRIBUTION—				
4	Face	Slight	None	Medium
5	Body	None	-----	-----
6	Grayness	None	None	None
EYES—				
7	Color	Brown	Dark brown	Dark brown
8	Fold	Central	Outside and cent.	Central
NOSE—				
9	Bridge	Med., very convex	Low, straight	Medium, straight
10	Cartilage	Arched, depressed tip	Arched, depressed tip	Arched
11	FACE	Orthog.	Orthog.	Orthog.
12	BROW RIDGE	Medium	Medium	Slight
LIPS—				
13	Form	Fine	Medium	Medium
14	Seam	None	None	Slight
15	Color	Medium	Dark	Dark
16	TEETH	Even, flat front	Large, irreg., slt. over-bite	Large, crowded
17	SKIN COLOR	Med., red cheeks	Dark	Dark
18	MUSCULATURE	Medium	Medium	Medium
19	MISCELLANEOUS	Pronounced canines	Brows meet, at- tached ear lobes.	Brows meet heavily

THE YEAR BEARER'S PEOPLE

No.	41	42	43	44
Age	26	46	35	25
Com.	.....	.....	.....	.....
A	151.0	159.3	159.1	155.4
B	79.4	86.0	81.4	85.2
C	157.5	168.7	168.6	164.4
D	.....	.....	.....	.....
E	18.80*	18.05	17.30	19.20
F	14.15*	14.25	14.15	14.15
C. I.	75.26	78.94	81.79	73.69
G	11.62	12.30	12.73	12.94
H	6.29	6.73	6.36	7.08
I	13.25	13.80	13.85	12.25
J	13.30	13.20	12.50	12.05
F. I.	87.37	93.18	101.84	107.39
K	5.06	5.95	5.80	5.82
L	3.97	4.07	4.00	3.95
N. I.	78.45	68.40	68.96	67.86
1	Straight	Straight	Straight	Curly
2	Black	Black	Black	Black
3	Medium	Coarse	Coarse	Coarse
4	Slight	Medium	Slight	Slight
5	.....	Hairy legs	Slight	.....
6	None	None	None	None
7	Dark brown	Brown, spotted whites	Dark brown	Dark brown
8	Central and Mong.	None	Slt. Mong.	None
9	Low, concave	Med., convex	Low, convex	High, convex
10	Coarse	Coarse, thick	Straight	Arched
11	Orthog.	Slt. Prog.	Orthog.	Orthog.
12	Slight	Slight	Heavy	None
13	Medium	Medium	Coarse	Coarse
14	Medium	Slight	Slight	Med.
15	Dark	Dark	Medium	Dark
16	Small, even, flat front	Even, good	Irreg., strong	Irreg., Med. over-bite
17	Dark	Dark	Dark	Dark
18	Medium	Heavy	Heavy	Medium
19	"Tump line" deformation. Brows meet	Teeth meet perfectly, worn down evenly like horse. Alcalde.	.....	Slightly cross-eyed

*Very heavy hair.

No.	45	46	47	48
Age	50	20	25	21
Com.	.....	.....	.....	.....
A	156.2	153.6	149.6	171.9
B	83.2	83.8	80.8	86.8
C	159.8	163.5	161.0	177.7
D	.....	.....	.....	.....
E	18.15	17.35	18.30	18.45
F	14.45	14.20	14.00	14.80
C. I.	79.61	81.84	76.50	80.21
G	12.43	11.38	11.71	11.78
H	6.81	6.31	6.40	6.20
I	13.15	13.75	13.20	13.90
J	13.15	12.30	12.45	13.00
F. I.	94.52	92.52	94.06	90.62
K	5.73	4.87	5.12	5.20
L	4.18	3.76	3.50	3.48
N. I.	72.94	77.20	68.35	66.92
1	Straight	Straight	Wavy	Straight
2	Black	Black	Black	Black
3	Coarse	Medium	Coarse	Medium
4	Medium	Slight	Slight	None
5	.....	None	Slight	None, legs hairy
6	None	None	Slight	None
7	Dk. brown spotted whites	Dk. brown, spotted whites	Brown, spotted whites	Dk. brown, spotted whites
8	Slt. Mong., left eye	Slt. central	None	None
9	Low, convex	Low, with a bump	Med., convex	Straight, low
10	Broad	Arched, depressed tip	Straight	Turned up
11	Prog.	Orthog.	Prog.	Orthog.
12	Slight	None	Slight	Slight
13	Coarse	Medium	Medium	Medium
14	None	None	None	Slight
15	Dark	Dark	Dark	Dark
16	Even, strong	Even	Irreg., slight over-bite	Strong, irreg., slt. over-bite
17	Dark	Dark, ruddy	Dark	Dark, ruddy
18	Arms medium, legs heavy	Slight	Arms slight, legs medium	Arms slight, legs heavy
19	Hair worn thin over top of head from "tump line" with slight depression	Fever blisters on both sides of upper lip

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