CHAN KOM

A Maya Village
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BY
ROBERT REDFIELD
AND
ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

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A first acquaintance with the peninsula of Yucatan indicates the presence of one underlying folk culture common to all the communities of the region, from the most isolated village of what was formerly the Territory of Quintana Roo to the capital city of Merida. The local differences in Yucatan that do strike the attention are those apparently due to the different degrees to which various communities have been exposed to what we often speak of as “civilization”—schools, roads and economic exploitation. The towns and villages are in varying stages of a process of transition as a result of these influences.

When, therefore, in 1930, Carnegie Institution of Washington made provision for ethnological and sociological investigation in Yucatan, these facts guided the formation of a plan of research involving, first, the study of a community in which the folk culture is fairly complete and, second, the study of other communities where that culture is in disorganization or conversion into something else. After the first part of this plan had been well advanced, a beginning was made with the second part. Now, at the time when these words are written, some work, at least, has been carried on by the authors and their associates in Merida, in the railroad town of Dzitas and in certain villages in Quintana Roo. Although the present volume is presented as a simple ethnographic description, the work has been done with a view to a future comparative study of these different communities.

This book is an account of the basic folk culture as it manifests itself in one particular village in eastern Yucatan. Though that village is composed of persons of Maya blood and speech, and in this sense justifies the sub-title of this report, their culture can not be called, strictly speaking, Indian, any more than it can be called Spanish. Many of the customs described in these pages could be as well or better reported from towns on the railroad or even from neighborhoods in the city. In Yucatan, culture elements of European derivation have penetrated to the uttermost forest hinterland, while Indian practices and ceremonies are carried on by people who dwell in the capital. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, the culture of the village is notably different from that of the city. It is the folk culture and the village community that concern us, while it is the differences from the town and the city that constitute the larger problem to which this first report is a contribution. For the larger problem as so defined, the distinction between culture elements of Indian origin and those of Spanish origin is not important, and the matter is not discussed in these pages before Appendix E.

The reader should know something of the immediate circumstances under which the work was done, and of the workers who did it. Alfonso Villa was born and brought up in Merida. In 1927 he left the third year of the preparatory school of that city to take charge of the Chan Kom school. The University of Chicago gave me leave of absence to permit me to go to Yucatan and undertake the investigation for Carnegie Institution of Washington. In the winter of 1930, I made Villa’s acquaintance, and paid a short visit to Chan Kom. Villa then began the journal which appears as Appendix A. I spent the first five months of 1931 in
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PREFACE

Yucatan; half of my time was devoted to the study of Chan Kom. During this period, and for several months thereafter, Villa also devoted time remaining to him after the discharge of his duties as teacher to the study of the community. He remained in Chan Kom, with occasional short periods of absence, until December 1931. In February 1933, I spent three weeks with Eustaquio Ceme of Chan Kom, going over a provisional draft of this manuscript and checking and revising it. Villa spent some days in May at the same task. The writing of the ethnological text was done by me, but Villa has read it all with care, has suggested many small changes, and has given it his approval. I will add that while I speak Spanish, my knowledge of Maya is confined to a vocabulary, simple conversational phrases, and a reading knowledge with the aid of a dictionary. Villa has obtained a good conversational ability in the language.

The support and sympathy and sound advice of Dr. A. V. Kidder, Chairman of the Division of Historical Research of Carnegie Institution, has carried the authors along through their work. At Chichen Itza, Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley and his staff gave much practical help. Miss Katheryn MacKay, during the period when she was Staff Nurse at Carnegie Headquarters at Chichen, was of great assistance. Indeed, she brought about the collaboration between Villa and me. It was her work in the free clinic that gained us the goodwill of the Indians of the villages near Chichen. Miss MacKay has generously allowed us to publish materials she collected on birth customs. Mr. Ralph L. Roys gave many hours of his time and lent his ability to the translation of the Maya prayers and to a general checking of the text. Dr. Manuel Andrade and Mr. Alfredo Barrera Vasquez also gave invaluable advice with regard to Maya passages. We have included data on physical type furnished by Dr. Morris Steggerda, who spent pleasant days with the authors in Chan Kom; and we have summarized medical data secured in the village by Dr. George C. Shattuck and his associates. Father T. L. Riggs assisted in the identification of elements of Catholic ritual and liturgy; we are very grateful to him. My wife, Margaret Park Redfield, has participated in the planning of the work and in the preparation of the report; she has been my associate in the comparative study of Dzitas, begun in 1933. Mrs. Florence Ziegler Ljunggren during the field season of 1931 gave very efficient assistance, drawing maps and preparing tables. Dr. Alfred M. Tozzer, Dr. Kidder and Mrs. Josephine Hallinan have read all or part of the manuscript, and have made useful suggestions. Of the many men and women in Chan Kom who gave generously of their time and knowledge and patience, Sr. Don Eustaquio Ceme is to be specially mentioned. Our debt to him is very great. We particularly acknowledge the permission he has given us to publish the autobiographic document that appears in Chapter XIII. Dr. Steggerda, Miss MacKay and Mr. Fernando Barbachano gave permission to publish photographs.

In the spelling of Maya words, there is here followed an orthography much used in Yucatan, in which the glottalized consonants corresponding, respectively, to t, p, c, tz and ch are written th, pp, k, dz and ch. Spanish words are printed in italics and Maya words in Roman characters.

University of Chicago
July 1934

ROBERT REDFIELD
Sunday, February 16, 1930

Cloudy and rainy. No one went to the milpa. Some went to Chichen Itza to get medicine on account of the epidemic of grippe which is going through the pueblo. Anacleto Dzul went to Ticimul to hunt for two of his cows which were feeding on milpas outside of that rancheria. He came back in the evening without finding them.

At midday ten or twelve men met together in the cuartel and decided to go hunting. They came back without anything. In the evening there was a meeting in the cuartel. A circular arrived from the Liga Central in which there was proposed a slate for the Direct­toral Board of the Liga for the year 1930. As the people at the meeting did not know any of the persons who made up the proposed slate, they approved it without discussion.

It was also decided to ask the Government for four pairs of doors for the cuartel they are building, and three boxes of dynamite to blast the rocky hummocks in the plaza. They decided to organize an orchestra of persons drawn from the pueblo, asking the Government to furnish the instruments.

After the meeting Don Nas invited me to take a glass of milk at his house. This is rather rare because although the Indians have plenty of milch cows, they never utilize the milk. The invitation was not realized because before I got there a dog drank the milk. There are so many dogs in this pueblo that it is very difficult to keep food. Don Nas felt very badly and offered to fulfill the invitation tomorrow without fail. We shall see. It is nine o'clock at night. Everybody is asleep. It is cold.

Monday, February 17

Good weather. Almost everyone went to his milpa. It is the time of harvest. In the evening some returned carrying loads of corn on their backs. These are the ones who have their milpas near by. The others do not return except at intervals of a week or two, since their milpas are at Sahcabchen, a place situated 28 kilometers to the south of this pueblo.

Don Fano was painting the front of his house. Don Anal was helping the mason, Don Nas, who is building his house. They are putting the beams on the roof. No arrieros. All quiet.

A woman from Xanla came to sell arepas. No one wanted to buy them because they are too small.

Don Nas fulfilled his invitation; I took supper in his house and had cow's milk. All the Indians were surprised that I took it with such ease because it is very repugnant to them. It is half past eight in the evening. Somebody is playing a mouth organ. Weather fine.

Tuesday, February 18

Good weather. Those who have milpas near by went off in the morning and returned in the evening with loads of corn on their backs. The other people are not here because

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1 For some time there has been a desire to organize an orchestra in this village. Taking advantage of a promise to furnish musical instruments to all pueblo which wanted them, a promise made by Bartolomé García when he was campaigning for governor, we decided to ask him for the instruments.
2 Don Nas has lived in the city.
3 Persons transporting loads by mule.
4 Small cakes of flour, made with lard, egg, anise and cinnamon.
their milpas are 7 or 8 leagues away. They are staying in the little huts in which they live in the solitude of the wood for intervals of three or four weeks.

When the fathers are away in distant milpas, the children remain at home in order to go to the school, since in rural education the Government takes especial care, imposing fines or other punishments on parents who disregard the compulsory education law; that is to say, on those who, having illiterate children of 14 years of age or less, keep them out of the school.

A quiet day with nothing to break the daily monotony. At this moment, 9.30 p.m., four or five couples are dancing modern dances to a phonograph in a nearby house.

Wednesday, February 19

Good weather. The harvest or pizca, as they call it here commonly, continues. Some are clearing the hub-che.1 Today several men worked on the house of Don Anal. Although they have worked all day, they have received no remuneration whatever, since here it is the custom for people to help each other in the building of houses.2

Arrieros from Valladolid passed through in order to get maize in X-Kopteil.

The dance of last night is being repeated tonight with the same couples. Weather pleasant.

Thursday, February 20


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Sunday, February 23

Today, Don Anal killed a bull. As it is very unusual to eat beef here, this event attracted many people from neighboring rancheras and pueblos. By advice of the h-men,3 a little bit of the blood and intestines were kept for making the loh ceremony in case some misfortune should fall upon the cattle of this place. No one did any work; the killing of the bull drew the attention of everybody.

Monday, February 24

Everybody returned to his milpa, and if it were not for the water carriers who from time to time go down to the cenote, it would seem as if the pueblo were deserted.

Evening. As is the custom, the bells of the oratorio4 are ringing the angelus and people are interrupting their labors to say good night to one another.

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Sunday, March 9

They are making the foundations for the Tamay house. They say it will have two stories. At the present time the greatest desire of the people around here is to have a masonry house.5

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1 Land where in former years there once were milpas. The bush there is small and easy to cut.
2 This was a case of work exchange.
3 The shaman-priest (Balbino Ek).
4 The loh (exorcism) is the ceremony carried on in places stricken with sickness, with the object of driving away or propitiating the evil winds (p. 137). The blood and intestines are to be buried in the cenote.
5 The little hut that serves as a church.
6 This is not common in other villages, for in general the Maya does not take much trouble with his home, living in miserable little huts without ever improving them.
At midday the few men who are still here went out hunting, the only amusement they have during such days as today when they have little interest in working. They killed a deer.

Monday, March 10

Several merchants arrived, coming to buy pigs and maize. It is probable that in the near future this class of persons will become rich, since maize is beginning to rise in price and in a few months will be scarce, because this year will be a year of drought, according to the forecast given by the "xoc-kin" or "count of weather." Nothing unusual. Very hot.

Tuesday, March 11

Nobody wants to sell his maize because they have a hope that in June a carga will reach a value of six pesos instead of the two pesos it is worth today. The merchants who arrived yesterday went away. They secured only pigs and chickens.

Wednesday, March 12

Everybody, even to Don Eus, who is the most socialista of the pueblo and who on this account has not time to devote himself to work, went with his wife to gather the harvest in the milpas. Beyond this detail, interesting for those around here, there was not anything worth putting down. Hot weather.

Thursday, March 13

The brothers Tamay continued making their house. On the other hand, Don Nas, the mason, is no longer working with the same faithfulness he once had on account of the enthusiasm which he has for some time felt for music, an enthusiasm which causes him to stop work from time to time in order to play the phonograph he bought a few days ago. As it has only two records, his neighbors are pretty tired of his melomania.

Friday, March 14

Nothing new to report.

Saturday, March 15

Today some men returned from their milpas. The pueblo was not as melancholy as usual. In the evening in the Tamay house they danced the foxtrot and the danzon to the victrola.

Sunday, March 16

I and two others who constitute the guard in the cuartel are the only men who remain in the pueblo; all the others are harvesting in the milpas. The burro who announces the hours with his cacophonous braying and the cocks with their strident song are the only things that from time to time break the cloistral silence of the hamlet. Hot weather.

Monday, March 17

Like yesterday, absolutely tranquil. The burro and the cocks.

1 See p. 130.
Tuesday, March 18

A happy peace reigns hereabouts without hatred and without rancor, as if humanity through some unexpected miracle had suddenly turned good, thinking only of work. The women, in the shade of friendly trees, wash or wring out clothes, humming jarana that they have heard in some vaquería; the little boys give water to the thirsty cattle that stand blandly near the cenote, or cut wood in the neighboring bush; while the men in the distant milpas care for the land which, punished often by the burning heat of the sun, grants no more than that which is indispensable for the elemental needs.

Wednesday, March 19

In the nearby pueblo of X-Kopteil there was last night a jarana in honor of St. Joseph, the patron of that place, whose saint's day it is today. It was attended by a few people from the neighborhood. It consisted merely of a rosario for San José; at its conclusion atole without salt was distributed. Then began at the doors of the chapel a jarana which lasted until dawn. Many rockets, much shouting, and much drunkenness—such was the fiesta of X-Kopteil.

Thursday, March 20

One of the musicians who arrived today from X-Kopteil told me that during the night they killed a steer and consumed the meat in short order because they sold it at fifty centavos a kilo in place of seventy-five, which it had been worth before. Besides the meat they used up last night forty litres of anis. It is fair to say that this consumption of alcohol is not frequent—except when the men have money.¹

Friday, March 21

Whooping-cough has reached epidemic proportions among the children of this village. Instead of being in despair because of the coming of this sickness, the mothers of Chan Kom give it little importance, saying, "Soon it will pass."

Saturday, March 22

There arrived the school inspector accompanied by three teachers. Immediately after conducting examinations on the first third of the year's work, he went on his way to the pueblo of Kaua.

At midday, toward the south there arose a dense cloud of smoke which soon obscured the light of the sun; it was a milpa burning. Now begins the time of burning of fields, when insufferable heat makes this region a veritable oven.

Sunday, March 23

Late last night some families arrived from the milpas. At dawn this morning Eleuterio Pat killed a hog, the meat of which was sold within a few hours.

Just at this time when the workers in the fields were getting ready for the "burning," taking advantage of the burning heat of the sun that has recently prevailed, there fell this evening a downpour which, up to the present moment, has not yet ceased. This rain was not expected, as all day the sky was clear and the atmosphere fresh. Pleasant weather; the voices of frogs.

¹ This is one of the respects in which Chan Kom differs most markedly from the rest of the state, since by general agreement of the inhabitants the sale of any sort of intoxicating liquor is not permitted.
Monday, March 24

Very early this morning the families that came last night returned to their milpas. Dr. Shattuck arrived. Of the twenty-eight pupils of both sexes whom he examined, he found thirteen with symptoms suggesting trachoma. In the evening Don Eus and his brothers-in-law arrived from Uaymilchen. It rained all night.

Tuesday, March 25

The day dawned cloudy and with strong winds. At midday the sky cleared and the night was beautiful.

In Cuncunul there was a meeting of comisarios at which an official commissioned by the Government instructed those attending as to the work which they are to carry on in the next general census to be made in all the republic on the 15th of May.

Wednesday, March 26

Cool in the morning. Clear sky.

In the evening I was called upon to baptize a little girl two years old who was suffering from whooping-cough. In the house a number of women gathered. The mother, with her child in her arms, was the only person to show deep affliction. As I was about to baptize the little one, surrounded by all those who had come, a swallow, one of the many which live in the cenote, came into the house; this was enough to change sorrowful faces to smiles, as everybody immediately tried to catch the swallow with cloths or brooms, producing a great commotion, until the mother raises her voice, asking that her affair be carried to its conclusion.

With the flight of the bird through one of the doors, the clamor ended and the faces again assumed an expression of sadness corresponding to the occasion.

This evening the women are making paper flowers and the men are playing cards. The father of the sick child is toasting enough squash seed to satisfy the appetites of those present. He has also bought coffee and bread. So far as I can see, the child is not in a serious condition. However, the h-men says that it is going to die; the mother with indifferent resignation is waiting the end, the fatal climax; she does nothing to cure the child or to alleviate the sickness, and if it dies, it will be through neglect and not because it had to. It is ten o'clock at night and the little invalid apparently has not the least desire to die; but its least movement is enough to cause the women to surround it, expecting each time the end. The father has finished making the coffin.

Thursday, March 27

The child is about the same. The mother holds it in her arms and does not put it down for any reason. This evening again the neighbors gathered in the house. I believe that they enjoy these vigils during which they tell one another of the adventures of Juan Thul, meanwhile eating zicil-top. Also they consume bread and coffee. Because of the vitality of the sick child, they will probably pass many nights like this before comes the final vigil, with four wax candles illuminating the body of an innocent victim of ignorance.

Don Eus returned to his milpa. Before going away, he burned two candles to the Santa Cruz, to assure a good harvest.

1 Author of the medical report referred to on p. 15.
2 A milpa (place where land has been cleared for maize) about a league west of Chan Kom.
3 To cover the coffin of the child expected to die.
4 John Rabbit, the protagonist of many of the tales.
5 Toasted squash seed.
Friday, March 28

Many men returned from the milpas today; among others Don Nas; therefore it is probable that tomorrow evening there will be a dance, since he is the only one who bothers about organizing dances. The sick child is unchanged. Suffocating heat.

Sunday, April 13 Merida

A moment ago (it is seven o'clock in the evening) there arrived from Chan Kom a group of Indians composed of Don Nas, his son Roberto, Edilberto Ceme, his wife, and Martiniano Tamay. Because I have not any place here in my house to put them up, I have brought them over to the Hotel Colonial where I installed them in a room with three beds.

When a little later I returned to see if they were comfortable, I found them all sleeping on the floor; I wakened them, pointed out that they would be more comfortable in the beds. But I was not able to convince them, and they continued to sleep on the floor. Tomorrow they will have many surprises: for the first time they will see airplanes, ships and the sea, of which they have no idea since, excepting Don Nas, they have never been to Merida or Progreso.

Monday, April 14

It is eight o'clock in the morning. I went to look for my friends in the hotel, and together we all went to the Local Agrarian Commission in order to deliver a communication signed by all the inhabitants of Chan Kom in which they ask that part of the national lands which is known as Sahcabchen, on the grounds that the lands making up their present ejidos are for the most part sterile and rocky. Having delivered this communication to the President of the Commission, we were informed that they could not at the present time dispose of these lands because they are to be awarded as ejido to the inhabitants of X-Kalakdzonot; but that in place of this tract they would be able to award another piece of land so as to increase the ejidos of Chan Kom.

From there we went over to the offices of the Liga Central in order to ask for musical instruments, since the majority of the inhabitants of Chan Kom want to form an orchestra. They told us that audiences with the Governor are at the present time suspended because he is away. So we were prevented from obtaining our wish. Going out from this building we saw flying above us two airplanes. Contrary to what I had supposed, the appearance of these machines caused not the slightest impression on my companions who looked at them for a moment and continued their way discussing if it were possible that they went along with men inside of them. In the afternoon we went by autobus to Progreso, where they were no more surprised to see the sea and the ships upon it, although they had known nothing of their existence. The ceaseless motion of the water appeared to fascinate them. They remained seated on the shore for over two hours thinking who knows of what. On getting up to return to Merida, Roberto asked me, “Maestro, how do the people live here if there is not any place where they can make a milpa?” In the evening we went to a talkie but in a few moments we left because my companions were bored. Tomorrow we return to Chan Kom.

Sunday, April 20

Last night there was a jarana in honor of the Holy Cross at the ranchería Santa María. The musicians of Cuncunul enlivened the fiesta. Many dancers came.1

1 It is worth noting that in this fiesta, which is entirely indigenous, the modern dances—footrot, danza and so forth—alternated with the jarana and the marin. This is in contrast with what happened in the pueblo of Tinum where the director of the school was sent away because he introduced a different kind of dance besides those customary in the region.
Today the *jarana* was repeated. The men, in order to drive sleep away put *anis* in their eyes. If they drink it, it is in small quantities, probably because of its high price. Now at three o'clock in the afternoon, the fiesta ends with the dance of the *torito*. The bread which has been placed next to the cross is divided among those who want to organize the fiesta for next year; each one who receives a piece of bread will contribute a hog, a turkey and three hens next year, since it is the custom in these fiestas to prepare food enough to offer to all who come.

As it has already been demonstrated that the Holy Cross always gives aid to those who make the fiesta, everybody tries to obtain a piece of bread from the altar. Many times it happens that in order to reach a higher position under theegis of the Holy Cross an individual by himself offers a separate fiesta, spending on it the savings of a year. Only yesterday in Piste one Timoteo expended for one of these fiestas over 100 pesos, a sum which is at present equivalent to a hundred *cargas* of corn, or the normal produce of a milpa throughout a year.

This evening there is another *jarana* in the *rancharía* Bojon, one league from here. From time to time one hears the explosion of the rockets.

*Monday, April 21*

Last night everybody came to the *comisaría* to make known the data required of this pueblo by the general census.

While I was away, the little child of whom I reported died. Because it was in the house of its parents that the modern dances were held, certain recalcitrant old women who object to any change in customs, have taken advantage of the occasion to say that God is punishing them for dancing in a modern manner, and that all those who continue to dance so will go to hell. There died also the two little girls, Alberta Canche and Asunción Hu, of four and five years of age, respectively. All three died of whooping-cough and lack of care.

It is seven in the evening. All are sleeping. Lightning in the distance.

*Tuesday, April 22*

It is probable that this year the harvest will be poor, because, contrary to the calculation which was made according to the *xoc kin*, rains fell before their proper time when people were just beginning to burn their fields, and now it is impossible to do this because the bush is getting green again. In spite of this, the people here are indifferent because they have enough corn to last this year. It is curious to observe that in this pueblo the only one who burned his fields in time was Balbino Ek, the h-men, perhaps because he was not any too sure that his own prognostications assured a long period of drought.

As now there is not anything to do in the milpas, everybody is at work upon his home constructing walls, making little gardens. It is apparent each one tries to outdo the others. They are dynamiting the hummocks in the plaza in order to use the stones in the construction of houses.

It is nine o'clock. For three hours it has rained hard. Thunder and frequent lightning. It would seem the chaacs are celebrating a fiesta.

*Wednesday, April 23*

Now passes the epidemic of whooping-cough which fell upon this village last month. As I said before, there were only three victims. Today no one is sick of the disease. In

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1. *Rum flavored with anise.
2. The *torito* is a folk dance with which the *jarana* is always concluded. It differs from the other dances, not only in the more rapid rhythm, but in the fact that it represents a corrida in which the woman acts as the bull and the man as the bullfighter; every time she makes as if to attack him with the shoulder or the hip, the audience breaks into applause and loud shouts, carried away with enthusiasm on account of the agility of the dancers. See p. 114.
contrast, in all the rest of the state, in Merida above all, the ravages of measles are so severe that even the students of medicine have had to go out to the little villages to combat the disease.

Maximo and Anita are happy because after six years of married life, they have just had their first daughter. She is called Felipa.

Cloudy and warm.

Thursday, April 24

Summoned by the Inspector Forestal, those who had been cultivating fields in national lands went to Valladolid. I think they will have to pay one peso for each twenty-five mecales of land, the amount charged for cultivating national lands.

This afternoon it was decided by all the inhabitants of this village that the men would take turns working in groups of ten for ten days each, without charge, on the construction of the cuartel in order to finish it as soon as possible.

Friday, April 25


Saturday, April 26

Don Fano killed a hog and sold the meat at fifty centavos a kilo. In the evening there was a meeting in the comisaria in order to elect a representative of the pueblo for the Worker's Congress which is to take place in Merida and to which every pueblo is to send one or more representatives, according to its size. Rosendo Ceme was elected. Everybody contributed twenty centavos to defray his expenses.

Later, when everybody was asleep, Don Fano and his wife, wishing to marry off their son Adolfo, who has reached the age of puberty, set out for the house of Don Fano's nephew, Don Eus, to ask for the hand of his daughter, one Demetria. They were accompanied by Don Guillermo, the casamentero1 of the village. As is customary the father of the girl said that he would make up his mind in three weeks, meanwhile talking it over with his wife. Afterward they all had chocolate and some drinks of anis which the callers had brought. The girl knew nothing of this. She was sound asleep. Sun and heat.

Sunday, April 27

Although the petition for the girl was made last night with the greatest secrecy, today people are talking of nothing else, especially the women. The men went off hunting all day without getting anything. Sun and heat.

Monday, April 28

Today died—I do not know of what cause—the son of Maximo Noh, the principal organizer, or nakul, of the fiesta of the Santa Cruz which was held last week in Santa Maria. Thus it appears that the Holy Cross is not always kindly disposed toward its faithful.

Some men of Chan Kom are away in their milpas. They went to make granaries in which to store the harvest which is completed. Don Bus and his wife went to the fiesta of Yaxcaba.2 Sun and heat.

1 The intermediator and negotiator in marriage arrangements. See p. 73.
2 Tiburcio Coyi and his wife, Teresa Moo, are both from Yaxcaba.
**Tuesday, April 29**

A number of families went off to enjoy the fiesta of X-Kalakdzonot which begins tomorrow evening. There are also jaranas this evening and tomorrow during the day at San Antonio, a ranchería near this village.

Because many people in Chan Kom have been cultivating lands outside of the ejido, that is to say lands which belong to the nation, they have been summoned to Valladolid to pay the rental for these lands. As for some time the Government has not demanded this payment, this comes as a surprise to these people, who attribute it to divine punishment because they have not been burning enough candles to the Holy Cross. I think it is on this account that the oratorio is more brightly illuminated than usual.

Don Tino and Don Fano have taken the honey from their beehives.

**Wednesday, April 30**

People are taking the honey from their beehives. More families left for X-Kalakdzonot. All the fiestas which are being celebrated at the present time in this region are in honor of the Holy Cross, the anniversary of which falls on the third of May. But the fiestas begin one month before and end one month after that day because there are only two groups of musicians, that have to go from village to village enlivening the festivities. It is astonishing, the physical endurance of these musicians who, during a month and a half of fiestas, have no more than a very few nights of rest.

It is twelve o'clock noon. I am about to leave for X-Kalakdzonot. I shall arrive at 4 o'clock, since the town is situated 22 kilometers away.

**Thursday, May 1**

The pueblo remains quiet. Everybody has gone to the fiestas. The place appears uninhabited. Sun and heat.

**Friday, May 2**

Don Bus and his wife returned from Yaxcaba. I came back from X-Kalakdzonot, together with a large part of the people of Chan Kom.

Rosendo Ceme, named to represent this village in the Workers' Congress, came back because the President Municipal of Valladolid informed him that the representatives of the various pueblos of these departments would leave from there.

Cloudy with light rain in the evening. Heat.

**May 3, 1930 “The Day of the Holy Cross”**

Today was the great feast day of the Maya. Nobody did any work. The men, fixed up very clean, with long pantalones, shirts of crepe, and red handkerchiefs around their necks, went in groups into those houses in which prayers were being offered, in order to participate in the feasting which concludes these festivities, as soon as the Holy Cross has taken the gracia from the food that has been offered. Those who did not have food to offer brought rockets which they fired off from time to time as a sign of rejoicing.

In the evening there was a novena in the oratorio; at its conclusion the aito offered by the devout was divided among those present.

Isidro offered to his compadre the tzicil, the meal which is made as a ritual of gratitude, according to ancient customs.  

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1. On ordinary days men are dressed in short white trousers (cul-secs) and apron.
2. The subtle and inscrutable principle which the devils and spirits take and enjoy. See p. 1368.
Sunday, May 1

Many people who came here on Friday in order to pass yesterday today returned to their milpas. Some who remained behind are still bringing in their harvests but the greater part are clearing their lands of the new herbage which has appeared upon them because of the unpredicted rains; this they do to make it possible to burn them. Martiniano and Porfirio, the Tamay brothers, went to Valladolid to buy a cow. Don Anal went to Chichen to get medicine for himself, his wife and his children, who are all sick with influenza. Sun and heat.

Monday, May 5

Don Nas, his wife, and some other people, went off to Sahcabchen. The ten-year-old son of the mason who has been working on the house of Don Elut fell from a scaffold, opening a great wound in his forehead. As is the practice in such cases, they stopped the hemorrhage by filling the wound with yaabac na, as they call here the cobwebs which hang in the interiors of the huts, begrimed by time and smoke. Not long ago I saw a similar case in which the wound had healed despite the crudeness of the remedy.

Tuesday, May 6

The Tamay brothers came back. They brought a cow and a donkey. Work on the cuartel has been suspended, because of the absence of Don Nas, the principal mason. Asuncion and Don Guillermo burned their milpas which lie near the village. It is nine o'clock at night. From time to time these remote silences are broken by the discharge of rockets. Probably novenas are going on in neighboring rancherias.

Wednesday, May 7

I brought a complaint before the comisario against his nephew, because he caught him, flagrant delicto, in illicit relations with his wife. The trial was brief. The nephew, the wife, and the husband made the following statements to the comisario:

Nephew: That in the evening he went to talk for a little while with his aunt, and having no other place to sit, he sat down with her in the hammock, being there when his uncle came in. That was all.

The Wife: That some time ago her nephew came to her, making dishonorable propositions, and that on this evening, as he knew that her husband was not coming home to sleep till the next day, she shut the doors well, but, without her knowing how he did it, her nephew succeeded in getting in, and while she was talking to him in her hammock; her husband came in. That was all.

The Husband: That suspecting that his wife was having illicit relations with his nephew Antonio, he told her, so as to spy on her, that he was going to his milpa and that he would not come back until the next day. That when everybody was asleep, he saw his nephew go in with perfect ease, and that then he came running and surprised them breaking the sixth commandment of the Lord, which says, “Thou shalt not commit adultery.” That was all.

The comisario immediately found the accused man guilty, and condemned him to build ten meters of wall on the eastern side of the comisaria. The husband punished his wife with a thorough caning, after she had sworn never to do it again. No one questioned the judgment of the comisario, or made any malicious comment.

The Tamay brothers burned their milpas. They are very delighted, and tell how their little tract, in spite of being green, burned perfectly, so great is the heat of the sun!

Those whose turn it is to serve in the comisaria have been bringing sascab for the time when they will renew work on the cuartel. It is eight in the evening with a bright moon. In the little hillocks on the plaza someone is playing a mouth organ.
Thursday, May 8

Nothing unusual, everything quiet. Sun and heat.

Friday, May 9

There remain only two cases of whooping-cough. Nevertheless, some fearful mothers hang four gourd dishes of zaca in chuyub, seeing to it that the dogs keep away. They do this because they believe that during the night there wander through the village three little beings whom they call yumiloob x-tuhub or Lords of the Whooping-Cough, and who punish with this sickness children in houses where zaca is not offered, or where, being offered, it is eaten by the dogs. They regard these beings as of different color and size; the largest is white, the middle one yellow, and the smallest one, who is most feared, is black. If the sickness has been caused by the white one the child will soon get well; if caused by the yellow one, the disease is dangerous; and if by the black one there is no remedy for the unfortunate person who will surely die.

In order to know which of the three is the cause of the sickness the h-men is asked to look into his zaztun. However, more often than not, it is the mothers, guided by instinct and by the symptoms, more or less severe, of the sickness, who find out which one caused the disease, and when they believe it is the black one, the sick child is in every probability of dying because of the little care which they give it.

Of the four gourd dishes that are offered, one belongs to the Virgin Mary, who also is accustomed to pass this way.

Rosendo Ceme and Emiliano Tamay, in their positions as comisario and as president of the Liga, went to Valladolid where there was a general assembly of all village representatives, in which was made known to those present the advantages that were obtained at the Workers' Congress.

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Sunday, May 11

Don Fano and Don Eus came back from Sahcabchen with their families. Don Fano harvested seven cargas of beans; Don Eus only two.

In the evening there was a meeting in the comisaria; the men who own cattle came in order to discuss the question of forming a cooperative to raise cattle and poultry. It was decided not to continue raising hogs, because they are “bad business.” They sent a communication to the National Agrarian Commission asking for information as to the formation of cooperatives. The Presidente Municipal of Valladolid sent a notice saying that everybody should come to the city next Saturday on the occasion of the arrival of the Governor. Sun and heat.

Monday, May 12

Nothing unusual. The few men who are still here are occupied with the improvement of their houses, making walls, fowl pens or little gardens. In the evening there was a novena in the house of Don Polin. As is customary, at the conclusion atole was served to all present. The novena was celebrated in honor of the Holy Cross so as to win its mercy and aid in the coming harvest.

Tuesday, May 13

A notice reached me from the School Inspector, directing me to take charge of the group of people going to Valladolid next Saturday. Nothing unusual in the village. Sun and heat.
Wednesday, May 14

Two men arrived to buy hogs; they bought a few. The comisario of Xanla arrived to invite the people here to a jarana which is to take place tomorrow evening at that place.

The sun was obscured today on account of the milpa-burning. From early in the evening on, one chokes in the dense and smoky atmosphere. Much heat.

Thursday, May 15

Because Xanla is so near here, the greater part of the families of Chan Kom went there to enjoy the jarana being celebrated today. Sun and heat.

Friday, May 16

Early today the laborers began coming back from their milpas, because in the early hours of tomorrow everyone must leave for Valladolid, so as to take part in the manifestation of support which is to be made next Sunday for the Governor of the State. The families who went to Xanla returned. Sun and heat.

Saturday, May 17

Valladolid

Today I arrived here together with most of the people of Chan Kom. I came by way of Chichen Itza, the journey that way being easier. In the various quarters of Valladolid functionaries are installed, who are to see that food is supplied to the attending throng. The city, filled with great numbers of Indians, arriving from all the villages of the Departamento, presents an unusual appearance; the refreshment-booths and the shops are filled with people. The saloons have been ordered to close. The houses of the town have been decorated with paper streamers, palm leaves, red triangles, etc., in conformity with a municipal order issued today—an infraction is punishable with a fine of five pesos. It is nine o'clock in the evening. At one in the morning they will begin to serve breakfast to the people, because the Governor is to arrive at 5 a.m.

Sunday, May 18

I slept badly. Although the saloons were closed the people accomplished some sort of a miracle and got themselves drunk, behaving scandalously with shouts and trumpetings.

The Governor arrived at ten o'clock instead of at five, as had been announced. From one of the balconies in the Palacio Municipal he spoke to the people, announcing that he had come solely to learn of the needs of the agricultural laborers, and that he would give audiences to village comisarios exclusively. Accordingly these functionaries came to inform the Governor of the conditions in their respective communities, and each group was promised aid according to its needs. Chan Kom will be helped with doors and some cement, so the cuartel can be finished. At one o'clock in the afternoon the manifestation came to an end. The saloons remained hermetically sealed, and the men completely drunk. In the afternoon the Governor returned to Merida. At this moment (10 p.m.) the bugles are blowing “taps” in the Plaza Principal.

Tomorrow we will return to Chan Kom. It is worthy of note that not a person of this village drank a drop of brandy.

Monday, May 19

Chan Kom

The people come back from Valladolid. Everybody is already asleep although it is only seven in the evening.
Tuesday, May 20

Some went to burn their milpas, and others went with their families to the fiesta of Pamba,\(^1\) which begins this evening. The masons who are engaged in building the houses of Don Elut and Don Madal went off to Tekom where also a fiesta is begun, which is to continue till next Friday. Suffocating heat.

Wednesday, May 21

Don Bus and his wife went to Tekom, invited by the Tekom masons who have been working here. In the evening those returned who had gone to Pamba. All quiet. Sun and heat.

Thursday, May 22

Don Tino, Don Nas, and many others who have been enjoying themselves going about during the past week, today returned to their milpas. After the holiday excitement of the previous days the village is again showing its usual peace.

Friday, May 23

Don Eus went off to his milpa. For those who do not understand all the significant circumstances this is an event of no importance; but for the people here this event is one never to go unnoticed. It is plain to us that Don Eus is the only important leader this pueblo has; from the break of day he goes about the streets instructing each in the work he ought to do, or giving advice to any who may wish to hear it, so that each may better his position and arrive at a mode of life more satisfactory than that which he now has.

Among those converted by Don Eus' doctrines is Asunci6n, who sold his cow so as to devote himself to trade, which is undoubtedly an occupation more agreeable than working in the milpa, but which he very shortly had to abandon, because the gains never equalled the losses. Now he is back clearing milpas, and his mode of life is the same as before, with only one difference: he no longer has a cow.

To give more force to his ideas, Don Eus goes frequently about carrying under his arm some periodical or illustrated magazine (which he borrows from the school). He has a certain control over the rest of the people, easily led by all sorts of doctrines, no matter how extravagant they appear.

\[\cdots\cdots\cdots\cdots\cdots\cdots\cdots\]

Some time ago Don — listened in the Liga of Valladolid to a speech made by some defender of the proletariat, who said, among other things, that it was not unreasonable for a man to have more than one wife if only he could afford to maintain them. It appears that he thought well of the idea, and upon coming back to Chan Kom, he advised the other men that they profit by the advantages of polygamy, and to show that he wasn't joking, he brought into his house, not without the loud objections of his first wife, a second woman. I must add that he has made a success of the affair, for he has brought it about that his neighbors look with indifference upon the sight of two or three women sharing the same man.

Saturday, May 24

A quiet day. The men, for the most part, are in their milpas. Those remaining here went with their families to San Prudencio, where last night there was a jarana. The

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\(^1\) A small rancheria situated 5 kilometers to the south.
fiestas and jaranas held in the neighboring rancherías and pueblos have completely blotted out old hatreds that, because of agrarian matters, used to exist toward this village. These were hatreds of such character that there was a time when it was necessary to fire off the signal-bombs which they keep in the cuartel ready for such emergencies. Many times a milpero would find his granary destroyed by fire, the labor of a year burned to ashes. If one of his cattle wandered off, it was sure to return with tail or horns lopped off, or many times it did not return at all. I tried to allay these animosities, but without success; yet today the Holy Cross has covered over the old rancors that, like the harvests, spring from the soil. Cloudy with a drizzling rain in the afternoon. Pleasant temperature.

Sunday, May 25

Early this morning returned those who had gone to San Prudencio, and likewise those who went to their milpas. Bonifacio and Federico, who this week constituted the "guard," were required by the comisario to dig out twenty loads of sascab because that which they had previously brought was mixed with earth. It is fair to say that such trickeries are rare. In the evening there was a meeting in the cuartel, when I explained to the people the necessity that they change their mode of life from the point of view of hygiene, and that they so reorganize their homes that people no longer live mingled with the beasts. At the request of those present I spoke on other themes relating to social betterment. It was decided to hold such meetings every two weeks.

It is interesting to observe the eager desire that these people have to rise out of their ignorance; if any visitor comes and if they suspect him of having any culture, they ask him to speak on any subject on which he may inform them. Last time that Dr. Shattuck was here he made a speech in English (translated by his interpreter into Maya) on the cause of diseases, saying that "they are not caused by evil winds, but by microorganisms known as microbes, that attack people in incalculable numbers, if they are not prevented, etc." He spoke with brilliant effect, and brought it about that for quite a time everybody in the village was sick, since there was hardly a person who did not feel inside him strange ticklings, caused, it appeared, by the "little ants" (for such was the mental comparison they made) which were consuming their vitals. This gave the h-mens much business, in driving these noxious creatures out of their hosts by proper exorcisms. Actually, the microbe idea remains only in the minds of the two most sophisticated persons in the village: Don Nas, whom the microbes leave in peace only when he has received an injection of some sort of ampule which he buys in Valladolid, and Don Eus., who must go regularly to the h-men every Tuesday and Friday so as to have him, by means of his sorceries, annul the pathogenic results of the microbes, which after all, are no more than another form of "evil winds."

A similar disquietude was aroused when Dr. Sandground spoke on vitamines. The tomato, previously so unappreciated, became for a few days an exquisite comestible. Perhaps now everything has returned to its normal state: the microbes have never existed and the vitamines are but the phantasies of the wise men.

Monday, May 26

Weather cloudy and grey.

Nobody went to work in his milpa, perhaps the better to enjoy the freshness of the weather. Under the trees in the plaza little groups form, where a great variety of matters are discussed: "this cloudy weather and these light rains tell us that sunshiny weather is to follow"; "the land at Yokdzonot is more fertile than that at Sahcabchen"; "why did Don Bartolo (the Governor) say that it was necessary to arm the socialists in order to defend
their principles? What may be these principles?” In this wise they continue to talk until they feel hungry.

At midday, as they had nothing else with which to kill time, they decided to brand the cattle again. They lassoed a number of cows, mules and other animals that were browsing in the plaza, and branded them on the hide with hot irons bearing the initials of their owners. Such was the merriment of one man that he failed to notice that the letters “P. T.” with which he branded the loins of his cow, did not correspond with his name nor with that of any member of his family. Although apparently of no great importance, this error was the cause of serious trouble, since his wife believed that she saw a certain relation between the brand and the name of her neighbor, Pastora Tec. Luckily the matter found an easy solution: tomorrow the suspected husband will burn, on the most conspicuous spot on the cow, in great red letters, the name of his wife.

Tuesday, May 27

The earth is soaked with rain. Many went to sow their milpas. Today it is seven weeks since died the little daughter of Isidro. In his house the neighbors gathered to pray for her soul and to eat the fowl cooked in her memory.

Don Bus prepared the oratorio; he cleaned the candlesticks, hung up new streamers of many-colored paper, and shook the dust from the crosses and from San Diego, sunk in neglect because of the recent fiestas in neighboring places. Don Bus is the only one who concerns himself with these matters and who comes to strike the bells at the hour of angelus. As he has told me, he does it so that San Diego and the Holy Cross may aid him and keep him from getting sick. He is right—they merely make him old.

Zono arrived, a traveling merchant who frequently comes this way. Cloudy and rainy. Pleasant weather.

Wednesday, May 28

It rained all night. The sowing continues. Doña Simona told me confidentially that the child which her neighbor is about to have is not her husband’s, but a friend’s. This news, like all information prejudicial to a neighbor, had its origin at the edge of the cenote. It is not to be forgotten that here it is that women gather, morning and evening. The phrase is common, “tene ma in uooli; yokol dzonot in uuyic” (“I don’t know; I heard it over the cenote”) when someone wants to avoid responsibility for a rumor.

Dona Simona is a great gossip. I don’t know how it is, but she knows so much that happens in the intimacy of the homes; of the virgins who for some time have not been and still feign to be; of the months of pregnancy borne by the married women; of marriages yet to take place; and many other things that are difficult to know.

Cloudy and rainy. I have put on my sweater; cold winds are blowing.

Thursday, May 29

It rained early this morning. The plaza and the streets are covered with verdure. Green, in the various shades, appears everywhere. The sowing continues. A flock of herons cleaved the sky today. This insignificant fact held the attention of the neighborhood until the birds were lost to view in the distance. Don Elut invited me to eat in his house. He was celebrating the hetsmek of his youngest child.

For the first time in six days the sun broke through the curtain of clouds that has been covering it. The earth steams. So great is the heat that I have to divest myself of all clothing and open the doors to the yard so that I may be able to sleep.

1 See p. 188.
Friday, May 30

Again the sun is hidden. Light rains. The sowing continues.

Saturday, May 31

The day dawned cloudy. The dampness enveloped everything. Later, the clouds became less damp and the sun managed to come out, not again becoming clouded all day. Vicente Caamal and Magdalena Yam were married in the Oficina Civil of Kaua. The religious ceremony will take place at the first opportunity; today the bridegroom lacks the money.

This marriage was performed in the greatest secrecy in accordance with the old customs, and neighbors were not informed until the day of the wedding. The bridegroom is the natural son of Victoriano Tec (deceased) and of Valentina Caamal, and the bride is the daughter of Julio Yam and Margarita Noli (deceased). The services of a casamentero were not employed. The petition for the girl and the other dealings were made by the mother and the stepfather (Marcos Mukul, a h-men) of the bridegroom. The marriage was by civil ceremony only. The couple, not having a home, or anything with which to support themselves, live in the same house with the bride's father. I am told that the latter did not want to grant permission for the marriage, and if he did accept it, it was because of the determination of the girl, who wanted to be married at any risk. When someone made her recognize the poverty of the bridegroom, she replied that it did not matter, since "they could live in the shade of a tree." Today the son-in-law helps his father-in-law in the labor of the fields.

A novena was celebrated in the oratorio with a great quantity of rockets. It was organized by Don Rosa in fulfillment of a promise which he made to San Diego when his daughter was sick. This Don Rosa is the hardest worker of the village, and without doubt the most unlucky. To explain this misfortune, people say that his mother cursed him when one time, at the instance of his wife, he put her out of the house. The fact is certain that in spite of hard work he has nothing.

Sunday, June 1

It rained in the night. The same sort of morning as yesterday, only that all day the sun failed to come out.

The people of the neighboring village of Noh Chen have hit upon a plan to increase their ejidos. They have submitted a petition making it appear that the signers have no ejido, and that they have been settled since early times at X-Citam-cacab—in reality merely a milperio, or temporary settlement of people from Noh Chen. Today a reply arrived, in which the Government makes it known that on the fourth of next month it will send a representative.

Monday, June 2

Rain. The men of Noh Chen went to X-Citam-cacab to prepare the scene which the representative of the Commission is to see. Dr. Andrade arrived.

Tuesday, June 3

Rain. In the evening the people came to greet Dr. Andrade and to ask him to speak on some "cultural subject." He discussed alcoholism. Later that evening some of

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1 Fictitious name.
them came back (among them Don Eus) and made known their wishes to Dr. Andrade, who spoke to them on methods for the control of conception. It appears that they do not remain very satisfied. Pleasant weather.

Wednesday, June 4

Cloudy and rain. In the early morning families from Noh Chen went to X-Citam-cacab carrying metates, bateas and all the other domestic utensils, and even including some hens, so that the place will present an aspect of teeming life when the delegado arrives in the afternoon. Chan Kom appears almost depopulated.

Thursday, June 5

Weather like yesterday. The Noh Chen people tell me that the delegado appeared satisfied with his visit, and that next an engineer will come to survey the land so the ejido may be granted. Dr. Andrade left. Pleasant weather.

Friday, June 6

A feeble sun timidly began the day. The sowing continues.

Saturday, June 7

The sowing continues. Sun and heat.

Sunday, June 8

In confirmation of a rumor that has been going around for some time, today an official letter arrived from the Presidente Municipal of Valladolid, in which it was stated that now they are beginning to cut the posts for a telephone line\(^1\) that is to connect this village with Valladolid and Merida.

The men now in Chan Kom came in the evening to the school to converse. Cloudy and rainy.

Monday, June 9

Work was resumed on the cuartel. Don Nas has had an arrangement with Edilberto and Martiniano that they do the masonry so as to help him,\(^1\) because he feels unwell. He has felt badly since he broke the needle he used for the hypodermic injections. He went to Valladolid to buy another, but he failed to secure one. He is thinking of going to Merida solely in order to buy this needle, because he is convinced that without the injections the microbes will devour him in short order. Sun and heat.

Tuesday, June 10

Several families arrived from Uaymilchen. They have finished planting; nevertheless most of the people are still in the milpas. If it were not for the occasional water-carrier, from time to time going down to the cenote, I would think myself alone in the pueblo. Sun and heat.

\(^1\) In accordance with a project of the Governor, it is proposed to connect with telephone lines all the villages of this Departamento. The Government will furnish the wire and the telephones, and the village will do the work. In some places they have already begun to put up the posts; but now an order has suspended the work because of the critical economic situation in which the State finds itself. The project has not been realized (1933).

\(^1\) Don Nas divides in equal shares between Edilberto, Martiniano and himself the earnings he receives for building the cuartel.
Wednesday, June 11

The masons who were engaged on Don Madal's house returned from Tekom. Asunción told me that he did not plant his milpa this year, because he is thinking of learning the tailor's trade. He is going to sell his horse in order to buy a sewing machine. Like Asunción, there are others who are beginning to find working a milpa a bit too arduous, and who are looking for easier occupations. Many (Don Nas, Don Eus, Don Fano, etc.) have begun to plant tobacco and the castor-oil bush, which are more productive and less laborious. Clear sky and a full moon.

Thursday, June 12

The men who have already planted their fields in the evening came here to the school to converse. They are wont to do this, because I always find subjects which interest as well as please them. Wishing to know the interpretation which they place on certain natural phenomena, I asked some questions on my own part. For example: "Why is one part of the year dry and the other wet?" "Why, that is plain," they all replied with conviction. "It has to be that way so that we can clear and burn milpas when it is dry, and plant them when it rains." After such a convincing reply, I put another question: "What is it that the maize has inside it, that in a few days after it has been planted, it germinates, flowers, and produces ears?" "Maestro," Don Eus answered, "it happens that way, because that is the destiny of the maize."

The blue of the sky is not sky, is not blue; it is a sphere of glass in which are stuck the sun, the moon and the stars. I tried to explain to them as simply as possible the celestial mechanism, and to clear up other misunderstandings they still hold, but it was useless; they thought it was a joke, and laughed hugely when I said that the earth revolves around the sun.

Friday, June 13

Three police officers went to Uaymilchen to seize Santiago Dzib, who has failed to perform the task which falls to him in the building of the cuartel. The family of Don Tino, and others, went to X-Ceh-yaax, to plant the milpas they have cleared there. Sun and heat.

Saturday, June 14

Last night, while the village was sleeping, a second interview took place between the parents of Adolfo and those of Demetria, this time with the object of bringing the matter of their marriage to a conclusion. This affair has been the subject of much discussion, on the one hand by the uncles (the Pat family), and on the other by the grandmother, because of the fact that the prospective parties are cousins. However, Don Guillermo succeeded in proving that the contemplated union would not involve any sin; by his efforts the conference has come to a satisfactory conclusion. They fixed upon next Friday as the date for the delivery of the muhul; this is the last event, after which the marriage contract can not be broken. Then they all drank chocolate and conversed on a variety of topics till a very late hour of the night.

Many who had been in their milpas returned today. Almost everybody has finished sowing. Anxiously they hope for continued rains. Hereabouts maize continues to have a low value: a peso and a quarter a carga.

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1 Santiago Dzib had failed to bring zarco.
2 A cenote deep in the bush 6 kilometers to the southwest of Sabaken.
3 There was no interview between the first one, on April 26, and this.
4 Demetria is the daughter of Adolfo's father’s brother’s son.
Edilberto and Don Nas, whose cattle have been lost for some time, burned candles in the oratorio, believing that if they do this the animals will return to the corral.

Sunday, June 15

The policemen returned today, bringing Santiago Dzib, who declared he had not been able to come because he had been sowing his milpa. Now he will work all next week on the construction of the cuartel.

Don Nas has fever, but refuses to consult the h-mens, because he is sure that they are humbugs.

There are more candles than usual in the oratorio; I think they have been lit by those who returned yesterday from their milpas. Sun and heat.

Monday, June 16

I am convinced that Don Nas suffers from imaginary ailments only. Last night, seeing him very dejected ("bach grose," as he said) and having nothing at hand but a boric acid solution which I am accustomed to put in my eyes, I told him that this would relieve him immediately, because it was a potent (poderoso) and marvelous (maravilloso) remedy—adjectives which hereabouts are the basis for the success of many specifics—and that therefore I would give him no more than four drops. However, yielding to his pleas, I increased the dose by one drop. He took it in a glass of warm water. Today he arose in perfect health and worked all day without interruption. But foreseeing that the trouble would come back next Sunday, he has asked me for another five drops.

Now everybody is busy clearing away the weeds from the milpas, for the rains have developed the fecund power of the soil, and the undergrowth springs up with incredible rapidity. Showers. Pleasant temperature.

Tuesday, June 17

An illness, much resembling dysentery, has developed to epidemic proportions; its principal symptoms are frequent and bloody stools, small increase in temperature, and loss of appetite. Sometimes Don Balbino cures this sickness with a plant known as x-kakaltun, and another known as tzutzuc. The sickness usually lasts at least five days. It is commoner in children than in adults.

The building of the cuartel is in full swing. Sun and heat.

Wednesday, June 18

Don Anal spent the day carrying sascab with his little donkey, since it is probable that he will resume work on his house next week.

Contrary to earlier plans, Asunci6n went today to plant his milpa.

After a long period when there were no "modern dances" in Chan Kom, today these were resumed in the Tamay house. Several couples danced until very late. Don Nas and his Victrola made the party possible. Sun and heat.

Thursday, June 19

At half past ten in the morning a daughter was born to Josefa Caamal. According to custom, she is to be called Juliana, this being the name of the saint of the day.

Zono arrived. He brought chains and earrings to sell. Ordinarily, hens and eggs serve as money in the transactions with traveling merchants.

1 An expression half Maya, half Spanish.
Everything is green. There are more birds than before. Now the cattle come seldom to the village, for in the bush there are water and enough pasture. Sun and heat.

Friday, June 20

Santiago Tec appeared in the comisaria to make known his wish to transfer his residence to this village, because of the fact that in Yaxcaba, where he has been living, the presidente municipal is hostile to him because he is in love with his (the presidente's) wife, who left him yesterday “only because he gave her a beating.” It was decided to communicate with Yaxcaba so that they might strike his name off the list of that pueblo.1

Doña Leandra, the midwife, at the urgency of an expectant father, set off post haste for Bojón.
Sun, with rain in the evening.

Saturday, June 21

Because of the illness of Doña Hila, mother of Demetria, it was not possible last night to make delivery of the muhul. It will take place at the first opportunity.

Work on the cuartel ceased because of lack of materials. Next week they will burn a pile of lime so as to be able to resume.

At four o’clock in the morning (the hour at which her husband died) Doña Ambrosia had a novena in her house in memory of her dead relatives. The neighbors attended.

Don Nas and the Tamay brothers went to Sahcabchen in search of maize for their domestic needs. Many people returned from their milpas, bringing corn. Zono departed.

He sold two chains, and all his earrings at fifty centavos a pair. Heat; rains.

Sunday, June 22

The maize is beginning to sprout.

Today was less monotonous than the preceding. In the morning the men, dressed very clean in their Sunday clothes, came together in Don Fano’s store to play the phonograph. Some were so happy that they even bought a bottle of pop to drink at home with their families. I think it must be the humid earth that has made these taciturn individuals happy. They organized a hunting party and shot a peccary. Sun and heat.

Monday, June 23

Don Nas and the Tamay brothers returned from Sahcabchen with their animals laden with maize.

“Hubo fagina.” So they call the work which the inhabitants of Chan Kom are obliged to do, for the good of the village, without receiving any remuneration. In the morning, following the previous instructions of the comisario, the majority of the men met in the cuartel, and taking note of those who were missing, proceeded to prepare a lime-burning on the outskirts of the pueblo. Sun and heat.

Tuesday, June 24

Today was the day of Saint John the Baptist. No one worked.

It is a widespread belief that this day is propitious for “learning your fate,” and for determining your future. In the houses of Don Nas, Don Eus, and of the Tamay brothers,

1 Santiago Tec chose to come to Chan Kom probably because he has relatives here (Julio and Tranquilino Tec are his brothers) and because he lived here once before. The sons of Santiago are two: Doroteo and Celestino, six and nine years of age. They live with him. Santiago came to the house of his padrino Guillermo Tamay, whose wife took charge of the children; it is the custom for the godmother to look after the children when the mother’s care fails.
the people (men and women) gathered to “learn their fate” with needles. It is a very simple and obvious procedure: In a gourd vessel filled with water they carefully place two needles, taking care that they do not sink. Then they name them with the names of the persons who want to know their fate, properly a young man and a girl. If the needles come together, a marriage is indicated; if one immediately sinks, the person represented will die, and if on the contrary it remains a long time without sinking, it is a sign of a prosperous and happy life.

Everybody followed, with lively interest, the evolutions of the needles, between wind and water, and when after a long time two needles came rapidly and closely together, the observers broke into loud guffaws, not free from malice, recalling situations in which the protagonists were not needles.

In spite of the childishness of this game, it held the attention all day of almost everyone in the village, and when from time to time the silence of my retreat was broken by the occasional uproar produced by the divinations, I knew that in some gourd vessel some pair of personified needles had become united in a single being.

The masons who were working on Don Madal’s house departed for Tekom, their home village, where today begins the fiesta in honor of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, patrons of the men of that village. The women have a separate patron, the Holy Virgin Helper (Sanísimaa Virgen María Auxiliadora; cichpan colel auxiliadora) whose fiesta took place last month. Sun and heat.

**Wednesday, June 25**

For some days the school attendance has been decreasing, due to the intestinal infection of which I wrote on the 14th, which continues to afflict the children. Although it does not kill them, it leaves them prostrate. The remedies of Don Balbino are not entirely efficacious. I have cured various cases merely with castor oil and a rigorous diet of wheat flour gruel. However, it is not possible always to do this, because the mothers are so careless that they allow their children to eat tortillas and chile, even though they are sick. The only care they take is to light candles to the Holy Cross in whose charge they completely abandon the health of the patient. There are also various cases of conjunctivitis.

Don Nas resumed work on Don Anal’s house. The milpas continue to grow green.

**Thursday, June 26**

Doña Simona had to go to Chichen Itza to be cared for by Miss MacKay; she is attacked by severe conjunctivitis.

Basilio appeared before the comisario accusing Bonifacio of having barbarously attacked and wounded him last night. When the statements had been made, it became clear that Bonifacio had acted thus because while he was away Basilio tried to abuse his wife. As both were at fault, the comisario lectured them severely, and put them at liberty. Later I saw them drinking pop in Don Fano’s store like good friends. Outside of this event, the day was like the others: quiet, and peaceful.

**Friday, June 27**

At last, at nightfall, the muhul was delivered in Don Eus’ house. Although it is usually done in privacy, and late at night, today it was done publicly and at dusk, because Don Eus, always an innovator, wanted the whole village to take part in the coming nuptials of his daughter, “because it ought to be done so among civilized persons.”
On a table, covered with a white cloth, they placed flowers in the form of a cross, in the center a small wooden cross, and on either side of it a wax candle adorned with flowers; three packages of chocolate; three kilos of sugar; two pesos worth of wheat bread; nine bottles of pop; a piece of ordinary cloth; and a silver peso put on a little plate. Around the table the following took seats: Don Eus; his wife, Doña Hilaria; Don Fano; his wife, Doña Maria; Doña Sofia; Don Guillermo, and I. Seated separately and near the door, were some neighbors. Don Guillermo arose, and addressing the owners of the house, said:

"Fulfilling the words of the Señor Dios who says that every man must take a woman in marriage, the compadres (pointing out the parents of Adolfo) offer you what is on this table, as a sign of gratitude, and in satisfaction for the coming union of their son with your daughter."

Don Eus, likewise standing, replied: "Hila and I give you thanks for everything which you have brought us; may the Señor Dios return to you the expenses you have incurred."

Doña Sofia (the grandmother) said: "I am very happy to see my granddaughter marrying, and the only thing I want is that it be by civil and church ceremony."

The parents of Adolfo assured her that it would be so. Then Don Guillermo proposed that they go to Valladolid within three weeks to buy the dress, the chains, the rings, and the other things which the bride must have to embellish her on the day of her nuptials, and likewise to sign the declaration of matrimonial intention before the Registro Civil. This was discussed; Doña Hila wanted them to go after three months, and the parents of the boy wanted them to go sooner; at last it was decided to go in two months. Afterward Doña Sofia and Doña Hila collected what was on the table and went to the kitchen to beat up chocolate to offer to those present. Up to this hour (10 p.m.) the gathering has not dispersed.  

It is curious to observe that while all this was going on, Demetria was fetching water from the cenote.

Saturday, July 5

Today Don Fano has been sick a week. At his request I sent to the clinic at Chichen to get medicine. He shows the following symptoms: intermittent fever, headache, diarrhea and vomiting.

There are likewise various children sick of "green diarrhea." Doña Simona continues to suffer from conjunctivitis.

Today all the people came back from their milpas because tomorrow will take place the election of the deputies and senators for the Congress of the Union.

Sunday, July 6

Today took place the elections of which I spoke yesterday. As here in Yucatan there is only one political party, the Socialist party, the candidates that it proposed were elected without discussion, to wit: as deputy, C. Miguel Rosado, the present school inspector; and as senator, C. Neguib Simon.

The inhabitants of Xanla cast their votes in this village.

Don Fano continues to feel badly. As the medicines which were brought to Chan Kom from Chichen did not have the good effect that he had hoped for, he stopped taking

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1 Sofía Casnal, Demetria's mother's mother.
2 This last meeting between the boy's relatives and the girl's they referred to as mubah, because according to older custom the mubah (bride gift) is handed over on this occasion. Nowadays, however, the purchase of the bridal costume and jewelry making up the mubah is made later, with the advice of the girl's relatives.
them and sent for Santiago Cen, the h-men of Pamba. As soon as the latter had consulted his zaztun many times, he declared that the patient was suffering the punishment of Noh-yum-cab, the great lord of bees, because in changing the location of his beehives, he failed to make the ritual offering, according to custom.

In the evening there was a novena in the house of Don Madal as a sign of gratitude to the Lord God for the frequent rains with which He had benefited the milpas. Rain; pleasant temperature.

Monday, July 7

In order to win the good will of Noh-yum-cab and the other rulers of the apiary, today took place in the house of Don Fano the ceremony known by the name of u hanli cab or "dinner of the bees."  

At about seven in the morning the h-men offered nine gourd vessels of balche to the gods of the bees. This took place in Don Fano's house; most of his male relatives attended. Don Fano himself knelt at the improvised altar and held the beaks of the consecrated hens while the h-men put balche into their mouths.

The men went about their occupations and the women took charge of cooking the hens and preparing the tortillas.

At eleven o'clock they all gathered together again near the altar in order to offer Noh-yum-cab, the great Lord of the Bees, the food and tortillas prepared by the women. On the altar were placed two large vessels filled with food, several gourd dishes of maize atole and many tuti-uhuh.

With great difficulty, being weak and suffering with fever, Don Fano came, helped by his relatives. He took one of the large dishes and fell upon his knees, asking Don Guillermo to act as idzac. The h-men stood between the other two and recited the proper prayers. He then sprinkled food and balche on the hives, and afterward struck Don Fano with a zipche branch to drive out the evil winds.

Tuesday, July 8

Don Fano continues poorly. He has recovered his faith in my medicine. Last night, very late, I was called upon to attend him because he had fever and headache. I gave him aspirin and calomel. This morning he took a dose of salts. At this moment, nine o'clock, there is a novena going on in the oratorio so as to ask the aid of God and San Diego to bring about the early restoration of the sick man.

Zono arrived. He brought bread to sell. He told me that early Sunday morning two men were assassinated in the village of Ebtun. The facts were as follows: On Saturday night these two individuals were apprehended because they had been surprised robbing a house. Later (in the middle of the night) a group of men, probably drunk, appeared at the cuartel, well armed, and demanded that the sergeant on guard hand over to them the keys to the jail. He stoutly refused. Thereupon they broke open the door with an iron bar, took out the prisoners and beat them to death right in the yard. It appears the assassins have been captured. Rain. Pleasant weather.

Wednesday, July 9

Don Fano is much improved. Everybody is full of admiration at the success of the h-men.

1 About a month ago Don Fano moved his beehives from the house of Don Guillermo to his own house.
2 See p. 146.
3 Tortillas made of maize dough and ground squash seeds. See p. 90.
4 A village situated a few kilometres west of Valladolid.
Now there is practically no work in the milpas. Those who have finished clearing off the herbage passed the day here in the villages occupied with small tasks, bringing back cattle that had wandered too far away, cleaning their guns and loading them again. Really they have nothing to do. Julio Yam, Antonio Caamal, Vito Modesto and some of their neighbors are opening a well, jointly, at a street corner near their houses. Don Tino, the president of the Electoral Board of this village, went to Motul to deliver to the Electoral Commission the votes cast in the recent election.

Thursday, July 10

In order to while away the tedium of these days, frequent hunting parties are organized; almost always they return successful. Today they shot two deer, and as there were only eight hunters, the share of each was plentiful. Now dry meat is hanging over the hearth fires in many houses. Zono departed. He sold all his bread. Rain. Pleasant temperature.

Friday, July 11

Today two merchants from Valladolid, who arrived last night, are going about the village. This is the first time they have come here. They are selling trousers, women’s shoes, sandals and cheap jewelry. In the evening they talked with me and told me that they had sold but little; it appears that there is not much money in the village.

The phonograph has been playing all evening. It is Don Fano, who has got well.

Saturday, July 12

Cloudy and rainy.

A dreamy languor quenches every idea of work. Hunting is the only sort of activity carried on during these indolent days. Don Tino returned from Motul.

Sunday, July 13

The plaza and the streets have been cleared of herbage. The appearance of the village has been improved.

A certain amount of discord has developed in Ticimul among the inhabitants, because of the closing of the school; for while a part of the people are urging its reopening, others are opposed to this.

Monday, July 14

Don Nas has resumed work on the house of Don Anal. Don Madal’s house is almost finished. The Tamay brothers and Edilberto are preparing a lime-burning. Don Eus is, as always, righting wrongs and discussing matters of proletarian emancipation and social betterment.

Rainy. The insects, that night after night beat against the lamps, have increased to almost unendurable numbers.

Tuesday, July 15

This evening there was a meeting in the cuartel presided over by the nakules. This meeting had for its object the definite organization of the fiesta which is every year celebrated in honor of San Diego. After some discussion it was decided not to celebrate the fiesta this year because of the very low price of maize; they do not wish to consume the
contents of their granaries in three or four days of good time. However, so as not to forget San Diego completely, a novenario will be celebrated in his honor. This decision was willingly accepted by the majority, because, besides quieting consciences, it saves extra expense.

This act of wise economy on the part of this village, contrasts with that of the men of Kaua, who, in spite of having less corn, have decided to celebrate the fiestas and have arranged to bring bull-fighters from Merida. Later they will come to this village, asking for work from some scornful laborer, just as they have done in earlier years.

Wednesday, July 16

This morning there arrived the two teachers, Fernando Castro and Moises Arceo, in order to take charge of the school examinations in this village for the second quarter of the year. The authorities and various parents took part in the conduct of these examinations.

Roberto, the son of Don Nas, is seriously ill with an infection from which he has been suffering since the 17th of last month. Although his father does not believe in the h-men, he called in Don Balbino "to see what might come of it."

Thursday, July 17

This morning there was a novena in the house of Don Tino in memory of his father, on the occasion of the sale of a piece of land which his father had left him. The neighbors were present and were offered chocolate.

I went to see a second lime-burning which Edilberto and the Tamay brothers are preparing on the outskirts of the village. I was surprised to see that after carefully and symmetrically heaping up the pile of wood which was about to be burned, they had finished the whole off with a cross made of the leaves of yumtzyutzyu. I asked the purpose of this cross and they replied that "in order to bring about the complete reduction to lime of the stone which covers the wood, and in order to counteract the effects of any evil influences;" because it often happens that some mischievous person throws pieces of pottery or of women's clothing on heaps of burning limestone, which is quite enough to put out the fire and to prevent the successful conclusion of the enterprise.

Don Eus arrived from his milpa bringing watermelons. Rainy and hot.

Friday, July 18

Don Tacio is selling his house and all his domestic implements because he has decided to move his residence to another village. According to him, he came to this decision because his land is situated on a road which is traveled by night by ojo-ik, coc-ik, and coc-tancaz-ik. These are winds that appear like children with straw hats with high crowns, who always go about together and who cause all sorts of sicknesses and unexpected deaths. He assures me that one morning recently he found his horse dead without any reasonable cause, and the day before yesterday five of his hogs who were sleeping under a cedar tree died in an unexpected manner, an irrefutable proof of the tragic situation of his house. As it is easy to understand, no one wants to buy this lot although it is planted with fruit trees. Sun and heat.

Saturday, July 19

Some men have returned to their milpas to continue clearing away the herbage. The undergrowth is so exuberant that if it were left, in a short time it would invade the maize field to the injury of the young plants.

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1 See p. 149.
The little store of Don Fano, situated in front of the school, is the only place of meeting, of casual entertainment. Here the young men gather in the evening to amuse themselves, telling of incidents of the hunt, discussing projects, or repeating stories of such little wit that they can make laugh only individuals such as those who are predisposed to laugh. Likewise the phonograph is an attraction.

As this evening was the coming of age of Margarita Tamay, there was a jarana with the phonograph in her house. Her mother prepared tamales to offer to those present. Rain. Pleasant temperature.

Monday, July 28

Edilberto, Asunción and Don Anal arrived from Valladolid. They were commissioned to take part in a socialist meeting in that city, over which the Governor presided yesterday, and which dealt with economic matters. Asunción, confirming what he had told me on an earlier occasion, sold his bull and bought in Valladolid a sewing-machine, with which he thinks to earn more and to work less than in cultivating his milpa. He also bought a guitar, as he wants to learn to sing. He is an optimist. He even has hopes that “Tina” will return to him.¹

Last week all the sargentos met in the Cuartel in order to discuss the matter of the house which Don Tacio proposes to sell. It was decided that in case he sold it, the proceeds would be divided in two equal parts: one for him and the other for village public improvements, because of the fact that the house was built with the cooperation of all the inhabitants. This decision did not appear to please Don Tacio; he has made up his mind not to sell his house at any price. Cloudy and rainy in the evening. Heat.

Tuesday, July 29

Don Fano is still sick. He feels very weak. There are still some cases of the intestinal infection of which I wrote earlier, but the symptoms are so little alarming that they now pass almost unnoticed.

Anastacio Vazquez, the President Municipal of Cuncunul, came to buy hogs. In the evening he went on to X-Kopteil. Cloudy and rainy. Heat.

Wednesday, July 30

Several partidores⁴ arrived. This abundance of dealers is due to an unexpected mortality among hogs in many places. In the nearby rancheria of Ton-tzimin twelve hogs died in a single day. On this account the comisario has prohibited the transportation through this village of hogs from other places.

Among those who arrived is José G. Martín, who brought a cow to sell. D. Julio Yam bought it for one hundred and twenty pesos. Rain and heat.

Thursday, July 31

Don Julio appeared before the comisario and made it known that he wasn’t satisfied with the price of his cow, because all his neighbors had told him that it cost too much; ¹

¹ She is thirteen. This is not a general custom.
² His wife, Cristina Yam, who left him for her parents’ house at Yokdzonot a few days after they were married, for reasons unknown. They were married two months ago, by civil and religious ceremony.
³ Every week the guardia in the cuartel is made up of four men, of whom the principal is called sargento. When a matter comes up for discussion, a meeting of sargentos is held, presided over by the comisario; the question is decided by all this assemblage. See p. 78.
⁴ This is the name given to those who deal in beef, cattle and hogs.
therefore he asked that the seller be required to return twenty pesos. The comisario replied that it was impossible to grant this petition because they had already signed the document certifying that the sale had the complete agreement of the buyer. Don Eus, who was present, took advantage of the opportunity to point out to the complainant that when he did business another time he should consult him because he (Don Eus) was the only one able to decide such matters. Don Julio agreed that he would do so in the future. Don Eus sold one of his bulls to Emilio Mendoza, merchant of Kaua. Sun, showers and heat.

Friday, August 1

Today the house of Don Anal was finished. Don Nas, the mason, exercising his ideas of decoration, covered the front of the building with not very beautiful marks, saying that he was imitating the buildings at Chichen Itza.

The ornament on the house of Don Madal, completed last week, turned out better; it is simple and in good taste. The masons who made it are the same ones who are now making the house of Don Elut.

Emilio Mendoza bought a bull from the Tamay brothers. These days have been filled with commercial transactions. Almost everyone has sold his hogs so as to buy cattle, the supreme desire of the people here.

The group of neighbors who are opening the well continue working with praiseworthy persistence.

Saturday, August 2

Edilberto, Don Eus, Pablo Ku and Martiniano Tamay went to Valladolid to buy cattle.

A group of people from X-Kalakdzonot brought here for burial a child who died yesterday of measles. There is no cemetery in X-Kalakdzonot. Various children here show purulent cutaneous eruptions.

During the past days Don Eus found two segments of tapeworm. When I explained the consequences to them, and the dimensions which this human parasite reaches, he showed very great surprise. Since then he discusses nothing else, and the thought that he has a "serpent" inside him, torments him at all times. According to what he says, it is constantly biting his intestines, and at night he feels it moving through his whole body. His principal purpose in going to Valladolid was to consult Dr. Narvaez about how to get the parasite out. Don Nas has got the notion that he has tapeworm too.

Sunday, August 3

Few people in the streets. Most are in their milpas, clearing or felling the bush for future milpas. The present milpas are luxuriant as never before. It is probable that within two weeks there will be ahza¹ and pibil-nal² from the new ears. A quiet and monotonous day. Sun and heat.

Monday, August 4

This afternoon Don Anastacio Caamal left the village, together with his wife, his children, his niece and his nephews. They will make their home at Valladolid.

¹ Ear of new corn.
² Ear roasted in the earth-oven.
At the last moment Don Tacio appeared before the *comisario* stating that he would insist that people keep out of the house which the village had built for him, because he proposed to sell his land only. Immediately the *comisario* told this to Pablo Ku and Don Eus, President and Secretary, respectively, of the Local Agrarian Committee, who prevented the sale of this land "because lands acquired as a part of grants of ejidos are not saleable." \(^1\) As is easy to understand, Don Tacio was greatly displeased and promised to bring the matter to the knowledge of the *Presidente Municipal* of Valladolid and have him settle it. We shall see how this affair will turn out.

The men who went to Valladolid Saturday came back with some live stock.

**Tuesday, August 5**

Felipa, the little daughter of Maximo Uicab and Ana Ceme, has been sick for some days with "green diarrhea" and fever. On this account, Santiago Cen, the h-men of Pamba, arrived early this morning. As soon as he had made his examination, he announced that the child was possessed by *ojol-ik*, *coc-ik*, and *cote-tancaz-ik*, the evil winds that look like children and that always go about together. Don Fano assures me that on a certain night he saw them in the plaza at Eb'tun, "they appeared like three children, very little and toy-like; of the costume they wore I remember only the hat, which was of palm-leaf, with a high crown like the charros wear."

In order to drive these beings out of the child's body, the h-men made it known that he would perform the kex.\(^2\)

The mother and some neighbors (Doña Hila, Dionicia Dzul, Cecilia Un, and others) gathered together in the house and took charge of cooking three hens and preparing enough *atole* and tortillas. Meanwhile the h-men was sleeping peacefully in a hammock at the other end of the house, keeping his hand on a bottle of *anis* which he had near him. His wife followed his example.

When the women had finished their task, the performance began. As the h-men was tired, he made them put the little table near his hammock. On the table he put the food to be offered to the evil winds, and after asking for another bottle of *anis* began to pray. Each prayer was repeated thirteen times, and after each repetition the h-men and his wife took deep drinks of *anis*. When the contents of the gourd dishes had become possessed by the evil winds, the h-men threw them out. When I remarked that it was hardly prudent to throw such stuff on a neighbor's yard, since he might fall victim to the disease-bringing winds, he replied undisturbed (with the assent of the others present) that he "hadn't to take care because they are gone away to fall on the sea."

Then he "sanctified" the little girl by gently striking her head with a branch of zipche to the recital of a prayer, concluding by blowing on her head.

The h-men charged only thirty *centavos* for his work, but it is only fair to add that he drank up two bottles of *anis* at two pesos a bottle. At noon he left for X-Kalakdzonot where tomorrow some ceremony or other is to take place. It seems that this h-men has plenty of business, for he does not cultivate a milpa or do any other sort of work, and yet he is always rushed. The surprising characteristic both of him and his inseparable companion is their organic resistance to *anis*, of which they can take several bottles without giving the slightest evidence of intoxication.

**Wednesday, August 6**

In the afternoon there took place in the house of Don Fano the hetzmek of his grandchild, Felipa, daughter of Maximo Uicab and Ana Ceme. The proceedings were less

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1. I do not know of any law which so provides.
2. See p. 78.
interesting than those which occurred in Don Elut's house. Adolfo Ceme, uncle of the child, acted as godfather. After the nine ritual trips around the table with their appropriate uttered charges, he handed the child over to the others who were present, and they one by one “made hetzmek” with it, going around the table once. There was no godmother. According to Don Fano, she is not absolutely necessary. Afterward chocolate was served and with this the occasion ended. As always, only the nearest relatives attended.

Thursday, August 7

Occasioned by yesterday's hetzmek, today a meal was served in Don Fano's house, to which came those who were here last night.

A moment ago (it is seven o'clock) a child was born, the son of Apolinario Caamal and Feliciana Kantun. As Cayetano, Donato, Donaciano and Alberto are the saints of the day it is probable that the child will bear one of these names. It is curious that in spite of the affection and respect with which they regard me, they have always prevented me from seeing a newly born child, because, according to the midwife, being a carrier of malignant “winds” which pursue people who go through the streets, I would infect the navel or bring about I don't know what other troubles. Those who want to go close to a newly born child must remain outside a long time while such winds are departing from them.

Several arrerros from X-Cocail passed through. Rainy and hot.

Friday, August 8

Adolfo Ceme and Demetria Ceme are going tomorrow to sign their matrimonial declaration before the Registro Civil of Kaau. Don Guillermo Tamay and his wife will act as padrinos; Santiago and Tranquilino Yam will serve as witnesses. Accordingly the parents of the contracting parties, accompanied by all the persons already mentioned, left today for Valladolid to buy the equipment and the erno and rebozo to deck out the bride on the day of the nuptials. Before they left a meal was served them in the house of Don Fano.

The arrerros who came through the village yesterday returned on their way back to Valladolid. Rain and heat.

Saturday, August 9

The group of people who went to Valladolid yesterday returned today, and were entertained at dinner at Don Fano's house. The marriage is to take place on the 28th of this month.

Sunday, August 10

Don Eus, Don Nas, Edilberto and some others went out to drive in cattle from the bush; others went hunting. Everything as usual.

Monday, August 11

Adolfo went to Valladolid to get merchandise for the store. Don Bus is planting tobacco in his milpa.

Within a few days unless a miracle intervenes, Cristobal Dzul, six years of age, will be dead. His mother, Petrona Uc, does nothing whatsoever to relieve the intestinal infection from which the little boy suffers. The improper diet he is given (tortillas and chile) makes him worse day by day. Sun and heat.
Tuesday, August 12

Edilberto sold to Malaquias Yama, for nine pesos, a lot situated in front of the house of Don Trano (Transito Tec) the buyer’s father-in-law. As the ease with which this sale was made contrasts with the difficulties Don Tacio (Anastacio Caamal) encountered when he considered selling his lot, I consulted Don Eus, secretary of the Local Agrarian Committee, who explained the matter, saying that “everyone may sell his lot and even his house, always continuing to live in the village.”

Wednesday, August 13

Last night a novenario began in the house of Pablo Ku, in memory of his mother who died August 20 last year.

Malaquias Yama, aided by his brother, his father-in-law, and brother-in-law, began the construction of a palm-leaf house on the lot which he bought yesterday from Edilberto. Don Nas has gone to Yokdzonot to select and measure the land he is going to clear this year.

Today, at the house of Andrés Kuyoc, two hogs died suddenly, an event that has alarmed the neighbors, who fear that these are the first victims of the epizootic which has fallen upon neighboring rancherías. Sun and heat.

Thursday, August 14

Asunción has seen his desires fulfilled. Now he spends the day sewing on his machine, without paying any heed to his milpa. However, I doubt that his devotion to tailoring will last long, since up to now the only work he has had has been on the clothing of his sisters and other relatives, which as will be understood, does not yield him great returns.

Don Eus’ optimism has increased because yesterday he got rid of the tapeworm which has been bothering him for so long. Don Elut and Don Eus, exhibiting marked abdominal development due perhaps to old age, have got the idea that this physical defect is caused by tapeworms of unheard-of dimensions.

Friday, August 15

Two more hogs died today, at the house of Anselmo Un. Because of this, some men are beginning to take their swine out to distant milperios, and others, more practical, are taking them to Valladolid for sale.

It seems that this year the saints are off duty; the hogs, that in most years bring welcome earnings to their owners, are dying; and the corn, the product of endless work and weariness, has reached the bottom price of one peso a carga, a circumstance not known for many years. Yet there is not a complaint, not a minor blasphemy; it is Destiny. Sun and heat.

Saturday, August 16

Organized by Don Eus and by Don Rosa this evening there will begin in the oratorio a novenario in honor of San Diego, invoking his protection to keep the pueblo from the epizootic and the drought which begins to be felt in the region.

Sunday, August 17

Don Tino, perhaps not trusting in the efficiency of San Diego, took his hogs to Valladolid this morning. Only Don Rosa, a man of unshakeable faith and very bad luck, laughs at the fears of his neighbors.

A boy came from Kaua selling the meat of a bull slaughtered this morning.
Monday, August 18

Don Nas, helped by Edilberto and Martiniano, resumed work on the cuartel. Everything as usual. Sun and heat.

Tuesday, August 19

It is really surprising, the contempt in which the Maya here hold their language. Parents use every means possible to make their children speak only in Spanish. Edilberto Ceme, my neighbor, who knows plenty of Spanish, energetically punishes his three-year-old son when, through forgetfulness, he speaks in Maya. If outsiders who come here speak the language, from that moment on they are not regarded as persons of culture. Thus, as they take advantage of every opportunity for putting their language behind them, it is not out of the question but that in not many years they will have accomplished their great ambition: they will come to speak Spanish. Nothing new. Sun and heat.

Wednesday, August 20

This morning died Alberto Casmal, the child born the seventh of this month. The death was probably caused by some cardiac trouble. As in death the infant’s color was dark blue, the people assure me that the death was caused by a maleficent bird called tzitz-moo-tancätz, which sings as it passes.

This afternoon there arrived, passing through in the course of a journey, Miss MacKay, Miss Larson and Miss Chabela.

As tonight is the last night of the novenario being celebrated in the house of Pablo Ku, today’s rezo will not be held at 7 p.m. as were the earlier ones, but at 11 p.m., the hour at which occurred the death of the person commemorated.

Thursday, August 21

This morning a daughter was born to Natalia Pech and Martiniano Tamay. She will be called Francisca, her grandmother tells me.

Don Guillermo killed the only hog he had. Nobody wanted to buy the meat, perhaps for fear of tapeworm; however this precautionary spirit will not last long.

Juanito, a boy from Valladolid, arrived. He is a youth with a high voice and an effeminate manner, who often criticizes and makes fun of the young people here; he frequently brings sandalo to sell. A baker also came from Kaua; his stock was bought up in no time. Sun and heat.

Friday, August 22

The oratorio has been well frequented these past nights because of the novenario to San Diego. Everybody, down to the aged and the sick, comes to bring down upon themselves the good will of the Patron, who appears to have forgotten his believers.

1 If this attitude with regard to language is not exactly common, it is certainly not rare, especially among the “principal people” (the Came or Pat families). As a result, some of the children are beginning to talk some Spanish. However, it is curious to observe that in spite of the efforts which Edilberto has expended in teaching Spanish to his son, the boy talks more Maya every day.

2 Edilberto or his wife punishes the boy with little blows when he commits some error. Other fathers, or one had better say mothers—for they have the greater opportunity to punish—whip their children with straps. They can not understand that a child may learn without punishment. Many times parents have come to me to ask that I punish their children, making them kneel on small pebbles “because that is the way they did in the old times.” In general it should be said that while punishment is not excessive among the Maya neither is it rare.

3 See page 169.
Saturday, August 23

In confirmation of the prediction I made earlier, this morning died Cristobal Dzul, a victim of the indifference and ignorance of his mother.

The milpas are beginning to lose their freshness. Sun and heat.

Sunday, August 24

Most of the people are here, for the milpas now for their full development need nothing but a little attention on the part of the chaacs.

The present agricultural preoccupation lies in the selecting and measuring of the land to be cleared for the next milpas. This matter, apparently simple, is a hard problem for the laborer, who needs the help of San Diego, burning candles the better to make a choice of a tract favorable for the rains, as it usually happens that some milpas are luxuriant, having plenty of rain, while others not far off dry up because not a drop of water falls on them.

This morning the child that died yesterday was accompanied to the cemetery by a number of people of the village. Sun and heat.

Monday, August 25

Last night the novenario to San Diego came to an end. Right after the novena Don Bus announced to those present the decision to organize another novenario in honor of the Holy Cross, as it might happen that the latter would grow angry at seeing honors offered to San Diego. Juan de la Rosa Pat said that it was better to make a novenario to God, because He was greater than the Holy Cross. It was Don Fano who solved the problem: there will be two novenas (two nights) in honor of God; these will be followed by a novenario (nine nights) in honor of the Holy Cross; thus the village may count on the aid and protection of the highest heavenly personages. This afternoon it rained so hard that the streets are completely flooded. This is enough to convince the most skeptical of the miraculous power of San Diego.

Tuesday, August 26

Don Eus was the first to make ahza, or atole of new corn, and roasted ears, which people are wont to offer to one another when the maize begins to mature. Monotony. Rain and heat.

Wednesday, August 27

Today Pablo Ku celebrated in his house the u hanli col or “dinner-of-the-milpa.” This is a ceremony which the agriculturist performs when the milpa begins to ripen, as a sign of gratitude to the chaacs and especially to the balams, the beneficent spirits stationed at the corners of the milpas, and whose principal purpose is to keep away animals and men who would injure the maize. It is performed every four years, and if through greed the agriculturist allows six years to go by without the ceremony, then he is punished by the balams with sickness and other misfortunes (p. 134).

Thursday, August 28

At dawn today a novena was held in the oratorio, organized by Leandro Caamal, so as to offer San Diego the atole of new corn and the cooked ears of the first maize harvested in his milpa.
APPENDIX A

At the same hour Adolfo Ceme and Demetria Ceme left for Kaua, there to get married in the Registro Civil. They were accompanied by Hilaria Pat (mother of the bride); Guillermo Tamay and his wife (padrinos); Santiago and Tranquilino Yam (witnesses). In Don Fano's house hospitality was offered to the villagers from breakfast time to supper. Three turkeys and several hens were cooked. The bride as well as her parents were very tearful. The couple will live in Don Fano's house. He has not found it necessary to buy any furniture, or any cooking utensils, or anything—not even another hammock.

Another u hanli col in the houses of Apolinario Caamal and Cleofas Yama. Sun and heat.

Monday, September 1

In the evening, invited by Don Fano, the greater part of the milpa workers came to his house and decided to hold the cha-chaac, because the drought threatens to continue even longer, an event which would occasion the loss of the next harvest. Taking advantage of the presence of the h-men, José D. Noh, they employed him to perform this ceremony, a preliminary part of which will begin tomorrow.

Tuesday, September 2

In the early hours of the morning arrived the h-men. With the aid of the milperos he proceeded to erect an altar in the yard of the cuartel. At midday all the men went to get "virgin water" from a cenote far in the depth of the forest. In the evening they returned and placed by the altar their calabashes filled with the sacred fluid. Some of the men have hung their hammocks in the yard of the cuartel.

Wednesday, September 3

The activities of the day began a little before dawn. The h-men chose as his assistants, or izacs, probably on account of their age and knowledge, Don Fano and Don Guillermo, who thereupon received and put down in a notebook, so as to avoid confusion, the two kilos of posole, one quarter of sugar, and two candles, which each man has to contribute today. The h-men then prepared part of the zaca in a tinaja, using the water in the calabashes, and offered it to the chaacs, balams, and to San Miguel with a prayer. At six o'clock he offered zaca to San Lazaro, San Jorge and San Roque.

After this he went up to the altar and consulted his zaztuns, announcing to those present that "by the will of Santos Lazaro, Jorge, and Roque, you will kill two deer over towards X-Cocail."

This welcome prophecy was received with shouts of delight which did not end until the hunters had disappeared in the bush. At eleven o'clock they came back, sweaty and weary, without having obtained anything. But they did not on this account lose faith in the h-men, who explained the matter thus: "Probably the zip have protected the deer, but they will be found in the direction of Tzeal."

As a result, as soon as they had eaten the zaca, once more offered to the chaacs, balams, and San Miguel, they resumed work on the hunt in the direction indicated by the h-men who this time had better success with his soothsaying, for the hunters got a small deer in the region where he had predicted that they would. As soon as the meat had been cooked in the pib, it is placed on the altar for the hunters to eat.

1 The grief Demetria and her parents showed was sincere; it was due partly to the great changes brought about in the domestic arrangements—it was Demetria who looked after the cattle.
2 The full description of this ceremony is given on p. 138.
3 Zip, see p. 117.
From time to time during the remainder of the afternoon, and through the night until two o'clock in the morning, the h-men offered zaca. In the intervals the men present amused themselves eating zikil-top and telling stories of the alux1 and of the uaycots,2 and other ingenuous yarns which ended by putting them all to sleep.

Thursday, September 4

The entire day was spent in the performance of the cha-chaac ceremony. At dawn, after a short intermission for sleep, the h-men began his work. Out of a jar that had been resting on the ground he filled thirteen homas and two jicaras with balche, and offered it to the gods with a long chanted prayer. The chant ended, the idzacs distributed the balche among those present. Meanwhile the women inside the houses were preparing the dough and ground squash seed to be used later in the bread-stuffs. Morning had come by now, and Don Fano received, and noted in his little book the amount brought by each man: three kilos of dough, one-half a kilo of ground squash seed, a hen, and seventy-five centavos with which to buy the recados (seasonings), and to pay the h-men.

When the hens had been collected, they were sanctified and devoted to the gods. Kneeling at the altar an idzac opened the beak of each hen and the h-men threw in balche and repeated a prayer, while the idzac wrung the fowl's neck. So twenty-three hens were sacrificed, and no doubt had there been more, the prayer would have been correspondingly prolonged.

This ended, the h-men returned to his hammock, interrupting his rest from time to time to approach the altar and there to sprinkle the cross with balche, and to murmur prayers.

Afterward the idzacs took charge of distributing the consecrated balche; as this went on, people exchanged the acknowledgment: "oxtez cuntabac tech, tat." This took place thirteen times during the day.

The men spent the entire morning preparing the broth and the sacred breads. They made four special breads, to be dedicated to frogs. The idzacs cut branches of habin and covered the Holy Cross, so as to protect it from the sun, now high. The ninth time that the h-men came up to the altar to consecrate the wine, he wet his zaztuns in it, and then gazed through them against the light, perhaps to learn the will of the gods. However, whatever he might have made known, no one knew, for when he had ended his divine consultation, he kept his zaztuns well hidden in his sabucan, and placidly resumed his interrupted rest.

At midday the breads were taken out of the pib, and the sopas, made of the fowl, were placed in symbolic order on the altar. Then the h-men stationed four boys at the four legs of the table, and named Don Trano to enact the role of Kunku Chaac, chief of the chaacs. The two idzacs, and three of the other men present, lifted him up and carried him, with all reverence, and careful not to turn their backs to the altar, to the "chun caan," situated 8 meters east of the altar. An idzac supplied him with a calabash and a machete, to be used in producing the storm, and he was left by himself, while his bearers returned to the group.

Then the h-men knelt at the altar with the idzacs standing at either side, and delivered a long prayer; the idzacs sprinkled the altar with balche and replenished the incense in the brazier; the "frogs" sang loudly; and the Kunku from time to time rose to his feet and with his voice imitated the sound of the thunder and with his machete the flash of lightning.

The food on the altar was then offered to the gods with another prayer. Then, taking a smaller homa, wrapped in a cloth with a cross embroidered on it, the h-men knelt at the altar and drank the balche it contained.

1 Alux, see p. 119.
2 Uaycota, see p. 179.
Every man present did likewise. This ended, all went some distance from the altar, keeping complete silence so as not to interrupt the feasting of the gods, who would surely take with enjoyment the *gracia* of the breads and the *sopas*.

When the h-men had decided that the gods had finished, he ordered four men to go with him to find the Kunku Chaac. When they were in the presence of the latter, the h-men poured balche on his head, saying, in Maya, "In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. One, two, three, four, thirteen times in the name of God, the Holy Ghost, Amen."

The Kunku then went to sit among the "frogs," who had become separated from the others and were eating the part of the food which fell to their share. The breads and the *sopas* were divided among all present, and for a long time nothing was heard but the exaggerated noises one makes in appreciating the taste of much relished comestibles. The dinner over, the diners, returning to their houses, carried with them the food that was left over.

Later the h-men sanctified the spot where the ceremony had taken place by sprinkling balche on the chun caan (the place where the Kunku Chaac had been stationed). With this the cha-chaac ended; the troubled spirits of the agriculturists, who saw their maize plants languishing, forgotten by the chaacs, have revived.

Early this morning a male child was born to the wife of Juan de la Rosa Pat.

**Friday, September 5**

Work on the *cuartel* has been suspended for lack of *sascab*; it will be resumed when the *guardias* have collected more.

Don Nas has gone to his milpa at Yokdozonot.

**Saturday, September 6**

Nothing new. All quiet. Sun and heat.

**Sunday, September 7**

Santiago Dzul performed the *u hanli col* ceremony in his yard. Others, too, are doing this, frightened by the lack of rain. Two cattle merchants arrived with some beef cattle. Don Nas has returned from his milpa.

**Monday, September 8**

Work on the *cuartel* was resumed. Don Bus bought a small cow for seventy-five pesos of the merchants who came yesterday, and Don Fano exchanged a bull for a cow. Don Tino bought a bull for sixty pesos from Don Eus. This was a day of great commercial activity. Sun and heat.

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**Saturday, September 20**

Last night, occasioned by the evening of Don Eus' birthday, there was a *jarana* in his house, to the music of his phonograph. *Tamales* were served to those present.

The people appear to be optimistic. Perhaps this good humor is in part due to the rains of the past few days, that have done much to alleviate the drooping condition of the milpas. Rain; pleasant temperature.
Sunday, September 21

Last night a novena was held in Don Fano’s house, so as to offer pibil-nal\(^1\) to the Holy Cross, also atole made of the first corn harvested this year. Afterward, using the phonograph, a jarana was improvised which ended only with the first hours of today. As a result the young men are sleepy and did not go out hunting. Cloudy and drizzly.

Monday, September 23

As tomorrow is the birthday of Asunci6n Tec, it will be celebrated this evening with a jarana, enlivened by the phonograph; tamales will be served. This custom of celebrating birthdays is very recent; only a short time ago such occasions went unrecognized. I believe Don Nas began the practice, ever since the day he acquired a phonograph with which to organize fiestas. Cloudy and rainy.

Wednesday, September 24

Those men who have not yet begun to fell trees for the milpas are busy in improving their houses—making enclosures for their stock, clearing the herbage from their yards, burning lime, etc.

Work on the cuartel has been suspended again because money is lacking with which to pay the mason.

Thursday, September 25

Today like yesterday.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

Sunday, September 28

Edilberto Ceme, President of the Liga, went yesterday to Valladolid to ask the help of the Diputado\(^2\) in getting the cuartel finished. The oven was finished. Some men went hunting. Cloudy and rainy.

Monday, September 29

Don Madal returned yesterday from Uaymilchen, reporting that the wild hogs were destroying the young maize plants in the milpas there. Therefore those having milpas at Uaymilchen went off to combat these animals.

Edilberto came back; the Diputado promised aid “at the first opportunity.”

Tuesday, September 30

All quiet. Cloudy and rainy.

Wednesday, October 1

Only the shouts of the school children, coming out of school break for a moment, the prevailing stillness. The men are felling bush in their milpas.\(^3\) Don Nas and Edilberto went to Yokdzonot to see if it is time yet to bend over (doblar)\(^4\) the maize stalks.

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\(^1\) Corn roasted on the ear.
\(^2\) Representative of the Departamento (Partido) in the National Assembly.
\(^3\) See p. 43.
\(^4\) Doblar is to bend over the maize stalk so as to prevent the birds from destroying the ears, p. 45.
Thursday, October 2

The men who went to Usymilchen returned, having killed only a single wild hog. Don Tino and Edilberto returned from their milpas.

Friday, October 3

Edilberto, helped by his relatives, worked in his milpa collecting ears of corn so that tomorrow they can make pibil-nal. This is the custom of offering to the gods the first fruits of the maize plants.1

Saturday, October 4

At one o'clock in the morning work began in Edilberto's house. While his wife and the neighbors were preparing the atole, the men went out some distance where the pib had been made, to take out the ears put in it the night before. When they had returned with baskets full of pibilnales, the men put thirteen pairs of ears and four gourd vessels of atole on two horizontal poles, a meter and a half long, fastened at their ends to other poles of similar length, fastened perpendicularly in the ground among the shrubbery of the yard. On these poles he also placed a cross and two lighted candles. Having arranged all this he mumbled a prayer,2 meanwhile pouring out the atole from the gourd vessels toward the east.

He then put out the candles and returned to his house, where the men, indifferent to his actions, were cheerfully conversing, while the children played in the street, raising great clamor, excited perhaps by the moonlight.

After atole and pibinal had been served to everyone, all went to the oratorio where a novena was held in honor of the Holy Cross, to whom likewise was due the offering of first fruits of the milpas. At the conclusion of the novena rockets were discharged.

Until morning was well on its way Edilberto's wife was busy carrying to the houses of her neighbors chuyub holding gourd vessels of atole, and pibilnal. Sun and heat.

Sunday, October 5

Today Juan de la Rosa Pat performed the u hanli col ceremony.

Don Tino, Don Elut and Don Eus, with the help of their neighbors, busied themselves picking corn ears and preparing a pib for the pibil-nal which they are going to hold tomorrow in their respective houses. Sun and heat.

Monday, October 6

In the morning the pibil-nal was celebrated in the houses of the men mentioned above. On this account people were busy from midnight on: the women preparing the atole and the men carrying the pibil-nal from the pib.

Don Eus was the only one who made the novena to the Holy Cross in the oratorio; the others held it in their houses.

All the people, little and big, though without interrupting their labors, spent the day eating pibil-nal. So it will continue until the corn becomes too hard to chew easily.

Tuesday, October 7

The streets are deserted once more. Most of the men have returned to their milpas to continue felling trees for the next milpas. Some are beginning to doblar. Don Nas, with the help of the Tamay brothers, has resumed work on their house.

1 See p. 143.
2 Text given on p. 354.
Wednesday, October 8

Don Elut, aided by his sons, is preparing a lime-burning in the yard of his house.

A communication arrived from the Presidente Municipal of Valladolid summoning the officers of the Liga to a meeting to be held in that city next Sunday to choose the Municipal authorities of the cabeecera, who are to hold office next year. According to custom, the present Presidente will be re-elected.

Thursday, October 9

Toward evening there arrived from Yokdzonot Leandro Pat and his wife, Antonia Chi. He said they were just out for a little trip; however, the bottles of anis and the cigarettes he carried in his sabucan aroused the suspicions of the people who became very curious to know who was the chosen girl. And as these are things that are discovered no matter how secretly they are carried on, soon it became known that the visitors wanted, for their son, the hand of Severiana, Don Polin’s daughter. Don Polin did not agree to such an arrangement, however, because the girl is still in school. In view of this the visitors went to Don Rosa’s house from where, up to the present hour, they have not yet emerged.

Friday, October 10

The visitors spent the night in Don Rosa’s house, returning home today. As in departing they did not take away with them the anis nor the cigarettes, it is supposed that they reached an understanding with Don Rosa, whose daughter “Vicha” (Victoria) is suitable for marriage.

In the evening the h-men, Marcos Mukul, came to sanctify (santiguar) Don Eus. The h-men assures me that this ceremony drives the evil winds away from people. The ceremony differed little from others of the sort I have seen. The h-men stood beside a table on which were a cross, two candles and two roasted hens. Holding his hands on his breast, he mumbled a prayer.

Then he took a branch of zipche and struck the body of the sick man, making the sign of the cross over his head, while he repeated this prayer. When he had done this, he went up to the table and with hands again on his breast he recited the prayer a third time. With this ended the santiguar, which no doubt will relieve Don Eus of his troubles.

Saturday, October 11

Today it is seven weeks since died Cristobal Dzul; hence in his mother’s house a novena was celebrated today to rest his soul. Pibil-nal was celebrated in several houses.

Edilberto Ceme, Rosendo Ceme, Primitivo Pat, Filemomo Noh and Anacleto Dzul, directors of the Liga, went to Valladolid in compliance with the order received Wednesday. Emiliano Tamay went along, to get flour, sugar and the other materials they will use in the bakery.

Sunday, October 12

Last night a number of families came back from their milpas, bringing green corn with which tomorrow to make pibil-nal. The preliminary work occupied them all day. Don Nas began to build his masonry house. Sun and heat.

1 Thirteen years old. So also is Severiana.
Monday, October 13

From midnight on the bells rang in the oratorio, announcing to the people the novenas of the pibil-nal held recently in a number of houses. Young and old began their visiting, enlivening the streets, and until late in the morning they continued to drink atole and eat pibil-nal as if they would never do it again.

Those who went to Valladolid Saturday returned. As I thought, the present Presidents Municipal was elected in the "Magna y Democrática Convención."

Tuesday, October 14

Again many have left for their milpas where they have begun to doblar. Cloudy and rainy.

Thursday, October 16

Don Fano and some others occupied themselves mending the curbstone of the cenote.

Friday, October 17

Don Nas, Edilberto and Martiniano received a bull from Don Pil as an advance in respect to mason's work they are to do for him soon. It will probably be butchered tomorrow. Cloudy and rainy.

Saturday, October 18

Early this morning the bull was slaughtered at the Tamay house. Most of the meat was sold in nearby rancherías.

A moment ago some boys caught a fox, bathed it in kerosene and set fire to it with a match; great merriment was caused by the wild career of the poor animal in its horrible agony.

Sunday, October 19

Zono arrived from Cuncunul, together with another man. These are to be the bakers in the bakery that is to have its inauguration tomorrow in the house of the Tamay brothers. Don Fano and some others went to their milpas. Rain. Hot weather.

Monday, October 20

The bakery was opened. The bread was sold here and in rancherías in the neighborhood. Don Fano returned.

Tuesday, October 21

The Liga Central has given permission to the local Liga to spend its funds on the continuation of building of the cuartel; therefore this work will be resumed. As each member pays 1.20 pesos a year, from 70 to 80 pesos will be available.

Wednesday, October 22

Nothing worth noting. Sun and heat.

Thursday, October 23

In Don Eus' house a novena was held in honor of the Holy Cross. Sun and heat.
Friday, October 24

The *dobla* continues. Few people in the village. Sun and heat.

Saturday, October 25

Due to the bottom price that corn has reached this year, the *milperos* here have not wanted to sell their harvest, hoping for a rise in prices. Therefore the business activities, that on other occasions have given life to the village, have today been non-existent. However, neither this fact nor the acute economic crisis which the State is experiencing disturbs them.

Sunday, October 26

Last night several families returned from their milpas. At midday some men went hunting.

Monday, October 27

Today a man came from Valladolid selling images of *santos* at fifty *centavos* apiece. These were in great demand, thanks to the marvelous powers attributed by the seller, and to the prevailing need for immediate improvement in the economic situation.

Tuesday, October 28

The *santo* seller returned to Valladolid, promising to return bringing other "novelties." He took a great quantity of hens away with him. Don Bus changed the clothing of San Diego, and the candles in the *oratorio*.

Wednesday, October 29

This morning the examinations concluding this school term were held before the teachers, Pedro Aguilar and Moises Arceo, and a number of parents.

In Marcos Canche's house a *rezo* was celebrated in commemoration of the seventh month after the death of his daughter Alberta.

Thursday, October 30

At midday the seventh month after the death of little Leonila was commemorated in the Tamay house. (These prayers are usually held at the same hour at which the death occurred.)

In the afternoon Rosa Uc, wife of Emiliano Tamay, gave birth to a boy. She was attended by Doña Leandra. Cloudy; pleasant temperature.

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Saturday, November 8

Today, during the informal meeting which occurs every evening in Don Fano's store it was decided to organize a *novenario* in honor of San Diego, whose day will be the twelfth of this month.

Sunday, November 9

Today the novenas began in the *oratorio*; in the daily monotony these serve as solace and entertainment for the people. A number of families returned from their milpas, having finished the *dobla*. Cloudy; fresh weather.
Monday, November 10

Edilberto, Martiniano and Asunción made arrangements with the musicians of Cuncunul to play tomorrow night at a *jarana*, on the occasion of the *víspera* of San Diego; the three divide the expenses equally.

Tuesday, November 11

This afternoon, taking advantage of the presence in the village of almost all the people on account of the *jarana*, a meeting was held in the *comisaría* to select the President of the *Liga* and the *comisario* for the coming year. As these positions are periodically filled by the same individuals, the election was easily made; without any discussion Ignacio Batun and Eustaquio Ceme were chosen for the respective posts.

At this moment (10 p. m.) a *jarana* is taking place with great animation at the doors of the *oratorio*. A number of families have arrived from Xanla and X-Kopteil. The young people who want to dance have to pay the organizers twenty-five centavos.

Wednesday, November 12

The *jarana* ended at dawn. The organizers recovered only five pesos of the fifteen they spent on the music. Today end the novenas organized in honor of San Diego, although the *novenario* is not complete; there are not enough people to undertake those remaining. Apparently few are concerned about the Patron today, probably because the harvest is in. Cloudy and fresh.

Thursday, November 13

Many returned to their milpas. Some began to harvest. Sun; pleasant temperature.

Friday, November 14

Adolfo Ceme, Emiliano and Matilde Tamay went to Valladolid today, the first to buy merchandise for the store and the others in search of work. They have aspirations, they tell me, to become functionaries in some store in that city. Edilberto went also so as to buy cement for the floor of the *cuartel*, work on which has been suspended for lack of material.

Saturday, November 15

No one left; no one arrived. All just the same. Sun and heat.

Sunday, November 16

Adolfo and Edilberto returned. Some men went hunting.

Monday, November 17

Last night Hilaria Pat, Don Eus' wife, gave birth to a boy; she was attended by Doña Leandra. The name the child will have is not yet known.

Work on the *cuartel* was resumed.

Herculano Hu, helped by some of his neighbors, continues building his palm house. Matilde, Emiliano and Zono returned from Valladolid. Matilde attained his object: he is to be an employe in a store in that city. Emiliano will help Zono in his ambulatory trade. Sun and heat.
Tuesday, November 18

Those who have milpas in the neighborhood have hurried with the harvest, so as to
enclose their cattle in the fields and use the leaves as fodder.

Two merchants came from Valladolid selling cloth, earrings, mirrors, etc.

Wednesday, November 19

Santiago Dzul bought a cow from some cattle merchants who arrived today. Zono
and Emiliano went off to rancherías in the neighborhood. The dobla has ended; most of
the men now pass the day busy with small affairs, or hunting.

Thursday, November 20

This evening there ended, after long difficulties, the building of the cuartel. For its
inauguration only the doors are lacking. Don Guillermo went to Santa María to hold a
rezo there.

Friday, November 21

Emiliano and Zono returned. Their ware found a good market—cloth, thread,
ornaments for huipils, and other inexpensive objects. The Tamay bakery suspended
activities some days ago because so little bread was sold.

Taking advantage of the windy weather, the boys play with popagayos, as kites are
called here. Sun and heat.

Saturday, November 22

Two boys came from Bojon selling sosquil (henequen fiber) which is at present all
gone here.

From Ticimul came three men, to rent a bull for the bull-fight at the coming fiesta at
Kaua. It appears that no one wanted to rent them one.

Sunday, November 23

Zono, Emiliano, Matilde, Tito, and some others have gone to Valladolid to attend
the fiesta of the barrio of San Juan, which begins there tomorrow.

In the afternoon, according to the summons of the comisario, most of the men met
in the comisaría. "Comrades," said the comisario, "I have had you called together in
order to hand over to you the cuartel which Don Nas has now finished, and that you
may see how the money which you contributed from your milpas has been used. As
this cuartel has taken much work in its construction, I advise you to take good care of
it, and don't let the boys draw on its walls." To this Eleuterio Pat replied: "Thank
you very much, sir, we hear what you say and we are very well satisfied because the cuartel
is finished, and we shall try to see that the boys don't draw on its walls." The same
thing, or something very similar, was said by Felipe Ceme. Then they agreed to hold a
jarana in the corredores of the cuartel, on the first of next January, the day on which the
new comisario enters office. Sun and heat.

Monday, November 24

Don Nas, with the help of Martiniano and Porfirio Tamay, busied himself in preparing
a lime-kiln. Don Fano, helped by his son Adolfo and his nephew Evelio, has begun
building a wall.
At 11 a.m. little Exiquia, daughter of Anacleto Dzul and born last Tuesday, died from an unknown disease ("she just had fever and cried a lot," say the parents). Leandra Caamal, the midwife who attended the mother, asserts that babies born on Tuesday or Friday rarely reach their majority and if they do they grow up to be people with an evil influence, casting the blight of the evil eye upon those about them. Right now (9 p.m.) the neighbors are praying and singing by the body. The mother is still ill as a result of the confinement. There have been no signs of spontaneous grief. Cloudy; moderate temperature.

*Tuesday, November 25*

Today at 11 a.m. took place the burial of the little one who died yesterday. A number of neighbors attended. At night a novenario was begun in behalf of her soul at the house of her parents. Cloudy and cold.

*Wednesday, November 26*

Eleuterio Pat and his wife Antonia Caamal, accompanied by their son Primitivo Pat, went to Xanla this afternoon in order to hand over the mihui to the parents of Bartola Poot. Sun; pleasant weather.

*Thursday, November 27*

There returned from Xanla those who went there yesterday, bringing with them the promised bride, who has begun her married life with Primitivo with no more formalities than an announcement by the parents. Cloudy and cold.

*Friday, November 28*

At daybreak today there appeared at the house of the comisario the wife of one Eligio, who, amid sobs and lamentations, declared that her husband had given her a beating with a piece of liana. Later on the guardias arrested the culprit. Subsequently, when it became a matter of investigating the occurrence, Don Eus appeared at the comisaría, pointing out the impropriety of the act, because "it is neither constitutional nor civilized to hold investigations immediately after events have taken place; they should be held at least twenty-four hours later, as can be seen by the Notas Policiales printed in the Diario de Yucatán and that it is the custom in Mérida and in all important and cultured places." Conquered by such a crushing argument, the comisario ordered Eligio to be taken back to jail and his wife to return tomorrow at the same hour in order that the investigation might be carried out in a civilized manner, in conformity with the law.

*Saturday, November 29*

At eight in the morning Eligio was set at liberty because his wife withdrew her request, declaring that she did not object to the beating she had received.

Later on Eligio again appeared at the comisaría saying that his second (polygamous) wife had left his home taking with her a hammock and a sheet. As it was known that she had gone to a neighbor's house, she was summoned. In the presence of the comisario she declared that she had left Eligio because he never bought her huipiles, nor rebozos, nor anything. Eligio replied that it was true what she had said, but that it was due more to a lack of money than because of ill-will, and as a proof of this he presented her with the hammock and the sheet she had taken away with her. In spite of this splendid gift, she refused to return to him. In view of this, the comisario advised their separating in order
to avoid domestic discord. The woman, proud and indifferent, returned to the neighbor's house and the man, resigned to his fate, to his home. Justice in this case was administered without delay, probably due to the fact that Don Eus was out looking for his cattle. Cloudy; pleasant weather.

Sunday, November 30

In the morning the parents of Primitivo Pat, with the latter and his wife Bartola, went to Valladolid to buy Bartola clothes. Don Balbino the h-men, deserted by his wife some time ago, told at the gathering which meets daily in the store of Don Fano, that this evening he would consult his zaztun to see if it would be a good thing for him to take Eligio's second wife as a mate, now that she had left Eligio.

At night there was a meeting in the school house to select the object which the Carnegie Institution, through Mr. Redfield, has promised to present to the village. By unanimous choice, two gasoline lamps, which are much needed in the recently built cuartel, were decided upon. Amidst the greatest enthusiasm the meeting came to a close with a resolution to hold a farana on the night on which the lamps are presented. Cloudy, pleasant weather.

Monday, December 1

Don Balbino did not, it appears, receive a favorable reply to his proposal last night, for the object of his attentions today returned to Eligio "because she was not willing to allow the first wife to enjoy the house all by herself" (according to Doña Simona). Rainy; cold.

Tuesday, December 2

Busy with simple concerns, or in the hammocks, the men enjoyed the calm of this grey, rainy day.

Wednesday, December 3

In the afternoon returned from Valladolid Eleuterio Pat, his wife, Primitivo, and Bartola. At night there took place in the chapel a novena dedicated to the Niño Dios, organized by Don Nas in order to make up the list of people who wished to contribute to his novenario which begins the 18th of this month.

Thursday, December 4

At midday, when the village was in peace, there was heard a terrifying humming which made people come out from their houses to seek the cause of this so unaccustomed disturbance. In a few minutes an aeroplane appeared, flying at a low altitude in the direction of Chichen Itza. The impression on the people, at seeing such a strange, mysterious machine, was indescribable, a mixture of fear and surprise, for they had never seen such a thing before in their lives. For a long time the people remained standing in the street, making the most varied comments upon the apparition. Most of them doubt that the men in it are human. However, the more experienced accept the possibility that its passengers may be Americans.

Friday, December 5

Last night the fiesta of Kaua began with a baqueria. Don Nas rented out his bull for five pesos for one of the events. Up to this time no one from here has planned to go to this fiesta. Sun and heat.
Saturday, December 6

The parents of Emeterio have decided that he and the girl with whom he has been living shall marry. For this reason they have today gone to Kaua to register this intention. Some time ago this boy's choice fell on Cristina Yam, who had separated from Asunción Tec. But his parents frowned upon his selection, because of the girl's former marriage; they persuaded him to give up the idea of taking Cristina as wife. His second choice was embodied in a girl divorced by her husband about three years ago on account of her premarital relations with another. This choice also was strenuously opposed by the boy's parents. About seven months ago he attended a jarana in Pamba, and upon his return told his parents of meeting a girl who suited him. His father, with his wife, without employing a casamentero, paid a visit to the parents of this third girl. Their investigations on this occasion led them to continue negotiations; a second visit resulted in an agreement of marriage. But now difficulties arose: it was rumored to the father that the girl had had sexual relations with a youth of Pamba. About this same time the parents of this latter boy had been negotiating for the marriage of their son with the girl, and the girl's parents actually accepted two mihuls, one from the parents of the Chan Kom boy and another from those of the boy of Pamba. This difficult situation was relieved in the following manner: the boy of Pamba had the municipal authorities order the girl's parents to return the complainant's mihul. This was done and the marriage arrangements with the other boy were concluded.

It was in view of the girl's relations with this other boy that her parents and those of the boy condoned the assumption of marital relations without a civil or religious ceremony. But once she was living in the house of her father-in-law with the boy, his paternal grandmother and paternal uncles urged the impropriety of the arrangement, and brought about the civil marriage at Kaua.

Sunday, December 7

The village appears uninhabited; the few women who go for water to the cenote, the crowing of the cocks, and the lowing of the cattle are the only signs of life. Sun; cold.

Monday, December 8

Those who went to Kaua have begun coming back. According to their tales the crowd there is enormous and the saloons overcrowded. The cura of Valladolid, who promised that he would come at the urgent request of the village, is awaited impatiently. In view of the success of the event, the diputados have agreed to prolong the fiesta by one day. Sun and heat.

Tuesday, December 9

"Vicha," the daughter of Juan de la Rosa Pat, has engaged herself as a servant to a certain family of Cuncunul. As a result, all the arrangements that her parents have made with regard to her and Leandro Pat are automatically void. It is possible that ill-feeling may arise between the interested parties, as such a situation is very rare. Sun and heat.

Wednesday, December 10

The village is all activity today. The Tamay family have begun again the construction of their house; Don Nas is working at his; the mason from Tekom is working upon that of Don Elut; Don Fano, with the help of his sons and Evelio, is building another; Asunción and some of the others are getting sascab or cutting wood for future buildings.
All this gives an impression of animation in contrast to the inertia of other days. In the afternoon Doña Simona arrived from Kaua and reported that the cura of Valladolid, keeping his word, came yesterday to the village and said two masses at the moderate price of twenty pesos for each mass. The church appeared all day filled to bursting with people who were taking advantage of the presence of the priest, who, in accordance with the situation, did not charge his usual prices. According to my informant and other travelers, the good minister of God returned to Valladolid with a sabucan full of money, as a humble reward for his labors. Maize is quoted at fifty centavos a carga. Sun; pleasant weather.

Thursday, December 11

Nothing worth noting. Sun; pleasant weather.

Friday, December 12

Almost the entire village appears to be suffering from catarrh, caused probably by the marked changes in temperature in the last few days. However, Don Eus assures me that it is due to the meteorites which have so frequently cloven through space on these nights. “These, falling down to the sea,” produce all sorts of sicknesses, which later spread through the country. Sun; pleasant weather.

Saturday, December 13

Jacinto Pech, an inhabitant of Ticimul, presented himself to the comisario with the news that in the bush he had found a horse that had been shot; he named as suspects three inhabitants of this village whose milpas are near the aforementioned rancheria. Those who are supposed responsible have been summoned for eight tomorrow morning in order that the necessary inquiries be carried out. Sun; pleasant weather.

Sunday, December 14

From the statements made with regard to the death of the horse it appears that the inhabitants of this village are quite guiltless of this act, as a result of which they are at liberty. At nightfall the owner of the horse appeared again and decided that he knew the guilty party, a certain man from Kaua, who, while hunting at night, shot the horse by mistaking it for a deer. The matter has been passed on to the comisario at Kaua.

Several families are in the milpas harvesting beans. Sun; pleasant weather.

Monday, December 15

At daybreak a messenger arrived from Yaxuna bearing an official letter from the comisario of that place in which he reported that the brothers ——, cattle merchants, had been arrested “for having stolen a bull.” From the investigation that had been made it appeared quite clear that these men had exchanged, without the consent of the owner, a sick cow for a fine young bull. The guilty parties were obliged to return the bull, and were then released.

In the afternoon two delegates from the State Government arrived in order to form a farmers’ cattle co-operative in this region. When the majority of the men of the village had gathered, the delegates explained the advantages of raising cattle cooperatively and the facilities the Government would grant to the people for this purpose. After expounding other ideas for social betterment, the selection of the Directiva Provisional, which was to rule the destinies of the newly born society, was made. It resulted as follows:
APPENDIX A

Consejo de Administración: President, Ignacio Batun; Vice-president, Porfirio Tamay; Secretary, Edilberto Ceme; Vocales, Primitivo Pat and Santiago Uitzil. Consejo de Vigilancia: President, Eleuterio Pat; Secretary, Florentino Pat; Vocal, Asunción Tec; Gerente, Eustaquio Ceme. When the election was over, the delegates promised those present to inform them of the date when the cattle which is to belong to his cooperative will be sent by the Government, and with this the meeting closed.

Tuesday, December 16

There came here, on his way from Kaua, a tinsmith. He set up his workshop in the patio of the cuartel.

Doña Simona is very ill, probably with asthma.

With today's novena began in the oratorio the novenario for the Niño Dios which ends the night of the 24th, the night on which Don Nas is accustomed to entertain the whole village with a tamalada so that no one goes to sleep for the hilarious uproar of the Noche Buena. Sun and cold.

Wednesday, December 17

The tinsmith, who arrived yesterday, has aroused the curiosity of the neighborhood. People come to him with the most worn-out utensils which he soon returns to them in perfectly good condition. According to this artisan, this village is the most picturesque he has visited. It is very possible that he is sincere in this remark, considering the sort of utensils that have been brought to him. Sun and cold.

Thursday, December 18

It appears that among the inhabitants of X-Kopteil a certain division has arisen which constantly becomes more intense, due to the fact that one part of the village is attempting to eject the teacher because he sells aguardiente and the other part is trying to keep him for the same reason. It is somewhat difficult to predict the end of this struggle, which would be settled satisfactorily if only the maestro would present some anis to the malcontents. Sun and cold.

Friday, December 19

Eusebio Uc has gone as a servant to Valladolid. As one can plainly see, the girls are beginning to lose their customary timidity and to consider ways of life which are not dependent upon a man; a fact which is likely to cause a change in their status in society, at the present time notably inferior.

Don Bus went to Chichen Itza carrying eggs and chickens. Sun; pleasant weather.

Saturday, December 20

When today’s novena was finished, there was held a jarana with the Victrola in honor of the Tamay family. Sun; pleasant weather.

* * * * * * * *

Wednesday, January 7, 1931

The village is now passing through a period of feverish activity: the streets are cleared of herbage; the houses whitewashed; new enclosing walls and buildings are rising

1 “Tamal party.”
everywhere, besides other improvements which give life and animation to the place. This eagerness for building and other social improvements is due for the most part to Don Eus, who, in his rôle of *comisario* and leader, never ceases to encourage his people to transform the little village into a spot worthy of "*hombres cultos y civilizados*." Sun and cold.

**Thursday, January 8**

Cristina Yum, who has been separated for some time from her husband (Asunción Tec) has gone off with Federico Marin, an inhabitant of X-Kopteil, who, people say, has a wife and children. Asunción appears to attach no importance whatever to the event. Sun; pleasant weather.

**Friday, January 9**

Don Eus, in his rôle of Manager of the Farmers' Cattle-Raising Cooperative of this place, has gone to Valladolid to carry out an order from the *Presidente Municipal* of that city. Don Tino accompanied him. Sun and heat.

**Saturday, January 10**

Don Eus and Don Tino returned.

The object of the meeting to which they went was to report on whether the *corrales*, the drinking troughs, and other necessities for the raising of cattle were ready, for if they were, this would be reported to the Higher Ups, with a statement of the number of members in the cooperative, in proportion to which cattle would be sent down. As everything is ready, all that remains to get the cattle within a month at the latest is to report to the Government the number of members.

When this had been expounded by Don Eus to the gathering held in the *cuartel* in the afternoon, varying comments were made. From these it might be inferred that the stock raisers do not feel in sympathy with the idea of raising cattle in a cooperative, but prefer each to look after his own by himself. However, the Manager succeeded in convincing them and put down almost everyone as a member on the list which he will send tomorrow to Merida.

In the same meeting arose a heated discussion between the brothers Pat (Magdaleno and Eleuterio) and "Maco" (Maximo Uicab) because the latter used part of the school in building his house. The former say this is not fair because the house lots which surround the plaza were distributed in equal parts a long time ago. This is a matter of old antagonisms, now being renewed.

The President and Secretary of the *ayuntamiento* of Cuncunul arrived in order to pay a visit to the *comisario*, and later went on to X-Kopteil for the same purpose. Sun and cold.

**Sunday, January 11**

Yesterday's discussion did not come to much. Animosities have settled down and "Maco" will continue to build his house in the place he had chosen. Sun and cold.

**Monday, January 12**

In the afternoon there was a *rezo* at the house of Don Anal for the soul of his little daughter who died seven weeks ago. Sun and heat.
Tuesday, January 13

A drizzly, chilly day. Mr. Redfield arrived, bringing the two gasoline lamps which he had promised to bestow upon the village in the name of Carnegie Institution. Don Nas and Don Eus took him all over the place and showed him the improvements made during the year. Behind them went many others, each of whom, as soon as the visitor had reached his house, came forward and pointed out to him interesting details, feeling well rewarded for their efforts by hearing him exclaim: "Very pretty, very interesting." So Mr. Redfield was kept busy all day.

Don Eus is up in the clouds because now he has someone who will listen to his stupendous schemes for promoting civilization and culture.

From Valladolid came two "buyers of chickens."

Wednesday, January 14

Attention all day long was fixed upon the jarana given in the evening in honor of Mr. Redfield. People from Yula, Ticimul, Bojon, X-Kopteil and Santa Maria attended it. Don Eus, taking advantage of this occasion, entertained the visitor with a supper in the cuartel in order that the pueblo might see "how civilized and cultured people eat." Following the suggestion of the same Don Eus, this interesting supper party was escorted to the room arranged for it in the cuartel in the manner heretofore reserved for the Holy Cross or the miraculous San Diego on their fiesta days—that is, accompanied by music and followed by the crowd. The rockets formerly used on these occasions were suppressed because they showed lack of culture, as Don Eus had read in the Diario de Yucatan. The host, as he was about to conduct the guest of honor to the spot where the supper was to be held, presented him with a bunch of flowers, saying: "Sir, supper is ready. Here are some flowers for you, but when you get to the cuartel be sure you put them where they belong, that is, in the glass in the middle of the table."

Only four people (Don Eus, Don Nas, Don Fano and Don Tino) received the privilege, in honor of their deserts and virtues, of eating supper with this noted personage, who, to the wondering delight of the multitude, sat and ate calmly, as a famous man should.

When the repast was concluded the jarana began. In one of the intermissions Mr. Redfield explained to the gathering the reason for the presentation by the Carnegie Institution of the two lamps and the two tins of gasoline. Then I spoke, and then Don Eus, who, upon closing, asked the musicians to play triumphant flourishes.

The fiesta, which all felt to be an unusual social occasion, ended at dawn of the day following, leaving in the spirits of all, but especially of Don Nas and Don Eus, the impression of a tremendous triumph. Cloudy and cold.

Thursday, January 15

The musicians from Kaua, and the other people who had come to the fiesta, went back to their villages. Comments upon the fiesta fill all conversations.

Less work has been done than at other times, perhaps from having stayed up late, and perhaps from the lingering-on of the festival spirit; in the afternoon a hunt was organized, but this was without results.

From Valladolid came Miguel Mendoza, a traveling peddler of various things: coffee, chocolate, bread, candles, unbleached muslin, earrings, and other fancy goods. Cloudy and cold.
Friday, January 16

Don Fano, helped by Adolfo, Evelio, Edilberto, Rosendo, and Maximo, began to grind sugar cane which he had bought from Fernando Caamal, an inhabitant of X-Kopteil. Miguel Mendoza continued on his way to X-Kopteil. Cloudy; mild weather.

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Tuesday, January 20

Don Nas, Edilberto, Martiniano, and Porfirio recommenced the building of Don Pil's house, which had ceased for lack of building material. The grinding of the sugar cane was completed. Rainy and cold.

Wednesday, January 21

Don Fano, Evelio, and Adolfo carried lime over to Don Pil's house, labor which he will return in like form on some other occasion. Miguel Mendoza passed by on his way to Valladolid. Cloudy and cold.

Thursday, January 22

Asunci6n went to Valladolid to see if the authorities there could solve his troubles with regard to his wife Tina, who is really living with another man, but who could, if she wished (they have told him) claim some of his property.

From Valladolid arrived two sellers of bread, but they had little success in their sales. Sunny and cold.

Friday, January 23

Don Fano, helped by Adolfo, Rosendo and Evelio, took up again the work of building Evelio's house. Maca worked upon his. Sunny and cold.

Saturday, January 24

Asunci6n came back feeling very pleased with the authorities at Valladolid, since they had assured him that his affairs would be settled satisfactorily. He reports that the man with whom his wife is living will be severely punished. This idea gives him such a feeling of satisfaction that he has made up his mind not to work until the investigations are completed. He will have to go off again on account of them next Monday.

At eight in the morning Emilia Pat, wife of Don Julio Yam, gave birth to a daughter.

Tito, the boy in the store, went to Valladolid for merchandise. Claudio Noh went to the same place with letters from the comisaria. Sunny; pleasant weather.

Sunday, January 25

Asunci6n went again to Valladolid, for he wishes his affairs to be settled as soon as possible. Tito and Claudio Noh returned bringing the pleasant news of the rise in price of corn, and also news of the fiesta which is being prepared in Valladolid.

Don Nas is not feeling very kindly toward Don Bus. He says that he tries to sell eggs at Chichen Itza at a much higher price than he pays for them. However, he doesn't say this to Don Bus himself, but began to say it secretly to his neighbors from the day when he failed in an attempt to do the same thing himself. Don Nas is a man of little luck.

A hunt took place today.
Monday, January 26

Don Nas and his helpers finished Don Pil’s house. Demetrio Pech and his wife, Porfiria Balam, came from X-Kalakdzonot to visit his sister, Natalia Pech, in whose house they are staying.

Don Nas and his helpers, who are building the house, stopped work in order to search for cattle which had wandered off into the bush.

Don Tino returned from his milpa in X-Ceh-yaax where he was harvesting.

Don Felis, the father of Tina, went to Valladolid to testify to the authorities with regard to Asunción’s affairs.

Tuesday, January 27

Don Fano and his assistants took up again the construction of the house. In the afternoon people came from Ticimul to ask the aid of Don Eus in defending them from the people of Kaua, who are trying to take away from them the rights to the lands recently granted them. Don Eus, in his rôle of leader, gallantly offered to defend them. The visitors returned satisfied to their homes.

At three in the afternoon the wife of Pablo Ku gave birth to a girl. Sun and heat.

Wednesday, January 28

Asunción and Don Felis returned from Valladolid. The authorities settled his affairs by decreeing that Asunción and Federico Martin, Tina’s lover, should be equally responsible for the costs of Asunción’s divorce. Asunción’s mind is at rest since he no longer runs the risk of having to share his property with the faithless woman, as he had previously been assured he would have to.

In the afternoon arrived two merchants from Tekom, selling hammocks.

Thursday, January 29

All are hard at work, harvesting, clearing the land for milpas, and improving their houses. Only Don Eus, in dolce far niente, passes the hours making speeches or planning new reforms.

Friday, January 30

Because of the fiesta of the barrio of the Candelaria which is being celebrated in Valladolid, a number of people went out of town. Less work was done than at other times. Evelio killed a peccary. Sun; pleasant weather.

Saturday, January 31

Yesterday, having finished harvesting their beans, the brothers Florentino and Magdaleno Pat held the ceremony of the holche uahi buul at the house of Florentino, to offer the first fruits of the bean milpa to the chaacs, balams and kuilob kaaxob. Doña Sofia, mother of the Pat brothers, prepared, with the help of their wives, the special breads (buul i uah) a mixture of masa and beans; and ib uah, a mixture of white beans, masa, and squash seeds; and baked them in the pib.

During the noon hours (from one to three) there was hung up on a tree in the patio a chuyub with a bowl of kabax-buul (boiled beans) and thirteen tortillas from which the protecting spirits were supposed to have taken the gracia.
To the houses of other relatives were sent gifts of atole and bread made with beans.

Today in the same house in gratitude for the help given in the harvest, there was a rezos held for the Niño Dios. His image was placed on the altar with three plates of cooked chicken, each one placed with its bowl of atole, as an offering to the Niño Dios, God the Father, and the Virgin Mary. Many relatives and neighbors were at the house and the unusual commotion ceased only when all the homes of friends had received part of the festal food.

Doña Sofia, in spite of her advanced years, always sees to it that her sons carry out in behalf of the spirits all the many duties which men have learned from bygone days.

No work today. A hunt. Sun and heat.

Sunday, February 1

Don Fano arrived from Valladolid where he had gone in order to act as godfather at the baptism (by the priest of Valladolid) of Margarita, the daughter of Tranquilino Yam and Natalia Ceme.

Don Pil has finished decorating his house. His daughter Desideria, with the greatest patience possible, painted on the walls the design motives that they are accustomed to embroider on their huipils. On this account the proud father makes the whole village come to his house to admire this work of genius. Don Nas, who does not concede ideas of genius to others, assures me that he was the one who suggested the idea to Don Pil. A hunt was organized. Sun and heat.

Monday, February 2

Today was a fiesta day. All work stopped because it was the day of La Candelaria, whose miraculous image is worshiped in the barrio of the same name in Valladolid. People from all over the Departamento make pilgrimages there.

Three people from Tzeal came to ask the cooperation of the people here in raising cattle, for in that little hamlet the owners of the milpas have said they would kill all cattle because of the injuries done by them to the fields. Don Eus quieted them and offered them help. A hunt. Pleasant weather.

Tuesday, February 3

In the early hours of the morning the wife of Edilberto Ceme gave birth to a male child. Don Fano and companions were in the fields looking for cattle. The Tamays went back to building their house. The harvesting continues. Cloudy; pleasant weather.

Wednesday, February 4

Don Eus, returning to the now almost forgotten habit of working, went out to harvest his milpa in the company of his second wife. Don Fano, with his usual assistants, continued the construction of his house. Don Nas, Maco, and the Tamay brothers also continue to work on theirs; only Asunción, enjoying his judicial triumph, is not in a mood to attack his.

From X-Kalakdzonot they brought for burial the body of a little girl ten years old. She was probably a victim of measles, which in this part of the country has taken on the character of an epidemic. Sunshine, but cold.

Thursday, February 5

Everything as usual.
Friday, February 6

Maco worked today with the Tamay brothers, who will pay him back later by helping him build his house.

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Monday, February 9

Asunci6n resumed the building of his house, his father helping him. The teacher of X-Kopteil and his wife passed through on their way to that village. Cloudy; pleasant weather.

Tuesday February 10

Mr. Redfield, and other visitors came here from Chichen Itza in order to attend the *jarana* which Mr. Redfield has tendered to the village. It was livelier and better attended than the preceding. The teachers from Kaua and Ticimul also came.

Wednesday, February 11

Don Tino, Cleofas Yama, and some others, returned to their milpas, which they had left simply to attend the *jarana*.

Last night Pablo Ku and his wife paid a call upon Don Anacleto in order to "name him godfather." They presented him with pop, bread and chocolate, as is customary. Don Anacleto accepted the office. Sun and heat.

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Wednesday, February 18

Today being Ash Wednesday, no one worked. A hunt was organized and one deer shot.

The dispute between Ticimul and Kaua on land questions is passing through an interesting phase. Yesterday afternoon three *policía* from Cuncunul, attended by a number of people from Kaua, came to Ticimul with the intention of seizing Juan Cen and his supporters, accused by those of Kaua of various delinquencies. Unable to get hold of them because they were away, the invaders returned home, but not without first threatening the families of the men for whom they were searching.

When Juan Cen and his friends heard about this, they came here to ask advice from Don Eus, who suggested to them that they present themselves before the authorities in Cuncunul so as to make it clear that one Epifanio ———, who formerly lived in Ticimul, is the only instigator of all this intrigue. Sun and heat; at night showers with lightning.

Thursday, February 19

Late last night there arrived from Cuncunul the supporters of Juan Cen, reporting that the authorities of Cuncunul, at the instigation of certain people from Kaua, had demanded from Juan the plan of the ejido at Ticimul. Upon his refusal, Juan was held until the authorities should have decided the affair. Don Eus, after listening carefully and giving the men some supper, advised them to go to the *Ministerio Publico* located in Dzitas, and gave them a letter to take with them explaining matters so that they should have no difficulty in carrying out his suggestion.
The men returned from Dzitas bringing an order upon the authorities of Cuncunul from the Ministerio Publico for the release of Juan Cen.

Don Eus, proud of the success of the suggestions he had made, is planning new methods of defense and new speeches in behalf of the oppressed, in case they are needed. As can be understood, he neither eats nor sleeps at regular hours.

Friday, February 20

Since this is the first "Holy Friday" of the seven which follow the Carnival, all work ceased. A hunt was organized which resulted successfully.

Saturday, February 21

Last night, very late, there came back from Valladolid and Cuncunul the partisans of Juan Cen, bringing with them a petition, composed by a public scribe, to send to the Governor, in view of the fact that the order of the Ministerio Publico had not had any effect. Don Eus treated the men to coffee, quite excited by the petition because of the "energetic and rebellious tone" in which it was written. The litigants went on in the middle of the night to Ticimul to get the signatures of all the inhabitants and to send this interesting letter off by today's mail. This affair has completely captured Don Eus's attention, so that he passes the days searching the newspapers, or anything he can find, for discussions dealing with the cause of the proletariat.

Don Fano, Adolfo, Edilberto, Maco, Rosendo, and Evelio were occupied in cutting wood for a lime kiln, the product of which will be used for Evelio's house.

Don Pil arrived from Cuncunul where he had gone in order to register the birth of his daughter Faviola, which took place last December 27.

Sunday, February 22

Don Nas went to harvest the milpa he has in Yokdzonot. A hunt. Sun and heat.

Monday, February 23

In the milpas the men were putting the harvest in the granaries. Those who have finished this work are busy improving their houses. Thus, Federico Tuyu and Marcos Canche are helping Cleofas Yama build the wall around his lot; Magdaleno Dzul, Pedro Uc, and Pablo Ku are cutting beams for masonry houses to be built in the future; Leandro Caamal and others are busy with more or less important improvements.

Don Anal worked today with Don Fano and some others in preparing the lime-kiln in payment for the help received previously in building his house.

Miguel Mendoza, a traveling merchant, arrived from Valladolid with lard, embroideries for huipils, trousers, shirts, and other articles.

Tuesday, February 24

There arrived an official message from the Deputy for this Departamento summoning Don Eus tomorrow to go to the pueblo of Cuncunul, possibly in order to discuss the affairs of Ticimul.

In the afternoon Don Fano set fire to the lime kiln.

At night partisans of Juan Cen, who will accompany Don Eus in his interview with the Deputy, arrived.
Wednesday, February 25

Don Eus and his companions returned at night from Cuncunul quite disheartened: first of all, because neither the authorities nor the deputies know the laws, for “in spite of having cited to them numerous decrees and articles of the constitution, they decided against the oppressed, just because there were more of the oppressors”; secondly, because notwithstanding the fact that they thought themselves the victims, Justice was against them. Because of this, the men of Ticimul have resolved to abandon their village, some moving to Chan Kom and others to Yula.

Asunción, Pablo Ku, Malaquias and Don Fano went to Sahcabchen.

The school inspectors arrived to visit the school.

Thursday, February 26

The school inspector left. Don Eus has decided to build a road to connect this village with Chichen Itza, and therefore spends his time climbing the highest trees in order to determine, simply by looking, the route that should be followed. This is at present his great pre-occupation; it absorbs all his thoughts.

From X-Kalakdzonot they brought for burial the body of a three-months-old baby, the victim, according to the parents, of measles.

Friday, February 27

Don Tacio Vasquez passed through on his way to X-Kopteil leading a bull which is to be killed there tomorrow. Don Nas returned from his milpa after getting his harvest.

Saturday, February 28

Last night very late those who had gone to Sahcabchen returned.

Don Fano killed a hog. Its meat has not been sold in spite of the fact that it was priced very low.

From Valladolid a man came selling jewelry.

Sunday, March 1

The peddler of jewelry continued on his way to X-Kopteil, a little discouraged because of his small success here.

Adolfo went to Valladolid for goods for the store. From X-Kopteil, on his way to Valladolid, came Miguel Mendoza, complaining of the present situation, bad for any sort of business. He relates that on his journey he met a priest carrying his missal, his holy bread (cuerpo de Cristo) and other useful objects, who was holding masses and other religious services at the rancherías and milperios at “moderate prices”; this is bad for traveling merchants who find the people without money, having spent it all on religious ceremonies.

After a long absence there arrived from Uaymilchen, where they had been harvesting, Don Andres Kuyoc and Don Madal, with their families.

The hunt today was unusually successful, bringing in two deer, three peccaries and one wild turkey.

Monday, March 2

Don Fano and his companions resumed house-building.

The peddler of jewelry returned from X-Kopteil saying, affairs are de la pedrada (“very bad”).
Tuesday, March 3

The rhythm of village activity continues as usual, with a tendency toward improvement, stimulated by the laborious example of the Tamays, Don Fano, Don Nas, Edilberto, and others who labor with extraordinary earnestness day after day, and through the wise counsels of Don Eus, which always preach industry. Cloudy and cold.

Wednesday, March 4

Don Fano, Edilberto, Rosendo and Adolfo helped Maco today in building the lime-kiln which was begun yesterday. Don Pil also, aided by his sons-in-law, Magdaleno and Tranquilino, is building another.

Thursday, March 5

Don Pil and Maco set fire to their lime-kiln in the afternoon.

An official letter came from the Presidente Municipal of Cuncunul ordering Don Eus to get from Juan Cen (now a vecino of this village) the map of the ejidos at Ticimul, and to send it on immediately to these authorities.

Friday, March 6

Juan Cen came from Ticimul and, after consultation with Don Eus, answered the letter of the Presidente Municipal of Cuncunul that he would hand over the map in question when ordered to do so by the National Agrarian Commission.

From Yokdzonot came Eleuterio Mukul with his wife. Rosendo and Maco, who had gone walking to Chichen, returned. Since it was the second "Holy Friday" there was a hunt. A deer was brought in.

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Tuesday, March 10

In the evening, having been notified previously by Don Eus, ten of the principal citizens of the place met at Don Eus’s house in order to hold a “secret conference” upon various matters of general interest, such as the building of a school house and opening up a road to connect this village with Chichen Itza.

Besides this, Don Eus took Tierra (a magazine issued by the Liga Central) and read aloud from speeches by the governor and other leaders, commenting upon them afterward in Maya. The gathering, which was filled with a spirit of extreme optimism, ended at about eleven o’clock.

Juan Cen was again taken to the jail at Kaua because he has not yet handed over the agrarian map as he has been ordered to do. Sun and heat.

Wednesday, March 11

In the afternoon there arrived from Merida a delegate from the Government and an engineer. These came to carry into effect the road-building project and to obtain information necessary before laying it out. At night there took place in the cuartel a meeting at which the visitors exhorted the assembled inhabitants not to become discouraged with their undertaking, which without any doubt would be of benefit to all. The engineer promised to return the week following to lay out the line which the proposed road is to follow.
From Valladolid came Pil Mena and another man, with two burros and salted fish to sell.1 Anastacia Chulim, wife of Pedro Uc, gave birth to a male child.

Thursday, March 12

The delegate and the engineer returned to Merida. Don Eus exchanged his cornet and a calf for one of the burros which Pil Mena brought. Little fish was sold. The vendor continued on to X-Kopteil. From there, on his way to Valladolid, came Miguel Mendoza. Don Tino, Don Madal and Don Andres Kuyoc went to X-Ceh-yaax to harvest Don Tino’s milpa, having finished with those of the other two.

Friday, March 13

Only Maco worked. The others, because it was the fourth “Holy Friday,” stopped work and organized a hunt.

At night, following the suggestion of Don Eus, the night classes for adults began. The pupils are twenty, and include Don Fano, Don Nas, Don Eus and Don Anal, who show great enthusiasm for instruction.

Pablo Ku went to Sahcabchen in order to get maize for his domestic needs.

Juan Cen returned from Valladolid where the authorities had given him a stay of three days to hand over the map, which has been the cause of so many disputes.

Saturday, March 14

After a long rest, the “microbes” which inhabit the body of Don Nas have become active again; he is passing through a period of weakness, incapable of the least exertion.

Don Elut and his family arrived from Uaymilchen, after harvesting their milpa and storing the maize. Pil Mena arrived from X-Kopteil, continuing on later to Valladolid.

Sunday, March 15

Juan Cen handed over the plan to the Commissioners from Valladolid.

Roberto, the son of Don Nas, and Don Guillermo went to Sahcabchen to get maize.

Pablo Ku came back. A hunt.

Monday, March 16

Cloudy and rainy weather. As always happens in days like this no one worked, but instead all gathered informally in the corredores of the cuartel, a meeting interrupted only briefly at meal times. Roberto and Don Guillermo returned from Sahcabchen.

Tuesday, March 17

The fiesta celebrating the day of San Juan, patron of X-Kopteil, began with a taqueria this evening. No one from Chan Kom went. Cloudy, moderate temperature.

Wednesday, March 18

The son of Anastacia Chulim, born last Wednesday, died at eight o’clock this morning. Because of the presence of certain blue spots on various parts of the infant’s body, the people attribute his death to the evil influences of the tzitz-moo-tancaz. Maximo Chulim,

1 This is very rare in Chan Kom, even in Lent.
the child's grandfather, told me that the tzitz-moo-tancaz which brings death to children,
and the moo-tancaz, which brings it to adults, are great birds, which, in flying over a
house, vomit a substance that causes death to whomsoever it touches.

A number of families went to X-Kopteil for the fiesta.
Professor Fernando Castro arrived in order to give the school examinations for the
first third of the year.

Thursday, March 19

At eleven in the morning there took place the burial of the baby who died yesterday. The bells of the chapel were not rung, as is customary, possibly because Don Bus, who usually takes charge of this, was not here. The mother was the only one who gave signs of real grief. She wept and could not be consoled.

The grandfather, Maximo Chulim, told me that he felt the death of his grandchild only because he was a boy. Later he told me, with the greatest seriousness, that he had the idea of presenting himself to the Governor and asking for a pension, because he had had nine sons and this achievement should be respected. Besides, all his grandchildren had been boys, which demonstrated the superior quality of his seed. Don Eus, who was present advised him to do so, since he really did deserve some reward.

The village appears to be abandoned. Almost everyone has gone to X-Kopteil.

Friday, March 20

Marcos Canche, Cleofas Yama, Herculano Hu and Juan de la Rosa Pat went to the village of Santa Maria; they have contracted with Esteban Dzul to harvest his milpa.

Those who went to X-Kopteil returned. No one worked, since this was the fifth "Holy Friday." A hunt. Sun and heat.

Saturday, March 21

Everyone hard at work. Even Don Nas has resumed work on his house, because the microbes have quieted down again.

In the house of Don Guillermo, where there is an image of San Jose, a novena to this santo took place, offered by Jose Caamal "in fulfilment of a promise I made to my namesaint." From Chichen Itza came two people to buy a bull.

Sunday, March 22

Roused to enthusiasm by Don Eus, the men who happened to be in the village cut vines and tree trunks and built a tower high enough so that they could see the old Maya temples. They want to make it possible to lay out the line for the proposed road to Chichen Itza.

Monday, March 23

For some time Magdalena Dzul, wife of Vicente Caamal, has been sick with a sore in her side which has resisted the curative action of all plants known to be useful in such cases. So today the h-men, Marco Mukul, was summoned to practice a santiguada. This took place in the afternoon.

Close to the hammock in which was seated the h-men, they placed a small table with a candle and some leaves of yinchc and other plants, later to be placed on the sore as a kind of poultice. The sick woman sat down beside the table on a low bench. Then the h-men
began the ceremony by gently stroking the patient with a branch of zipche, while he
recited a prayer in which he asked the healing blessing of the saints, two virgins and
Adam and Eve.

This ended the "blessing," which, according to popular belief, has the power of
bringing down the divine influence to help or to fend off troubles. The price charged
by this h-men for this performance varies according to the economic status of the patient.
On this occasion he was given fifty centavos and a bottle of anis.

At night the u hanli cab ceremony was held in the yard of Don Anal’s house, because
Don Anal had just moved his beehives to another location. The h-men erected the altar
under the roof that shelters the hives, hung pozole at each corner, and planted crosses of
halache at each corner of the yard. Then he returned to the altar where Don Anal and
a few of his friends and relations were assembled, and there sanctified the turkey intended
for the festal meal. Don Anal, kneeling held the turkey, while the h-men threw balche
into its beak and recited the appropriate prayer. Timoteo Caamal and Pablo Ku were
appointed idzacs, and under their charge the sacred breads were prepared.

When the breads had been made, all present met in front of the altar to listen to the
prayer the h-men was about to deliver. But as he had been taking frequent draughts of
anis, he was by this time in such a state of intoxication that he was unable
to deliver the prayer properly, and it resulted in a series of disconnected and incoherent phrases. After-
ward, according to the command of the h-men, one of the idzacs circled the altar nine
times with a candle in his hand. Then the other idzac did the same in the opposite direc-
tion, at intervals striking the hives with a branch of zipche. In order not to mistake the
number of circlings, the h-men kept track of them with leaves of yinche.

Later on, learning that the anis had been all used up, the h-men became so irritated
that he immediately consulted his zaztun and ordered those present in the name of the gods
to take out the breads from the pib, in spite of the fact that there had not yet elapsed
enough time to cook them. This reprisal accomplished, the h-men recovered his customary
good humor. The people, with patient resignation, carried out the wishes of the h-men,
preparing the sopas with the breads only half cooked, mixing them with the broth which
the women had prepared in the kitchen. Then this food was placed on the altar; with the
offering arranged, the h-men ordered Don Anal to kneel down near the altar. After
striking him with a bunch of zipche, the h-men recited another incoherent prayer which
trailed off into a monologue on socialism, the governor, and the fact that certain people
disliked by him were “monkey faces.” He then repeated this act with the wife and
children of Don Anal, and with this the ceremony ended, close upon two o’clock in
the morning. The women of the neighborhood who had given help in the preparations
were gossiping in the kitchen, waiting for their husbands, so as to divide with them the
offerings.

From Cuncunul arrived the blanks for the general (municipal) census of the
village. With them came an official from the President Municipal of Cuncunul, stating
that each inhabitant must pay twenty-five centavos for his blank. Not at all pleased
by this order, most of the men of the village got together in the evening in the cuartel
and agreed to send a letter to the President Municipal of Valladolid, inquiring as to
the legality of this charge.

Tuesday, March 24

Don Feliciano Yam and Asunción Tec went to Valladolid, having been summoned
by the authorities of this city to take up the matter of Asunción’s divorce. The affair
has come up again, because Asunción’s wife’s lover now refuses to pay for her divorce.

From Cuncunul came a man selling salted fish. He soon sold it all.
Wednesday, March 25

Early in the morning there arrived an engineer and two other people to begin laying out the road. Don Eus has sent word to all those who are out in their milpas to come as soon as possible and lend their help.

* * * * * * * * *

Tuesday, April 14

The road has been opened. It is 5 meters broad and 13 kilometers long. This work, which under other conditions would have taken several months, was completed in only fifteen days, thanks to the enthusiasm which Don Eus was able to arouse. Twenty men of Xanla voluntarily contributed two days of labor, and several men of Ticimul (whom Don Eus had helped previously in the dispute with Kaua) gave five days' work.

The people of Xanla and Muchucuxca, stimulated by this improvement, are now talking of prolonging the road to their own villages.

The road is visited daily by the inhabitants of neighboring rancherías and villages, where the news has aroused great curiosity. At the present time the men are grading the road. This work, according to Don Eus, will be done by all the men of Chan Kom, taking turns.

Wednesday, April 15

Several people from X-Cocail and Zucmuc came to Chan Kom in order to invite the village, under the leadership of Don Eus, to attend the fiestas which are celebrated in May in honor of the Santa Cruz.

From X-Kopteil, on his way to Cuncunul, came Don Florencio Salazar, who is now engaged as a traveling merchant. According to this man, the people of X-Kopteil aroused to enthusiasm by the example of Chan Kom, are now trying to improve their own village for which purpose they have applied to the Governor of the State, requesting the necessary tools.

Thursday, April 16

Those who have finished burning their milpas are now occupied with fencing them. This work is usually done by the owner of the milpa alone; very rarely are assistants needed to help him. Don Fano and Rosendo Ceme are in this necessity, however, because they must themselves complete the building of Evelio's house before the rains begin. The workmen they have hired (men from the village) earn fifty centavos for each mecate of milpa they fence.

Doña Teresa is sick. For this reason Doña Francisca and other women neighbors are helping her with the watering of her plants and in other domestic duties. Cases of this sort are frequent in the neighborhood.

On the way to Yokdzonot, his home, came Don Valentin Hu, the father of Isidro Hu, and his wife.

Friday, April 17

After a prolonged absence, the mason who has been working on Don Elut's house, came back from Tekom, to complete his work here.

Saturday, April 18

A number of men went off to Chichen Itza to organize a cooperative hunt in the neighborhood of the ruins.
APPENDIX A

Asunción and Don Madal set off for neighboring rancherías in order to buy young banana plants and other young fruit trees. They have been stirred to this action by Don Eus’s advice to develop the cultivation of “food plants.”

Sunday, April 19

The hunting party returned. They shot two deer and sold them at Chichen Itza; each man received seventy-five centavos. The amount seems negligible, yet all appear entirely satisfied with the excursion.

A woman came from Bojon selling bananas. Tibo’s mother-in-law came from Xanla to visit her daughter. After long absence from the village, Don Tino came back from X-Ceh-yaax; he has been getting in his harvest. Eleuterio Mukul and his wife stopped on their way to Valladolid.

Monday, April 20

Don Bus’s milpa is being cleared of herbage by five men of the village; they are being paid twenty-five centavos for each mecate. Don Bus says he is having it done because he is old.

Don Eus does not cease his exhortations, to whom ever will listen, with respect to the need of cultivating fruit trees and the vegetables in the house-lots; these being the plants furnishing the greatest number of “vitamines.” This word—that appeared in Chan Kom a year ago with the coming of Dr. Shattuck—has great effect upon his hearers and he is wont to resort to it, so as to convince them. In order to carry his own advice into effect he is at the present time engaged in fencing a tract of land on the cemetery road where he will plant fruit trees.

Eleuterio Mukul and his wife left for Valladolid.

Tuesday, April 21

From the National Revolutionary Party came a long circular letter urging the organization of all the agricultural workers and explaining, in ingratiating prose, the beautiful conceptions of “national reconstruction,” “love and justice,” and other expressions of the same style. In this circular Don Eus has found the exact expression of his own ideology and he adopted the whole in evangelical spirit, preaching the doctrine in Maya whenever he finds an opportunity.

A man came from Valladolid selling bread and granizados. Results, for him, were poor. Two hammock sellers came from Tekom. Sun and heat, with rain in the evening.

Wednesday, April 22

Miguel Pech came from San Prudencio to invite the village to the fiesta to be held in honor of the Santa Cruz. As is the usage in such cases, he explained his wish to the comisario who promised to be present, bringing dancers with him. To make sure the fulfilment of the promise they both took several drinks of the anís brought by the visitor.

Two women came from Ton-tzimin to buy condensed milk with which to nourish a child left motherless in its first days of life.

Don Eus began to take the honey from his hives, with satisfactory results. He says it is a good idea to do this frequently to prevent the bees from growing lazy.

1 Diary, p. 244.
2 Crushed ice sweetened with fruit syrup.
3 Although Don Eus was not at the time in the habit of drinking anís, he would not refuse the customary ceremonial drinking as a pledge of good faith.
Several people came from X-Kalakdzonot to take the bones of a relative out of a grave in the cemetery.

The hammock sellers went off to Yaxcaba, and the vendor of granizados left for Chichén Itzá.

**Thursday, April 23**

Doña Simona, her daughters Placida and Paulina, Donaciana Ceme, and some other women went to Chichén Itzá, returning in the evening. Some went for medicines, and some merely for the excursion.

Vito Modesto Caamal, aroused by Don Eus's exhortations to progress, has cleaned his yard perfectly and prepared it for the planting of fruit trees. Asunció and Isidro Hu have done the same.

**Friday, April 24**

Don Eus's current theme is the creation of cooperatives. He suggests that a capital fund be amassed for the establishment of a first-rate store, and for the purchase of a truck to make trips to the railway by the new wagon-road. He assures the people that his advice must be carried into effect if they wish to prevent people outside of the village from taking first advantage of the new road. The idea has been sympathetically heard, and all, down to the humblest, have offered to contribute sums ranging from fifteen pesos upward.

Tito and Edilberto left for Valladolid, the former to buy goods for the store and the second to get clothing for himself. With the same destination departed Leandro Caamal and Juan Cen, the one to buy a branding-iron with which to mark his cattle, and the other in response to a summons from the town authorities.

Don Elut's house, begun six years ago, was finished today.

**Saturday, April 25**

Last night justice was meted out in the comisaría. The case was that of Juan de la Rosa Pat, who, in spite of the repeated summons of the comisario, would not fulfill any of the twenty days of jagina contributed by all the other men toward the opening of the new road. Therefore, when yesterday he arrived from Santa María, with the intention of collecting all his belongings so as to move them definitely to that ranchería, he was ordered to present himself in the comisaría, where, besides the comisario, a crowd of curious persons had already come. When the summoned man appeared he made it clear, not too pleasantly, that he would no longer stay in the village because the authorities were too demanding and imposed so many jaginas. To this the comisario replied that he would not be opposed in this wish if he would return to Leandro Pat and to Apolinario Caamal the money these men had spent on certain occasions when they had sought his daughter's hand in marriage for their sons, negotiations which had failed solely because of the knavery of the girl's father. Immediately Don Anal put in his claim with respect to a debt of four pesos. Then Don Rosa, seeing himself in imminent danger of imprisonment, sent for his wife's gold chain, and left it in Don Anal's hands as security for the several demands. The comisario, knowing further that Don Rosa was negotiating for the sale of his lot to a Kaua merchant, made plain the impossibility of such an action, because those who break off their village membership lose their rights over their village lands. Don Rosa, less arrogant than at first, withdrew, and the comisario and the others present agreed that Don Rosa's house and other property could be sold by the comisaría to any person desirous of...
settling in the village, provided only he be not a merchant, and, further, that the proceeds of such a sale should be devoted to public improvements. With this ended the session, that is still the subject of all conversations. Most people set Don Rosa down as both crazy and lazy.

Early this morning Don Rosa went off to Cuncunul in order to get his daughter, Vicha, who is employed in that town, and make her fulfill the marriage agreement entered into with Prisciliano’s parents. Don Rosa wants to show the village that he knows how to keep his promises.

Tito and Edilberto came back from Valladolid. Filomeno Mendoza and a patent medicine seller came through on their way to X-Kopteil. There also passed through the village three men going to Chichen Itza from Muchucuxca.

Sunday, April 26

Don Rosa came back, without bringing Vicha. He said his daughter would not leave the place where she is working. Therefore he will have to repay the expenses incurred by the two deceived parental suitors.

Tibo’s mother-in-law and another woman arrived from Xanla; and likewise to visit her daughter came from Santa María Asunción’s wife’s mother.

Leandro Caamal and Juan Cen came back from Valladolid. Don Nas went off to Yokdzonot to get corn; he had the further intention of burning his milpa, if time permitted. A hunt was organized.

Monday, April 27

Don Eus went around to the houses where there are girls who like to dance to invite them to the fiesta of San Prudencio.

Maco has resumed work on his house; his wife helps by bringing him the water he needs.

Invited by her friends in X-Cocail, Doña Pancha went off to that ranchería to help burn the chile to be consumed in the coming fiesta.

Don Fano and Edilberto went to Sahcabchen to harvest macales.

Don Andres Kuyoc and his family went to Kaua, carrying maize to sell there. They returned in the evening. The teacher of X-Kopteil passed through on his way to his post. The vendor of granizados came again from Valladolid. Don Nas arrived from Yokdzonot.

Tuesday, April 28

Doña Crescencia Caamal and her daughter, Secundina, went to Kankabchen to pick plums. In the evening they returned with half a carga of the fruit. Don Fano and Edilberto came back from Sahcabchen. Miguel Mendoza came from Valladolid, bringing cloth, earrings and other cheap goods for sale. Andres Cocom (who built Don Elut’s house) came from Tekom with his son; he is going to build the platform in front of Don Madal’s house.

Wednesday, April 29

Don Nas, Don Eus, Edilberto and a number of others were in the bush all day rounding up their cattle so as to give them water. Don Tino began to get out sascab for the house he plans to build.

The patent-medicine seller stopped here on his way to Kaua. He has enriched his store of therapeutics by the addition of an apparatus—which he claims to be one of his
own inventions—composed of two small wires attached to an electric cell; the device is so miraculous that only a few hours' treatment will cure the gravest infirmity. Here nobody has any faith in it, not even Don Nas.

**Thursday, April 30**

Miguel Mendoza went on his way to Ticimul; he sold little. Eleuterio Mukul and his wife came from Yokdzonot. Most of the people of the village left for San Prudencio to attend the fiesta there.

**Friday, May 1**

Early today the village appeared still and melancholy, recovering its usual aspect in the afternoon when the people began to arrive from San Prudencio.

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**Monday, May 4**

Vicente Caamal has moved to Yaxuna on the advice of his stepfather, Marcos Mukul, the h-men. He assured his step-son that the latter’s wife would recover her health only if she changed her residence to another village. At bottom what the h-men wants is some one to help him in his milpa without expecting any pay.

Lazaro Poot (Tibo’s father-in-law) arrived from Xanla, asking permission from the *comisario* to move to Chan Kom. His petition was granted.

Felix P., a resident of the same place, made the same request, but as his disagreeable disposition is well known, he received a negative reply.

Most of the inhabitants went off to X-Cocail, to the fiesta there. Emiliano Tamay took along to sell ice that he had obtained in Valladolid.

**Tuesday, May 5**

Don Nas went to Yokdzonot to plant his milpa there. Don Tino and Don Elut went off to their milpas to get maize. Santiago Dzul (who is *guardia* this week) set off for Valladolid to get the agricultural implements given by the Federal Department of Education for the use of the school.

**Wednesday, May 6**

There arrived a basket-ball, sent by the Federal School authorities; it was received with great enthusiasm by young and old. A merchant came from Cuncunul selling candy; he met with small success.

**Thursday, May 7**

In the evening there was a meeting in the *cuartel*. Most of the fathers of the village were present, and to them I explained the desirability of organizing the school children into a poultry cooperative, so that from their early years they might know how to provide for themselves. I also spoke of preparing fowl pens for this purpose, a field for games, and a vegetable garden. To this end I asked the help of all, so as to bring these improvements to realization. Further, I called their attention to the fact that the Federal Department of Education to which the school now pertained, had presented the school with garden tools and a basket-ball, so as to stimulate the village. Don Eus later spoke at length.
urging the men present to begin immediately the improvements planned. It was unanimously decided to begin tomorrow.

From Valladolid came a young fellow (he recently brought granizados) carrying bread to sell.

Friday, May 8

The men of the village, fulfilling the decision reached last night, worked all day clearing and making ready the field for games and the tract of land for the fowl pens.

In the evening a tzicil took place in my house; as I had acted as godfather at the baptism of his son Olibete, Edilberto offered me the ceremony.

The bread seller left for Valladolid. Doña Simona came back from Yokdzonot, where she had gone to attend the fiesta there.

Saturday, May 9

The grown people continued the work of village improvement begun yesterday. The comisario of Xanla sent a letter to Don Eus requesting the loan of his phonograph to help out with the festivities celebrating the last night of the novena to the Santa Cruz. Don Eus not only lent it to him, but also went to Xanla with his daughter Delfina.

Sunday, May 10

From Xanla came Lazaro Poot (Don Laz) and his wife. They will move definitely to Chan Kom. Don Eus and his daughter returned. In the evening there took place in the house of Don Fano a novena to the Santa Cruz because today is his "ochevario."

Monday, May 11

Most of the men are now busy fencing their milpas. Some of them have not been able to burn them because of the premature rains.

From X-Kopteil came two men selling patent medicines.

Don Rosa left, but his wife was not willing to accompany him, preferring to remain here with her children.

Tuesday, May 12

Don Laz appears to be a good sort. Today he began to improve his home by planting fruit trees in his yard. The house he is living in is the one left by Pablo Caamal (the son of Don Tacio); Don Laz obtained it by paying in advance ten pesos to the comisaria.

Rain, moderate temperature.

Wednesday, May 13

Don Tino and some others went to sow their milpas, taking advantage of yesterday's rain. One of Asunción's cows appeared to be in imminent danger of death, having been attacked by the evil wind called hulne ik, which almost always finishes off its victims. However, Asunción succeeded in saving the cow by striking it with a nettle and by piercing its loins with a hot wire so as to vex the wind until it should take its departure.

The vendors of medicine who arrived day before yesterday went on to Kaua.

Thursday, May 14

The sowing is now general. Don Eus is the only one who has not got his mind on it, because he was not able to burn his milpa. Many families are engaged in planting bananas.
because of the belief that today (called na kaat caan) is a good day for doing so. According to Don Guillermo, this name, which means "going up to heaven" is given because it is the day on which the Holy Cross went up to heaven.¹

Two peddlers came from Dzitas selling cloth, embroideries, thread and other things. The vendors of medicine who left yesterday did several rascally things. They tricked Don Bus out of twenty pesos in exchange for some miraculous powders and syrups, and they did not pay Don Eus for the food they consumed at his house.

Friday, May 15

Pedro Uc complained to the comisario against Julio Yam because Julio in driving out a pig of Pedro Uc’s from his milpa broke one of the pig’s legs with a stone.

The comisario required the guilty party to indemnify the injured man by paying two pesos, but Julio Yam is unwilling to do so. It is likely that the affair will pass into the jurisdiction of the Presidente Municipal of Cuncunul.

Don Eus, with tremendous earnestness, has been helping Don Laz to make his stone enclosing wall. Besides this, he tries to help him in every way possible out of any difficulty that comes up.

Saturday, May 16

Adolfo Ceme went to Valladolid to buy merchandise for the store. Don Nas, with his planting finished, returned from Yokdzonot. Don Guillermo with his son Aurelio went to Sahcabchen for corn.

Sunday, May 17

The fathers of the pupils busied themselves in building the chicken houses for the chicken cooperative. Adolfo returned.

Edilberto, Maco, the brothers Tamay and several others, returned from sowing their milpas. Don Guillermo returned.

Monday, May 18

Due to the intensity of the sun’s heat, many have ceased sowing. Pedro Uc accepted two pesos indemnification from Julio Yam; thus ended their dispute. Don Trano, his wife, his daughter Pastora, and his son-in-law went to Valladolid in order that the older folk might act as godparents to the son of the younger. The teacher of X-Kopteil passed through on his way there. Sun and heat.

Tuesday, May 19

Santiago Uitzil obtained from Natalio Uc a guitar in exchange for nine meates of milpa to be harvested.

Doña Simona is sick. She has a cold, fever, and general indisposition. On this account her son Roberto went to Chichen to ask for medicine.

Don Fano and the brothers Tamay have returned to work upon their houses. Sun and heat.

Wednesday, May 20

Don Elut appeared before the comisario and reported that Rosendo Ceme, without anyone’s giving permission had added to his house lot a portion of that belonging to Don

¹The Ascension of the Lord.
Balbino. Most of the men wish to force Rosendo to tear down the fence with which he has enclosed this land.

The wife of Don Rosa went to Santa Maria, to get her chickens, she says.

Thursday, May 21

The great heat is beginning to make the people uneasy. Don Nas is the most disturbed, because his corn is beginning to germinate. Sun and heat.

Friday, May 22

Around midday the sky clouded over so that everyone thought it was going to rain. However, winds carried away the clouds and with them the saving rain. The rain! At this moment it is the supreme desire of all. Sun and heat.

Saturday, May 23

It seems that Eligio's wives do not get along very well together. They quarrel frequently, loudly calling each other names. Today matters went so far that they not only abused but also hit each other. They both went before the comisario each complaining of the other. From the answers to the questions put by the comisario it turned out that this quarrel originated when one of them was prevented from petting the child of the other. The comisario succeeded in reconciling them. For Eligio these quarrels seem to have no importance. He is probably used to them.

Santoyo, a merchant of Valladolid, was refused permission by the comisario to establish a shop here.

Don Nas went to Chichen Itza for medicine for his wife, who continues ill. Sun and heat.

Sunday, May 24

Don P. and his wife came before the comisario, complaining that their neighbor, Ana, often insults Don P.'s wife by saying that she has illicit relations with Ana's husband. When the accused woman was summoned, she appeared with her husband. After a long discussion among the group the fact came out that Ana is so impossible that her parents-in-law, to keep from quarreling with her, prefer to live apart from her in Yula. Her husband said that to punish her he was giving her a beating, when he was stopped by his father-in-law who promised to punish her himself. In spite of everything, the ungovernable Ana continues annoying her neighbors with her scandalous gossip. The comisario gave her advice by citing passages from the Bible and examples of sound morality. Ana promised to reform.

From Valladolid came Miguel Mendoza, bringing things to sell, as always. A hunt. Sun and heat.

Monday, May 25

Rain is the only topic of conversation. People scan the horizon, they expound omens, they search on all sides for the signs which are the precursors of the coming of the water, without any results. The sun continues to shine. Miguel Mendoza went to Valladolid.

Tuesday, May 26

The teachers from Xanla and San Isidro came to see the work being carried out in the school here.
Last night a ring was seen around the moon; this, according to what is said, is a sign of rain. Two men came from Dzitas selling a mule. Sun and heat.

**Wednesday, May 27**

Don Fano sold fifty cargas of corn to Santoyo. Some women went to Chichen to sell chickens. Rain. General satisfaction and new plans for sowing. Cool weather.

**Thursday, May 28**

Most of the men went out to their milpas in order to sow again.

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**Sunday, June 14**

Dona Leandra has been very busy in these last days, because of a number of births. The first was that of Luciano, son of Sabina and Natalio Uc. Shortly after, Justino, son of Ursena Uc and Porfirio Tamay was born, and then the daughter of Demetria Ceme and Adolfo Ceme. The last infant has no name yet because they have not yet “looked in the almanac.” Last of all, when no one was expecting it, arrived a son to Bartola Poot, at a time when both parents were engaged in working their fields at Uaymilchen. Because the mother could not be given the right care, she was brought into the village in a very serious condition. The child died in a few days, some say because it was not cared for properly. This premature birth has given rise to malicious comments among the people of the village. It is said that Bartola’s parents-in-law are rather disgusted with the occurrence.

In the evening, having been summoned by the comisario, almost all the families of the village met in the cuartel to receive the vegetable seeds presented to them by Mr. Redfield. Before distributing them, I explained to them the need for vegetable gardens whose products should supplement their present diet and the benefits arising from this. Don Eus announced that Miss MacKay had given the village twenty-five pesos for material improvements, and continued talking in his usual way, making a thousand promises to those who should follow his advice. The meeting ended with cheers for Mr. Redfield and Miss MacKay and for all the “tourists of Chichen Itza.”

Don Rosa went to Cuncunul to get his daughter Vicha. Doña Ambrosia Caamal went to Valladolid to bring back her daughter Eusebia who works there. Edilberto went to buy hogs at Kankabdzonot.

The most sensational event recently was the burning of Don Nas’s thatched hut. Considering the little he had to lose, the matter did not affect him very much. Cloudy, but hot.

**Monday, June 15**

Don Rosa came back from Cuncunul, and Doña Ambrosia from Valladolid, each bringing a daughter.

There has been a tremendous rain. The streets are impassable. The evening is cool; the croaking of frogs enlivens it.

**Tuesday, June 16**

Don Eus is now a model of hard work. He goes to his milpa at dawn and does not return till late. Now he is not seen in conversations at the street corners nor with news-

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1 In these parts the word “tourist” and some of its derivatives have become synonymous with “American.”
papers under his arm. It may be a question of domestic economy. Every family is occupied now with making its garden. This has taken the place of the ancient caanche which every year grows rarer. Last night Lorenza Kuyoc, attended by Doña Leandra, gave birth to a male child. Cool and rainy.

**Wednesday, June 17**

The School Inspector and some other teachers came to inspect the school here. Two men came from Tinum selling two mules. At night there took place in Don Fano's house a *rezo* to commemorate the ninth anniversary of the death of Evelio's mother. Sowing continues. Corn has begun to rise in price. There is a general feeling of optimism. Cool and rainy.

**Thursday, June 18**

The School Inspector and his companions went on to Valladolid. The mules which were brought here yesterday were exchanged for cows by Don Eus and the Tamay brothers. Summoned by the *Presidente Municipal* of Cuncunul, Don Tino, Don Nas, and Asunción set off to meet demands for satisfaction for the destruction which their cattle have done in the milpa of Feliciano Cen, a native of San Prudencio.

**Friday, June 19**

Don Tino and his companions returned from Cuncunul. They report that the matter was settled amicably by promising to repair all the damages done to the milpa and by paying the owner three pesos besides. The men who brought the mules went to Tinum. Cool and rainy.

**Saturday, June 20**

Several people went to Chichen Itza to sell chickens and embroideries. Don Fano slaughtered a hog and sold off all the meat at fifty *centavos* a kilo. Rain. Moderate temperature.

**Sunday, June 21**

Summoned by the *comisario*, the men of the place gathered to build, on the land belonging to the school, the fowl pens for the School Poultry Cooperative. Baseball is the present rage among big and little. The streets are beginning to be covered with grass. Cloudy or rainy all day, moderate temperature.

**Monday, June 22**

Matilde, Emiliano and Adolfo went to Valladolid. The former to get goods for the store. Don Tino, Don Nas and Asunción were busied in preparing the fences and in sowing over again the milpa which had been destroyed by their cattle. From Xocen and Kanxoc came several people in search of work. Cool and rainy.

**Tuesday, June 23**

Pablo Ku and his wife and Don Anal went to Cuncunul to enjoy the fiesta there and to take advantage of the presence of the priest to have baptized their son, to whom Don Anal is godfather.
Don Tino and "San" Uitzil are helping Don Eus sow his milpa and will receive half a carga of maize for each almud that they sow. Not finding work, the men who came yesterday, returned to their own villages. Adolfo returned.

It has rained all day without interruption. This has permitted Don Bus the pleasure of going to visit his friends under the shelter of his umbrella.

Wednesday, June 24

Today was the day of San Juan, but no one thought of telling fortunes, as in previous years. The continuous rain confirmed once more the belief that rain is inevitable on this day. According to Don Fano, the Virgin Mary, who is always anxious to protect men, sees to it that San Juan sleeps on his birthday, because otherwise it would rain so much that the world would be flooded. In spite of the rain the boys go through the streets splashing water and killing frogs.

Thursday, June 25

A disease has broken out among the fowls. Just today thirty hens died in various chicken yards. The only remedy the owners are employing is to burn candles to San Diego. Pablo Ku and his wife and Don Anal returned from Cuncunul. Cloudy but hot.

Friday, June 26

The wife of Don Rosa continues firm in her determination not to leave her house. She still remains there with her children, the oldest of whom helps her in her work. It is likely that the frequent visits of Don Rosa to the village have for their only object causing his wife to give up this attitude. Matilde Tamay returned from Valladolid because he did not like the work of a leather worker.

A boy came from San Isidro with bananas to sell. Julio Kuyoc went to Kaua to sell corn. Cloudy but hot.

Sunday, June 28

A schism has arisen in the village. The following circumstances gave rise to it. A few weeks ago, Rosendo Ceme, without any authorization whatsoever, added to his house plot a part of that belonging to Don Balbino. The latter's land, in his absence remained rightfully at the disposition of the authorities. When Rosendo's act was denounced to the comisario by Don Elut, he summoned Rosendo to make an explanation. But Don Eus was not able to obtain a satisfactory settlement on account of the hostile and rebellious nature of Rosendo. The comisario, who is always conciliatory, turned the affair over to Pablo Ku, President of the Agrarian Committee, but he also was unable to get Rosendo to change his attitude. Meanwhile the matter became the only subject of conversation at street corner meetings, and varying opinions were expressed.

Today, taking advantage of the fact that all the men had gathered to work on the land adjoining the School, the President of the Agrarian Committee summoned the men to an assembly to begin at five in the afternoon. At this meeting the President of the Committee, after giving an account of what had taken place, asked the opinion of those present on the matter in order that it might be settled satisfactorily. Don Madal was

* See Diary of May 20.
the first to speak. He was of the opinion that Rosendo's unjust claims should not be allowed, because Rosendo's lot was already magnificently large and perfectly situated. To this Maco returned that the Pats were trying to interfere with Rosendo simply for their own benefit, because they wanted to have this piece of land themselves. From the moment that this was said, the differences in opinion which had existed before flared up into heated discussion. Don Fano, defending Rosendo, expressed himself in a manner insulting to the Pats so that the comisario was obliged to silence him. As a result of this, Don Fano, followed by the Tamayos and the Cemeos, left the meeting and started an opposition group in his store. In view of this irregularity, the President of the Agrarian Committee refused to deal with the matter any longer and went back to his house.

The affair came to a head when someone brought to Don Fano an untrue story that the comisario was going to have him tied up, so as to send him to Cuncunul. As a result, Don Fano returned to the meeting, and harsh words passed between him and the comisario, creating a bitter enmity between them. The stormy assembly ended at about midnight. Later the group gathered in Don Fano's store created a great deal of disturbance by setting off rockets as a gesture of derision against the opposing group. The night ended with all minds full of a presentiment of further disorders.

Monday, June 29

On account of the rockets set off last night, the comisario after making the proper inquiries, summoned Martiniano, Rosendo and Don Bus, and ordered them, as a punishment, to open six mecales of the road which leads to Santa Maria. These men protested their innocence and refused to carry out the order. The comisario left them at liberty and sent a report of the affair to the authorities at Cuncunul.

On account of last night's occurrences, Maco has gone to live in the house of his father-in-law, leaving that of Don Eus in which he had been living. The unusualness of these happenings has aroused general excitement and is discussed by everybody. Rain, heat.

Tuesday, June 30

A reply from the authorities of Cuncunul is awaited before anything further is done. Meanwhile all have gone back to work as usual.

At eleven in the morning the wife of Asuncion gave birth to a male child.

Rain and heat.

Wednesday, July 1

The comisario today informed Don Rosa that if he wished to remain longer in the village he would have to cooperate in the village improvements and that he should immediately open up four mecales of the road leading to Santa Maria. Don Rosa, without making any excuse whatsoever, carried out this order.

Don Elut reported to the comisario that while he was harvesting he had been robbed of two mecales of pineapples. He expressed suspicions with regard to the Tamay brothers without presenting any proof. The seed of discord is bringing its yield of distrust and bitterness. Cloudy, hot.

Thursday, July 2

Early in the morning, Don Rosa appeared before the comisario and in a confidential manner told him of his wish to return to the village and of his willingness to carry out all

1 In order to give the village a "view," Don Eus has decided to continue a street to the point where it joins the road from Santa Maria.
the faginas and obligations entrusted to him. He also stated that his former conduct had been due simply to evil counsel from persons interested in buying his house. Then after a long talk with Don Eus, Don Rosa begged the comisario not to tell anyone of his return in order to avoid difficulties when taking away his pigs and the corn which he has in Santa Maria. This prudence on the part of Don Rosa is somewhat suspicious.

Don Nas and Edilberto went to shell corn, sold by Edilberto to merchants of Kaua. Cloudy and hot.

**Friday, July 3**

This evening, on my invitation, there took place here in my room a private interview between Don Fano and Don Eus to see if a reconciliation could not be effected between them and a split in the village avoided. Unfortunately, after two hours of discussion, I was not able to bring them to an agreement, because Don Fano was not willing that Maco, Rosendo and Don Bus should be punished in the matter of the rockets.

It is likely that Don Eus will go tomorrow to Cuncunul to take up the matter with the authorities there. Rain, cool.

**Saturday, July 4**

Don Eus left at daybreak for Cuncunul and returned in the afternoon bringing a peremptory order from the authorities there for the punishment of those who created the disorder of last Sunday. For my part, I am still hoping to conciliate both parties and to avoid greater dissensions.

There arrived here, on an excursion, the teachers from Xanla and Yula. From Sahcabchen came Don Nas and Pablo Ku, and Edilberto. From Valladolid, a vendor of bread. Don Bus and some others went to Kaua to sell corn. Cloudy, hot.

**Sunday, July 5**

In order to efface rancor and to restore the old harmony which has always existed in the village, this evening I organized a "cultural reunion," which was attended by all the families of the place.

The reunion was made pleasant by Don Nas's Victrola, and at an opportune moment I spoke of the benefits to the community of fraternal unity among its members. Then Don Eus spoke and endeavored to inculcate in his hearers sentiments of discipline and respect for the authorities so as to avoid troubles which might slow up the progress of the village. His talk went on for more than an hour and touched upon the most varied topics: social betterment; the political situation in Yucatan; profit from chicken raising; causes of the henequen crisis; the vitalizing power of vitamins A, B and C; the superiority of the Americans and ways in which the people of Chan Kom can emulate them. His whole speech was filled with sentiments making for union and concord.

The meeting ended in a dance which healed completely the widening schism which would have resulted only in further enmity and quarrels.

The teacher from San Isidro arrived today. Several people went to Kaua to sell their corn. Sun and heat.

**Monday, July 6**

All the families of the village, summoned by me, gathered last night in the comisaría to hear from the Inspector and Director of Federal Education in Yucatan who came in the afternoon. These men came to explain the way in which they proposed to help the
village to build a new school house and to make other improvements. After I had explained to the gathering the purpose of the meeting and had urged them to cooperation in the important improvements projected, the visitors spoke, offering very definite aid in building a modern edifice to serve as a school and an "open-air theater" such as the Secretary of Public Education is building in many rural communities. Then Don Eus and Don Elut spoke, expressing the desire of the village for improvement and prosperity and their own eagerness for the realization of the improvements suggested. The Director of Federal Education promised to contribute fifty pesos and a box of dynamite and to send as soon as possible the assistant teacher required by the growing number of pupils.

Don Nas's Victrola led the jarana with which the meeting closed.

The schism has disappeared. The jolly companionship of other times has returned, and again work is the central object of all thoughts.

Don Tino's wife gave birth to a female child. Sun and heat.

Tuesday, July 7

In the morning, after the school authorities had left, there took place in the comisaría a meeting led by Don Eus and me, to discuss the form in which contributions should be made to the improvements decided upon. After a friendly exchange of opinions, it was agreed that each one should contribute as follows: ten loads of sascab, ten of lime, two beams, two pesos and a half in money, and one week of labor. The work will be directed by Don Nas and will involve a total cost of two hundred and fifty pesos. The job will be begun next Monday, and considering the enthusiasm there is for it, it is likely to be completed in September. Rain and heat.

Wednesday, July 8

For some time Don Bus has been suffering from pains in his back and indigestion, so that his health is in a very bad state. Not finding any relief from the patent medicines he used, he today went to consult the h-men. Balbino Ek, after examining him and studying the case in his crystal, reported to him that his troubles were caused by evil winds which the balams, and chaacs and other agricultural divinities were sending into him because he had forgotten the offering which it is customary to make every so often. Therefore, Don Bus has resolved to celebrate the u hanli col tomorrow, and has invited a number of his neighbors to help him in the preparations.

Several mule drivers came from Valladolid to fetch corn sold them by the Tamay brothers and Don Fano. In accordance with the agreement made at the assembly yesterday, the men have begun to burn lime and to take out sascab. Cloudy, hot.

Thursday, July 9

Today Don Bus celebrated the u hanli col. At daybreak people began coming to his house bringing with them, all ground, the nixtamal, which he had portioned out to them earlier. The h-men, Balbino Ek, with the help of Don Fano, who served as idzac, went to the back of his yard and there built the altar on which, besides the cross, he placed one jicara and thirteen homas of zaca, each resting on habin leaves. After this had been arranged, he offered this drink to the balams, the chaacs, the canan-cacabob, and other protectors of agriculture, entreating them to accept it, as a sign of gratitude and respect from the sick man, and asking them to drive away from him the winds which were making him sick. He also invoked them on behalf of the milpa so that there should be no drought.

1 On this occasion there was only one idzac.
After an hour, the h-men replaced the zaca with balche, which he offered in the same way. Then he consulted his crystal, through which the gods informed him that the following Monday Don Bus should erect an altar in the middle of his milpa and offer them there thirteen homas of zaca. When this had been communicated to Don Bus, he promised to carry it out faithfully. The others present busied themselves with preparing the breads which are usual at these ceremonies and, this done, they went on to the consecration of the fowls (a turkey and two chickens) in the usual way. Four men were selected by the h-men from among those present as Chacs; these held the consecrated fowls by the wings and the feet and plucked the feathers off, walking around the altar while the h-men sprinkled balche toward the cardinal points. The Chacs concluded their duties by sacrificing the fowls and then handing them over to the women, who were chattering merrily in the kitchen while preparing the things necessary for the kol.

At midday, when the breads and the sopas had been disposed in the proper way on the altar, the h-men offered them to the gods, one by one, reciting for each the appropriate prayer.

When the offerings had thus been handed over, the h-men consulted his zaztun to see if the gods would accept them. Here he was able to distinguish after looking for a long time, the lucero, with which they show that they are satisfied.

With this the ceremony ended and the offerings of food were divided among those present.

Friday, July 10

Those who have sold their corn are shelling it in the milpas. Others, in groups of five or six, are preparing lime burnings, or are taking out sascab for the school.

At night, in the house of the Tamays, there was held a rezó for San Diego in memory of Don Guillermo’s father, whose spirit, according to Balbina Ek, is the one which has brought sickness to Pablito, Don Guillermo’s son.

Saturday, July 11

From Valladolid came a group of teachers excursioning simply in order to know the famous Chan Kom. They amused themselves by dancing and playing basket-ball on the school grounds. The party which was to take place in the evening had to be postponed on account of the rain. Bartola’s parents-in-law today offered to Bartola’s parents the marriage feast which they were not able to hold when she married. A number of people attended.

At the Tamay house there was another rezó in memory of Ursena’s mother, whose spirit has been troubling her with menstrual irregularities, headaches, lack of appetite and other troubles, because Ursena has not prayed for a long time in her behalf.

Sunday, July 12

Dr. Saunders, who is studying malaria and dysentery in Yucatan, and Mr. Bennett, arrived from Chichen Itza. During the three hours that they were here they attended to more than twenty-five persons, almost all ill with intestinal trouble or infections.

The teachers who came yesterday returned to Valladolid.

Several people who were shelling corn returned from their milpas. Rain and heat.

Monday, July 13

The building of the school began. Ten masons and ten assistants are at work. The masons will receive part of the money given to Don Nas. Tito and Matilde went to Valladolid, the former for merchandise for the store, the latter to sell corn. Sun and heat.

1 By this name the h-men describes the light of the candle reflected in his manta (p. 170).
Tuesday, July 14

Tito and Matilde returned. Everything as usual. Sun and heat.

Wednesday, July 15

Two young men, brothers of Federico Tuyu, in whose house they lodged, arrived from Yaxcaba. Several mule drivers came through on their way to Valladolid from Sahcabchen. Sun and heat.

Thursday, July 16

The authorities of Cuncunul sent a blank sheet of paper to be signed by the people of this place but they refused to do so because they did not know what the affair was about. Sun and heat.

Friday, July 17

The comisario of the village of Santa Maria sent word that Cleofas Yama had moved to that place. However, as he had not carried out the faginas agreed upon for building the school, the comisario here replied that he could not release him from his membership in the village until he carried out his yet unfulfilled obligations. His wife and sons are still here. Sun and heat.

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Monday, July 20

Don Eus, in order to check insubordination and to develop respect for his authority, has resolved to treat people "militaristically," that is, he says, "energetically and without any sort of consideration." Therefore he does not now behave in the old popular way; he does not allow gatherings to form on the street corners and he avoids any act which might decrease the prestige of the office he holds. Only from seven to eight at night does he listen to affairs which people wish to take up with him, and any transgressor or presumptive transgressor is imprisoned; and must wait twenty-four hours for trial and judgment.

The first to suffer from these drastic measures were Herculano Hu and Tranquilino Yam. The former was arrested on Saturday afternoon for having refused to pay to the Agrarian Committee the eight per cent due from the products of his ejido in the past year. Held in jail until the following day, he was sentenced to pay the eight per cent as well as the money which every person had to pay for building the school, the total of which amounted to eleven pesos and a half. As Herculano was without money at this time, his gun was seized, and he found himself forced to sell his house lot to Adolfo Ceme so that he could pay up what he owed.

It is likely that Herculano will move to the village of Santa Maria, where there is no organization of any sort and the few people who inhabit it are lazy and of not very laudable antecedents.

Tranquilino Yam was imprisoned yesterday morning because he had disobeyed the order of the comisario not to strike the bell of the comisaria except at the hours fixed for doing so. This morning, when judgment was passed upon him, he was severely admonished and warned that the next time he was at fault he would be sent to Cuncunul.

After these two examples (Don Eus confided to me), no one would question the orders which come from the comisaria.

Work on the school has stopped as building materials are lacking.

A strong north wind; moderate temperature.
Tuesday, July 21

Tino, the younger son of Santiago Yam, is sick, probably with dysentery. For lack of medicine and proper care it is not unlikely that he will die within a few days. The people are still active in getting together materials to continue work on the school. Some mule drivers came from Valladolid for corn.

Wednesday, July 22

Tino, the son of Santiago Yam, died this afternoon. The mule drivers who came yesterday returned to Valladolid. Herculano Hu went to Santa Maria. The building of the school was taken up again. Sun and heat.

Thursday, July 23

Tino was buried. A number of people attended his funeral.

Don Eus, in agreement with Pablo Ku, President of the Agrarian Committee, has decided that the house lots of those who take up their residences elsewhere shall be given free of charge to anyone who wishes to come and live here, except he be a merchant. Sun and heat.

Friday, July 24

Rainy and cold. No one worked. In the afternoon at the same hour in which Tino died, there took place in the house of the Tamays, where he lived, a rizo in behalf of his soul. Those who attended were given the ritual foods.

The authorities of Cuncunul returned from X-Kopteil after solving the difficulties which have arisen there between the teacher and the community. Silva, a vendor of bread, came here.

Saturday, July 25

From Valladolid came a number of peddlers selling clothing, jewelry, sandals, medicines and so on, but with little success. Sun and heat.

Sunday, July 26

The peddlers who came yesterday went on to Yaxuna. From Cuncunul came another traveling merchant bringing cotton cloth and trimming for huipils. Some people have begun to weed their milpas. Cloudy, moderate temperature.

Monday, July 27

The merchant who came here yesterday had better luck than those before him, for today alone he sold twenty pesos' worth of stuff. Chickens and eggs served for payment.

A policía went to Yula to summon Juan Cen who has not yet appeared to carry out the jagina he owes in building the school.

Herculano Hu has changed his residence from this village. As a result the comisario has seized his lime kiln which will be used in building the school. Bonifacio Caamal and his family came from X-Ceh-yaax where they were weeding his milpa. Cloudy, pleasant weather.

Tuesday, July 28

Juan Cen appeared to carry out his jagina. The merchant who came from Cuncunul went to Yula. Silva came from Valladolid with bread to sell. Sun and heat.
**Wednesday, July 29**

Work on the school has stopped for lack of material. On this account a meeting of authorities and masons was held this afternoon, and it was agreed that every man of the village should contribute either ten loads of sascab or ten of lime. This was announced from house to house by a policia. The teacher from Yula came. Cloudy and hot.

**Thursday, July 30**

Men are again busied with collecting lime and sascab for building the school. Placida Batun hung from a tree of her yard a gourd dish containing cooked squash, the first that had been gathered this year: This she did without any formal ritual, telling me that she did this so that the yuntzilob would take the gracia and help in raising other crops.⁴ Sun and heat.

**Friday, July 31**

Everything as usual. Sun and heat.

**Saturday, August 1**

In the evening a “cultural assembly” was held in the corredores of the comisaria. It was attended by almost all the families of the place. The chief object of these gatherings is to shake off the apathy of the women and to inculcate social habits and elemental ideas of hygiene and comfort. As a result of my efforts, their homes now appear cleaner, and they are beginning to use the milk from their cows.

At this meeting, after explaining the unhealthful and disgusting nature of lice, I encouraged the women to collaborate with the men in improving the community. Then Don Eus spoke upon modern culture and hygiene and exhibited some photographs clipped from a newspaper—photographs from which he explained minutely according to his own conceptions of them. Isidro Hu, Don Elut and Pablo Ku also spoke in defense of modern customs. The meeting ended with a dance at about midnight.

**Sunday, August 2**

The comisario and the President of the Agrarian Committee measured and appraised the land on which Herculano Hu had lived, so that they might be able to sell it to any one who desired to settle in the village. This may be the source of trouble. Herculano sold this land to Adolfo without the consent of the comisario, because the former had expressed his intentions of moving from this place. In accordance with the law, the land of anyone who moves to another village remains at the disposal of the comisario. As will be seen, Don Eus is inflexible in his opinions, and even opposes his own son-in-law, where the law is involved. This case may give rise to difficulties because it continues the quarrel between Don Fano and Don Eus.

**Monday, August 3**

Sufficient materials having been collected, the building of the school has been begun again. Tito left for Valladolid for merchandise for the store.

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⁴ See p. 187.
Tuesday, August 4

Marcos Canche, a former inhabitant of this village, arrived from Santa Maria in order to sell the corn from the milpa which he has here. Pablo Ku, after conferring with Don Eus, informed him that he could not do so until he paid the eight per cent on the products of his ejido which the National Agrarian Commission has decreed. This information did not please him very much. Tito returned.

Wednesday, August 5

From Bojon came Gregorio Caamal asking Don Eus to lend a bull for the bull-fights which will take place in Ebtun in the fiesta of 1933. The organizers of these fiestas are not lacking in foresight. In the evening, again summoned by the authorities, Don Marcos paid the necessary tax. Several mule drivers came from Valladolid for corn. Rain, cool.

Thursday, August 6

The village is in mourning. At three in the afternoon, when the construction of the school was nearing its close, it collapsed, crushing the masons who were working on it. A number of injured were taken out from among the ruins. Those most seriously injured were Don Fano and Don Nas; the one man killed was poor Apolinario Caamal (Don Polin); he was crushed beyond recognition by the great stones which had fallen on him. As the body was far down in the ruins it was very difficult to locate it and taking it out was very distressing because his mother (Doña Leandra), and his wife and children stood by, with sobs and lamentations.

The occurrence caused indescribable consternation among the folk of this place. The expenses of the funeral will be paid for out of the funds collected for the building of the theater. To help the widow who has five small children, I shall try to see to it that her milpa is cared for by some of her neighbors.

The catastrophe has brought to ruin the great project which, through the enthusiasm and travail of the people, had come to the point of realization. The ruined building was composed of two long rooms, 15 meters long by 5 wide. In its construction were used eight hundred loads of lime and as many of sascab, eighty-five beams, a box of dynamite, and two hundred pesos in cash. In all, including the value of the time of the workmen, its value amounted to twelve hundred pesos. This blow has been really terrible as far as the progress of the village is concerned, and the place is quite demoralized.

It is evident that the blame for the accident lies upon the masons, who did not know how to calculate correctly the strength of the material. However, to avoid recrimination, ill-feeling, and efforts at revenge, I have attributed it to God. Rain, moderate temperature.

Friday, August 7

There is hardly anyone who didn't have a presentiment or warning omen of yesterday's calamity. Leandro, brother of the man who was killed, assures me that some days before he saw the snake called yaxcamla, which is a bad omen. Others had dreams of a more or less fantastic sort, and still others attribute Don Polin's misfortune to the evil fate of his wife, whose first husband also died tragically—he was crushed by a cart.

The authorities from Cuncunul came, and after certifying that the accident occurred through mischance, returned home. The funeral of Don Polin was well attended. The injured men continue in a bad way. From nearby villages and hamlets curious people have been coming to look at the scene of the catastrophe.
In a meeting held among the men of the village it was agreed that instead of making the milpa for the widow each one would contribute a load of corn.

Some animosity is beginning to develop against Don Nas. Rain, moderate temperature.

Saturday, August 8

The village is recovering its normal spirits. Enthusiasm has appeared again, and there is talk of raising the building anew, beginning from the foundations. However, this can not be done until the rainy season ends.

At three in the afternoon, the hour of Don Polin's tragic death, there took place in his house the rezo, "three day prayer" at which those who attended were presented with the ritual foods.

In the evening, after the prayer which is proper for the rezo, Leandro, brother of the dead man, made a very good speech telling those present that both he and his family were very grateful for the behavior of the village toward them, especially for the help in corn which had been decided to give the widow, but since that he himself was in good health, he believed himself obligated to watch over his brother's family, on which account he refused to accept his aid. Those who heard him were very much surprised at Leandro's demonstration of character, and at his generosity; this certainly raises him in the eyes of his neighbors.

The injured men continue the same. If they do recover, they will probably be unable to do heavy work as they have several ribs broken. They are attended by the kax-baac, Timoteo Caamil.

Sunday, August 9

The novenas in memory of Don Polin are so pleasant that there is hardly anyone who doesn't attend them for their solace and entertainment. The young men play at cards with cigarettes in their mouths while the girls smile and whisper to each other in spite of the seriousness of the older people. "San" Uitzil is always there with his guitar. Maco's father came from Kankabdzonot. Sun and heat.

Monday, August 10

The injured men have greatly improved. Maco and Porfirio Tamay are now walking about; they only received bruises and small injuries on the head. Don Fano and Don Nas are not able to converse with visitors.

The masons who were not hurt and their helpers are busied in clearing up the ruins and demolishing the parts of the ruined building which are still standing. Two vendors of holy images came from Valladolid.

Tuesday, August 11

The men of the guard refused to sleep last night at the comisaria because they heard mysterious noises, strange movings-about of the furniture, and other supernatural phenomena. In order to quiet them, Don Eus blessed with holy water this building as well as the ruins of the school. The vendors of holy images continued on to X-Kopteil. The period of mysticism through which the village is passing favored their sales. The healer who heals with electricity came, but no one paid any attention to him.

1 Bone-setter. See p. 73.
Wednesday, August 12

Don — sold a hundred loads of corn. On this account he went today to the milpa which he has in Nicteha to shell it, accompanied by his second wife.

The healer with the electrical machine went on to Kaua without having obtained any business, for not even the badly injured men wished to subject themselves to this miraculous treatment. Cloudy and hot.

Thursday, August 13

The octave of Don Polin’s death was celebrated today with great ostentation. The house of the widow was visited by the people of the village and a number of rezos and bounteous repasts were organized.

Maco’s father returned to Kankabdzonot. Rain and cool weather.

Friday, August 14

The village appears uninhabited. All are weeding their milpas. A vendor of bread came from Valladolid.

Saturday, August 15

The mason from Tizimin came to build Don Tino’s house. A number of mule drivers came from Valladolid. Quiet. Rainy and cool.

Sunday, August 16

Ursena Un (the wife of Porfirio Tamay) continues sick. Now she is very weak and pale. She is probably suffering from genito-urinary difficulties. Nevertheless, according to the h-men Trinidad Dzul, who was summoned to attend her, it is simply a matter of evil winds which can be expelled by taking for nine Fridays a bath made with an infusion from leaves of rue. Everything leads one to believe that the outcome will not be good. A number of families returned from their milpas. Rainy and cool.

Monday, August 17

The building of Don Tino’s house has begun. There are a number of cases of grippe. The mule drivers returned to Valladolid.

Tuesday, August 18

The wife and brother of Don Polin have gone to Valladolid to make purchases. At night there was a rezo in Don Fano’s house in which divine aid was invoked to improve his health.

Wednesday, August 19

Everything is quiet. Sun and heat.

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Thursday, August 20

On my return from Merida this evening I addressed the parents of the community, reporting to them the lack of success I had had in seeking to raise funds for rebuilding the
school. In spite of this, it was agreed, after discussion, to begin tomorrow morning to build it anew with no other aid than the labor of the people themselves. During the meeting it was Don Eus and Don Nas (who is now much improved), who by their optimism led public opinion.

Don Fano and Maco are the only ones of those injured who remain in their hammocks.

Friday, August 28

With courage renewed, the men began again the building of the school. Don Nas, lacking the strength to labor himself, contents himself with directing the work. Leandro Caamal (brother of Don Polin) today removed his residence to Yaxuna because this enterprise is not to his liking. Doña Leandra went with him, leaving the village without a midwife.

A number of people went off to their milpas to shell the corn which they have recently sold, taking advantage of a rise in price. Various mule drivers of Valladolid went off for the same destinations.

Saturday, August 29

Don Tino went off to X-Ceh-yaax, suspending work on his house.

In the afternoon, after the work on the school had ended for the day, a hunt was organized and a deer shot.

Sunday, August 30

In the evening, in the Tamay house, there was held a novena dedicated to San Diego and Los Tres Reyes, whose aid was involved for a sick horse and a burro belonging to the Tamaya. At its end, the persons in attendance discussed holding a novenario in the oratorio for San Diego in order to improve the poor condition of the maize plants. It was agreed to begin it tomorrow. Several men returned from their milpas. The mule drivers returned to Valladolid.

Monday, August 31

The vacation being over, today I took up again my work at the school.

Opportunely repaired and cleaned, the oratorio was last night the scene of the first novena. José Caamal and Magdaleno Dzul were responsible for its costs. Because there are so many who take an interest in the patron saint, it has been decided that the novenario be double, that is to say, of eighteen novenas. During this period the people will have somewhere to pass brief moments of entertainment.

The poor condition of some milpas is beginning to worry the owners.

Tuesday, September 1

In the afternoon it was reported that a cow, belonging to some one here, had been found dead in the bush near X-Kopteil; this news caused much alarm among the small cattle raisers.

At ten in the morning Munda (the wife of San Uitzil) gave birth to a girl child. She was attended by Doña Feliciana (the widow of Don Polin).

Several mule drivers came from Valladolid to get maize sold them by Don Eus and Don Madal. Don Tino resumed work on his house.
Wednesday, September 2

At dawn those most concerned went off to find the dead cow; they returned in the afternoon with the welcome news that it was only a dead pig that had given rise to the alarming rumor.

The milpas now require little attention. Therefore their owners pass their time as best they can: twisting thread, cutting firewood, or distracting themselves in other occupations to their liking.

Thursday, September 3

Pedro's mother-in-law appeared before the comisario complaining that Pedro so frequently maltreated her daughter that she had resolved to take her away with her. The comisario replied that if the daughter wanted to abandon her husband she might do so with no uneasiness whatever, for he (the comisario) was not disposed to interfere in marital quarrels. In the afternoon the mother returned to Ticimul, her home, without taking along her daughter, who apparently preferred to remain with her husband in spite of the bad treatment.

The mule drivers returned to Valladolid, and others arrived to get the maize sold by Don Tino. The traveling merchants went off to X-Kopteil. Miguel Mendoza came from Valladolid. Rain and fresh temperature.

Friday, September 4

Today the girl's parents re-appeared in the comisario together with the girl and her husband, and made known to the comisario that she wanted to separate from her husband. After five hours of lively discussion, during which each spouse cast the other's defects and pettishness into the face of the other, they decided to separate, in spite of the comisario's suggestion; the husband handed over to his wife her terno and her rebozo, and two sets of everyday clothing. With these things and nothing more, the girl went off with her parents to Kaua, putting an end to her unfortunate matrimonial adventure.

Two traveling merchants came from Valladolid, passing on to settlements to the south. Mule drivers arrived and departed. Rain and heat.

Saturday, September 5

News has come from Santa María to the effect that that settlement is visited by a uyay-chup, in the form of a dog, that soils the sleep of maidens. Some people have seen the evil being on the Yaxuna road; therefore the h-men that lives there is suspected. This attractive theme has stimulated the telling of a great number of similar tales in the neighborhood, producing great alarm among the women.

The men working on the school suspended their labors in order to go look for cattle in the bush. Mule drivers arrived and departed. Rain and heat.

Sunday, September 6

There is no doubt but that San Diego is miraculous, but as it would not be prudent to forget the Holy Cross, it has been resolved that nine of the eighteen novenas shall be addressed to the one, and nine to the other.
Today there was *fagin* to collect and make such use as may be possible of the materials in the collapsed school building. Some people from neighboring settlements came to make purchases in the store.

**Monday, September 7**

It appears that Leandro’s noble and manly gesture was merely a momentary impulse, for later he moved away from the house of his sister-in-law, in order to escape inconvenient demands. This step has been the subject of much ironic comment, and people are not lacking who say that on the former occasion Leandro must have been temporarily unbalanced. However that may be, the poor widow has suffered severely from the change, for now practically no one comes to her aid or brings her corn. Everything as usual. Cloudy and drizzly.

**Tuesday, September 8**

The novenas in the *oratorio* are being well attended. As there is no moon now, the people who attend are obliged to come with candles or torches; these give the roads a fantastic aspect. People from neighboring settlements came to make purchases in the store.

**Wednesday, September 9**

It has rained in torrents. Streets and paths are flooded. The wetness of the atmosphere penetrates everything.

To commemorate the seventh week after the death of the child Tino Yam, a *rezo* was held in the Tamay house at the same hour at which he died. In Don Madal’s house there was also a *rezo*, as a sign of gratitude to the Nino Dios for the luxuriant growth of Don Madal’s maize. Both *rezos* were well attended by people of the village. *Arrerios* arrived.

**Thursday, September 10**

The *arrerios* who arrived yesterday brought the bad news that maize has gone down in price; this has disappointed many who have been hoping to sell their corn at a good price. “Plainly the Governor does not know how to govern,” said one. “He lowers the price of corn and he raises the price of clothing.”

Don Nas is sadder than ever before: his burro, which cost him so little and served him so well, died today; there are some who say of hunger, but more probably it was of old age.

The *arrerios* departed. Cloudy and hot.

**Friday, September 11**

So as to erase all evil thoughts that might remain from the recent catastrophe, I have organized a *jarana* for tomorrow evening; it will be enlivened by the Cuncunul orchestra. The people from the neighboring settlements have been invited and great animation prevails.

A great clamor was raised when a deer crossed the plaza at noon today and was pursued by young and old until shot down. This occurrence, so unusual, has been much commented on.

Tito and Emiliano went off to Valladolid, the former to fetch merchandise for the store, and the latter to get ice to sell at the *jarana*. 
Saturday, September 12

Once more the village has been able to laugh. The enthusiasm aroused by the jarana was so great that there was not a man who did not get a haircut and put a red handkerchief around his neck. The teachers and the inhabitants of the neighboring settlements came, and the music, the illumination of the gasoline lamps, the rockets and the free and spontaneous laughter of all, wiped out the sad memories of evil days.

Sunday, September 13

At dawn the jarana ended and the visitors departed.

Don Nas and San Uitzil, directors of the local Liga, went off to Valladolid, obeying a summons from the President Municipal of that town.

So that the masons might for a time attend to their neglected tasks in their milpas, work was suspended on the school during this week.

Monday, September 14

The directors of the Liga returned from Valladolid. The purpose of the summons was to notify them that on the 26th they would have to go to Merida to name, in full and democratic convention, the candidates for the coming election of diputados. The people of the village recall that recently there were circulated among the municipal authorities of all the rural settlements blank sheets of paper, to be signed by the local authorities in that condition and returned to Valladolid.

Tuesday, September 15

The recent rains have helped the milpas a great deal; a good harvest is promised. Now people are beginning to plan for the long awaited first ahza and pibil-nal:

During the past days the milperos have been making trips to Kaua to sell their maize before its price goes down further. Arrieros came on their way to Sahcabchen to get maize sold by Don Fano.

At night, besides the novena held in the oratorio, there was another in Don Trano's house, in gratitude to the Señor Dios for the good condition of his milpas. These private novenas express the desire to obtain from the Lord better favors than one's neighbor.

Wednesday, September 16

As today was a national holiday, no classes were held in the school. The men went hunting, getting two wild pigs.

Thursday, September 17

Emilio Mendoza, the Kaua merchant, came to propose to the authorities to establish here a store and a corn mill. The comisario promised to decide the matter next week.

At night the principal men of the place met together and decided to grant the merchant permission to do this, as well as to give facilities to other outside tradespeople who might want to settle here, so as to promote the commercial development of the village. This resolve, diametrically opposed to the policy which has always prevailed, is due to the failure of the Chan Kom people to organize the cooperative for so long urged by Don Eus; the cooperative failed because the cooperators had no other capital than good will.

People came from Bojon to make a burial in the cemetery.
Friday, September 18

Today men began to fell bush for a new milpa.

_Arreros_ arrived on their way to Sahcabchen. Two peddlers came from Kaua.

Saturday, September 19

The merchant Santoyo came from Valladolid; he also wants to establish a store here. The _comisario_ said he would decide the matter next week.

The novenas in the _oratorio_ ended, leaving people sad with the melancholy of festivals ended. Rain and heat.

Sunday, September 20

A ranger came from Dzitas to collect the charge imposed on those who make milpa in national lands.

Monday, September 21

The ranger, his mission ended, went off.

In Don Eus' house there was a _rezo_ in gratitude to the _Señor Dios_, the Virgin and the Lord Jesus Christ, with the usual offerings of abundant and savory comestibles.

An airplane passed over today.

Tuesday, September 22

Asunci6n has been misled. The various attempts he has made to better his economic status (he has been by turns tailor, merchant, and stone mason) have left him in such a condition that today he has neither milpa nor maize—indeed, nothing. He has long been trying to exchange the archaic and backward customs of his home for those of cultivated and civilized men. His father (in whose house Asunci6n has always lived), a cautious and prudent man, today told his son that it would be better if he made his home apart, for the family good. On learning this, Don Eus offered Asunci6n and his wife one of his own houses “because one must help one’s companions, just as the apostles of the Lord suffered in teaching people civilization and the new ideas.” All this has so confused Asunci6n that he is thinking of selling his sewing machine, his phonograph, and his mason’s tools that he may once more plant his milpa.

There was a novena in the _oratorio_, organized by José Caamal.

Wednesday, September 23

Don Tino and Andres Kuyoc spent the day with the aid of some neighbors preparing the earth-oven in which to make pibil-nal.

The School Inspector and the Director of Federal Education in the state came to pay a visit to the school.

Various _arreros_ passed through on their way to Sahcabchen.

Thursday, September 24

In the first hours of dawn a _rezo_ was held in the house of Don Andres Kuyoc. The _rezo_ was offered by Don Andres and Don Tino as a sign of gratitude to the _Señor Dios_ and to the ah-hoyaob yuntzilob for their having brought good yield to the maize plants. On an altar raised inside the house were placed seven gourd dishes of ahza, a number of
roasted ears, and three pottery vessels filled with boiled fowl. During the prayer there were set out in the yard in the customary manner, thirteen homas of ahza and thirteen pairs of pibil-nal dedicated to the ah-hoyaob yuntzilob. The ceremony concluded with a sumptuous repast in which the ahza and pibil-nal, great delicacies, were distributed to young and old.

In the afternoon, at the same hour at which Don Polin died, there was held in his widow’s house “the rezo of the seven weeks.” Various men arrived from their milpas with their animals loaded with young ears of maize. The school authorities departed. Rain and fresh weather.

Friday, September 25

Evelio Ceme and Maximo Uicab, directors of the local Liga, set off for Valladolid; they are to be delegates to the great convention to be held in Merida on the 27th of this month. Besides this commission, they bore also the charge to ask the Governor to send an engineer to come and inspect the work done on the school, and also had the responsibility of buying merchandise for Don Fano’s store.

Today many people held the rezo of the new ears in their milpas, being well content that now they will obtain good harvests.

Asunción and his father have made peace and, once again under the same roof, are living as God commands.

Saturday, September 26

From Xichichen came Don Anal’s parents-in-law to help him in preparing for the fiesta of the pibil-nal. The teachers of Yula and of Xanla passed through.

Sunday, September 27

Don Bus is still sick. Late last night the h-men Patricio Dzul performed a kex in Don Bus’ house so as to get rid definitely of the evil winds which are making him sick. According to this h-men, these winds seized upon Don Bus when he crossed a path by which but a moment before had passed one of the nucuch macob (balams), who guard the forest. The ceremony was exactly like that described on another occasion. It ended during the first hours of today, the h-men remaining in the usual condition of intoxication.

The rezo of the pibil-nal was held in Don Anal’s house. The foods set out for the yuntzilob were offered without formal ceremony probably because no h-men was available in the neighborhood.

Monday, September 28

At dawn several families made the rezo of the new ears.

As it was a cool and cloudy day, a hunting party was readily organized; a deer was shot. Don Bus went to San Prudencio, where lives the h-men attending him in order to get medicine; he came back with an infusion which he is to take in tablespoon doses.

Arrieros passed through, bound for Sahcabchen.

Tuesday, September 29

Two officials arrived from Merida. They said, among other things, that in the big assembly (which they had attended) it had been decided to name as diputado, Aurelio

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1 These are nearly always three in number, because “it is customary,” or because “there are three personages: God the Father, God the Son, and the Virgin Mary.”

2 See Diary for August 5, 1930.
Centeno, the present Presidente Municipal of this Departamento, and his son Humberto, the present disputado, to take his father’s position.

With regard to the engineer to inspect the work done on the school, they reported that the Government promised to send one next week.

Don Tino suspended work on his house for lack of materials.

A woman came from Bojon to sell bananas, and disposed of them all.

Wednesday, September 30

Work was resumed on the school. The rezos of the new corn continue. The arrieros returned to Valladolid.

Thursday, October 1

Don Nas has entirely recovered; he did not break any bones, as at first the kax baac said he had.

The animosity which arose on the ruins of the catastrophe, and threatened to spread among the people, has disappeared, or at least is not perceptible; once more people laugh and play, and all is as it was before.

Don Fano has likewise recovered his health, and now hopes to resume his work next week.

Friday, October 2

Doña Simona is sick. She probably suffers from trichinosis and amoebic dysentery (according to Dr. Saunders). He pointed out that there are several other women similarly infected who show no signs of any illness.

Saturday, October 3

Some teachers from schools near by came here for the excursions. Tito went off to Valladolid to get merchandise for the store. Don Fano killed a hog, but sold little of the meat.

Sunday, October 4

The pibil-nais continue. Everything is as usual. Cloudy and hot.

Monday, October 5

The teachers departed. Tito arrived. All quiet. Sun and heat.

Tuesday, October 6

Claudio and Filemon Noh, vecinos of the village but residents in the neighboring rancheria of Santa Maria, were today summoned by the comisario and informed that they must once more cooperate in the building of the school. They then made it plain that they were not disposed to lend any aid, in virtue of the fact that (in their opinion) the fault of all that had happened lay with Don Nas, and that it would not be just for everybody to pay for his ineptitude. The comisario, after exhausting his persuasive powers, ordered the detention of the Noh brothers so as to impose an exemplary punishment upon them for their recalcitrancy.
In this connection it may be remembered that these two men, as well as their brother Maximo, have always been noted for the systematic opposition they have maintained toward any work or improvement demanding the efforts of the community. Egged on by certain persons of Kaua, Cuncunul and X-Kopteil, they have recently sought to decry the building of the school, so as to weaken the enthusiasm of the others here who have been cooperating in the work with such enthusiasm. At the bottom of this there is an element of envy, for the virtue and success of one's neighbor is not always agreeable.

While working on the school, Rosendo Ceme fell today from a considerable height and suffered injuries of some seriousness, requiring him to keep to his hammock for a few days. Apparently the gods are not favorable to this important work of improvement.

Wednesday, October 7

With some difficulty I persuaded Don Eus to liberate the men he had detained, believing that later they would of their own accord come to work.

A man came from Chichen Itza bringing a horse to sell. A number of arrerios came from Valladolid on their way to Sahcabchen.

Thursday, October 8

A communication was received from the comisario of X-Kopteil making it known that the Noh brothers had transferred their official domicile to that village.

Martiniano Tamay exchanged a bull and a hog for the horse bought yesterday. The rains of the past few days have somewhat delayed the work on the school.

Friday, October 9

Late last night Claudio and Filemon Noh arrived from Valladolid with an order from the Presidente Municipal of that place requiring Don Eus to appear before him tomorrow. Don Eus, suspecting a plot, jailed Claudio and Filemon and furthermore ordered the detention of the third brother; to this end four guardias went off to Santa Maria, returning later with their prisoner, who was promptly jailed with the others.

All this took place during the night. At dawn Don Eus set off for Valladolid, together with Isidro Hu (the comisario suplente), and Sergeant-of-the-Guard Don Elut, to explain to the Presidente Municipal the truth of all these occurrences.

The neighborhood is much intrigued by this apparently inexplicable series of comings and goings. Although I have tried not to interfere in this matter, I suspect that I shall have to do so to avoid real trouble.

Saturday, October 10

The prisoners' wives arrived, bringing food for their husbands.

In the evening a communication arrived from the comisario of X-Kopteil; it contained a threat to attack Chan Kom unless the imprisoned men were immediately set at liberty. In order to avoid unnecessary alarm I have urged that the notice be not made public in the neighborhood and that it be communicated only to the policemen, that they may be on their guard. It is clear that the pueblo of X-Kopteil had nothing to do with this threat; its authors are two or three particular individuals.

We await with impatience the return of Don Eus and his companions, that we may know the drift of events.
Sunday, October 11

The eagerly awaited travelers arrived at the first hours of today. Immediately Don Eus's house was filled with curious people inquiring as to the result of his trip, but he contented himself with saying that everything had come out well, and that all should be ready to hurry to the cuartel at a call from the bugle, because at any moment there would arrive the Cuncunul authorities, who were coming to make an investigation.

And indeed, a little later arrived the President Municipal of Cuncunul, his secretary, José T. Aguilar (the teacher), and ten armed men. When almost all the men of Chan Kom had assembled in the cuartel, the President questioned Don Eus, as to his reasons and legal justifications for depriving three citizens of their liberty. Instead of replying directly to these questions, Don Eus arose and said: "Comrades, the authorities of Cuncunul here present, men who traffic in justice, have come to this village with the deliberate intention of liberating the prisoners, simply because they may in this way make a few pesos."

At this point the President gave the table a blow with his fist and ordered the comisario to be silent. But the latter merely said, "You must know that I give orders here," in such a definite tone that it caused the choleric President to subside.

"And that you may know their scheming tricks," continued the orator, "I will tell you that after having treated them with respect and indeed kindness, giving them shelter and food in my house, they nevertheless were not loth to send to the authorities at Valladolid a long list of charges against me, accusing me, among other things, of anarchy, despotism and slave-driving, without there being any basis for these accusations—but here you can hear the truth. Moreover, they are the ones who have always placed obstacles in the way of the growth and development of this pueblo. Now it is time, comrades, to speak the truth loudly and clearly, without any fear!"

The tempers of all were now so aroused that all wanted to speak at once, in a rude and threatening manner; I therefore judged it opportune to remind them that "civilized and cultivated men always carry on their discussions with civility."

Next the President (a ready and astute man), thinking to win the sympathy of his hearers, spoke as follows: "Comrades: I have come here solely to see that justice is done, for I have heard that you can not tend your milpas as you ought because the comisario is always wanting to make public improvements, without considering that you have families and children whom you have to feed, and . . ." But better for him if he had not spoken. His intention, perfectly understood by those present, further aroused their indignation, and now Edilberto's voice could be heard above the clamor, saying: "Señor Presidente, now our eyes have been opened. If we make improvements, it is because we are workers, and without being obliged to anyone. You people can not deceive us any more, because we recognize you as poisoners, and exploiters of the poor." 1

Don Elut, Don Tino, Don Nas, and the Tamay brothers now raised their voices, denouncing injustices, deceptions and all sorts of past annoyances, and seeking to cast all the blame on the visiting authorities.

Seeing that the matter was taking a serious turn, I determined to speak again, and began to inculcate sentiments of concord and amity. To put an end to the matter under discussion, I proposed that the President be allowed to judge the prisoners. This was done, and the President sentenced the Noh brothers to comply with all the faginas and other pending obligations in the village, before they might be allowed to change their domicile to another pueblo. This conclusion permitted the astute President to get out of a difficult situation, and immediately he returned to his town with his secretary and his escort.

1 The President and his secretary are both caretan-keepers.
After his departure little groups formed, in which each man sought to repeat, with a good deal of boasting, the moment of exaltation when he had “given it to the Presidente right in his face.”

The prisoners have been freed under promise to begin working tomorrow.

A man came from Xocempich selling goats.

Monday, October 12

The Noh brothers today complied with their promise, appearing for work very amiable, as if nothing had occurred.

Don Eus is beginning to plan the separation of this village from the municipio of Cuncunul, and its transfer to that of Valladolid; the idea is well received by the others.

The goats were bought by Don Nas and Edilberto.

Tuesday, October 13

Today Doña Francisca and Doña Tereza fell into a discussion of matters that they found of great interest. Doña Francisca argued that the soul (pixan) is that which gives life to the body and which, when the body dies, preserves the personality, passing through tests more or less painful until it reaches the Glory of the Lord.

Doña Tereza denied the existence of the soul, and accepted as the only cause of life the breath (siento) which, on being drawn into the body, sets the human machine in motion. “It is on this account,” said she, “that when we cease breathing, we die. And moreover, that is what all the great people (dzul) think.”

The comisario sent a communication to the Presidente Municipal of Valladolid, proposing the annexation of Chan Kom to that municipio. Rain and pleasant temperature.

Wednesday, October 14

It is certainly a fact that a uay-chup dwells at Yaxuna. It is now told that a young girl, once fresh and blooming, has become pale and weak; and that one Lorenzo Dzib, who resolved to hunt down the terrible sorcerer, went out at night to look for him; but when he saw him coming in his guise of a hairy dog, he suffered a severe shock fatal to his determination. These tales and others like them are told in the neighborhood in half-whispers, and have resulted in the progressive abandonment of Yaxuna. So we are told by Pedro Uc, who came from there today.

The Presidente Municipal of Valladolid sent a friendly note to the comisario, saying that he is disposed to lend his aid in bringing about the desired annexation, but that it will be necessary to send to the state Congress a petition signed by everyone, explaining the reasons justifying a change in municipio.

Thursday, October 15

After nightfall the people assembled in the cuartel in response to the summons of the comisario, and signed the petition to be sent to the Congress asking for the desired annexation. It was also decided to grant permission to Santoyo to open a store in Chan Kom. Santoyo was present, and he promised to cooperate in all public improvements and to sell merchandise at Valladolid prices, and extended himself in other blandishments.

This sort of question of “to be or not to be” seldom enters discussion; most people are content with “to be.” It is possible that Doña Tereza has only partly understood beliefs imported from the city by Protestant missionaries that are beginning to work a division in Piste and Xocempich.
Desideria Ceme, attended by Doña Felis (Don Polin’s widow), gave birth to a male child.

Tito went to Valladolid to buy goods for the store.

**Friday, October 16**

The many recent rains have destroyed the school gardens, and have left the roads almost impassable; travelers are mired in the mud, and the vegetation has grown thick. In the milpas people are bending down the ear-bearing stalks.

Tito returned.

**Saturday, October 17**

Asunción is not happy with his wife, to whom he gives a beating from time to time, according to the less discreet neighbors. It is possible that the lack of accord has something to do with the old customs and the new.

The arrieros returned; bound for Valladolid. The teacher of Xanla arrived.

**Sunday, October 18**

There was tonight another meeting in the cuartel, to discuss the sale of house-lots left by those who change their domicile from this village. It was decided that the proceeds of such sales should be used to pay the masons who are working on the school.

**Monday, October 19**

At dawn Don Eus departed for Valladolid, in response to an urgent summons requiring him, by order of the Governor, to present himself at two p.m. before the authorities of that city, “to arrange an important matter.” Isidro Hu accompanied him. It is not known what matter is involved.

**Tuesday, October 20**

Santoyo came from Valladolid, bringing several animals laden with merchandise. Tomorrow he will open his store in Don Guillermo’s house. He informed me that Don Eus and his companion have been thrown into jail. To avoid unfounded alarm, I have determined that the rumor be not made public until it is confirmed. Probably the matter involves further intrigues on the part of the Cuncunul authorities.

**Wednesday, October 21**

Edilberto, to whom I made known the rumor that his brother had been imprisoned, went off at dawn for Valladolid. Although he went quietly, by evening the fact was generally known, and the village was agitated by curiosity and excitement. A moment ago (8 p.m.) word was sent out to all the surrounding milperlos, summoning the people to assemble here tomorrow, so as to take appropriate action if the rumor should be confirmed.

Santoyo opened his store.

Soon after I had written the foregoing, and while the people were beginning to assemble, there arrived the men who had been reported prisoners. Immediately Don Eus’ house was invaded by the curious, demanding to know the truth as to what had happened. Don Eus denied the rumors of his imprisonment, and said that on the contrary he had been

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1 Doña Felis learned the art of midwifery from Doña Leoncita, but did not begin to practice as a midwife until Doña Leoncita had left the community.
very well treated by the Valladolid authorities. He said that he had been summoned because an accusation against him had been presented to the Governor by the authorities of Cuncunul and the Noh brothers, but that he had succeeded in showing the judges the legality and rectitude of his own conduct.

So orders have gone out to the milperios countermanding the earlier summons to assemble.

Thursday, October 22

Santoyo went off to Valladolid, leaving his brother in charge of the store. All quiet; rain and fresh weather.

Friday, October 23

All are engaged in pleasant projects: Don Eus has bought the lot which Don Rosa abandoned and will build a new house on it; José Caamal has bought the property left by Leandro and is already making improvements on it; Emiliano and Evelio have formed a partnership as traveling merchants; and there are few who are not concerned with some plan of improvement.

With the opening of the new store, the price of merchandise has gone down.

Saturday, October 24

Emiliano and Evelio killed a hog for general consumption and, most unusually, disposed of all the meat.

The comisario of Xanla came to “confer”—secretly—with Don Eus, on the possibility of separating this village from the municipio of Cuncunul.

The rainy weather continues to hinder the building of the school.

Sunday, October 25

Don Eus is sick. A swelling, caused apparently by the bite of some poisonous insect, causes him fever and other discomforts.

From Valladolid arrived Santoyo and his wife and children, and from the milpas came various laborers.

Monday, October 26

From Tekom came two men, intending to buy a bull. All very quiet. Sun and heat.

Tuesday, October 27

From Uayma came a seller of those pottery vessels (lacs and cajetes) in which it is customary to offer food on the Days of the Dead. Now discussions are beginning relative to this observance, and there are some, among them Edilberto and Don Eus, who say that whether you give the offering in lacs or in calabashes doesn’t much matter, “for what matters is not the receptacle but the offering.”

In the stores are now to be seen the paraffin candles, which are offered on the first Day of the Dead, when return to the earth the happy souls of the dead children, and the dark wax tapers that are to be burned on the following day in praying for the returning souls of the adult dead.

Don Eus sold one of his bulls to the merchants who arrived yesterday. A seller of bread came from Valladolid.
Wednesday, October 28

Don Eus has recovered. He explained to me that there is a very easy remedy for curing swellings, especially those called *golondrinos*, which appear in the armpits; it consists of striking the edges of the boil nine times, very softly, with an ax, and then opening the swelling with its blade. The contents are then expressed, and in a little the patient is well.

Santoyo is a lucky man. His store is well patronized, even by the inhabitants of neighboring *rancherias*, while the other store is deserted. Santoyo’s brother went off to Valladolid, carrying maize.

Thursday, October 29

Asunción, accompanied by his wife, went to Santa Maria to have his parents-in-law act as patrons in the *hetzmek* of his son Marcelo, who becomes four months old tomorrow.¹

Two communications were received from the authorities of Cuncunul; one, directed to Don Eus, ordering him to turn over the *comisaria* to Don Fano; and the other, addressed to Don Fano, requiring Don Fano to take charge of that office. Tomorrow, in a general assembly, the people will be informed of the tenor of these communications, that they make up their minds what course of action to take. Don Fano, for his part, does not want to take the post.

Friday, October 30

In the meeting today the contents of yesterday’s communications were made known, and it was decided to uphold Don Eus in his office, as the proceeding taken by the Cuncunul authorities was neither just nor legal. This decision will be communicated to these authorities, as well as to the Governor, whose aid will be invoked in protection from these new acts of arbitrary authority. As usual, the sonorous oratory of Don Elut was not missing from the meeting, accompanied by expressive gestures; among other assertions he declared that he was resolved to die like a man facing those who would deprive Don Eus of his office.

It is whispered among neighbors that last night, while all were sleeping, there took place in Don Trano’s house the formal petition for his daughter Ceferina by Don Timoteo Caamal, representing the youth Prisciliano Caamal, who was present with his mother;² that there was *antís* cigarettes and chocolate, and that a satisfactory agreement was reached. As may be supposed, none of these secrets escaped Doña Simona.

Today was a day of great animation, on account of the number of visitors who came from neighboring settlements to provide themselves at the stores with bread, chocolate, cigarettes and other delicacies, which they will offer tomorrow and the next day to their departed. All laughed and joked at the slightest pretext with the childlike good spirits which precede a fiesta.

Saturday, October 31

Today was the day of the child dead, of the “angels,” those souls that pass free from sin, from this world. The *maestros cantores* were very busy, having to begin their prayers before dawn, that they might fulfill all the engagements they had made. In the *rezos* held in the morning only chocolate and bread were offered; but in the afternoon fruit and other food were added. Today the flies, butterflies and other insects that often hover above exposed food take on a special importance, for they are regarded by most people

¹ See p. 196.
² The presence of the boy is unusual.
as the temporary embodiment of the souls that are being commemorated. The men, in holiday mood, sought amusement in the streets, much enlivened by the many visitors from neighboring settlements.

Don Fano killed a hog and sold the meat.

**Sunday, November 1**

Today the adult dead were commemorated. The prayers began long before dawn. As yesterday, bread and chocolate were offered at the first rezó, and much other food and fruit were added at the second.

Each family has prepared in advance a list, as complete as they can make it; this is given to the maestro cantor at the moment when he dedicates the offerings, so as to avoid unfortunate omissions. It sometimes happens that in his confusion a maestro cantor uses the wrong list, to the great annoyance of those making the offering.

For the “solitary souls,” who have no relatives on earth, each family has hung in the doorway a chuyub containing a lac of tortillas and other food, and at dusk appeared beside each chuyub a lighted candle, to illuminate the paths of the dead.

Now the people are going from house to house, acting as chorus in the rezos, and sharing in the refreshments with which each terminates. On these occasions the boys vie with one another to see who can eat the most: in many of the rezos there is at least one whose over-burdened stomach finds violent relief.

**Monday, November 2**

The excitements of the Days of the Dead have passed and all have returned to their labors.

The house-lot left by Herculano has been bought of the Agrarian Committee by Asunción; the proceeds will be expended in public improvements.

A group of people from Yokdzonot-aban came to take up from the cemetery the bones of a relative dead these three years. The remains, put in a wooden box, were carried away to be placed in the oratorio of this ranchería. The excursion which this event occasions is as pleasant as that attending interments. Cloudy and cool.

**Tuesday, November 3**

Adolfo has suffered, without any protest, the loss of the money which he was forced to pay Herculano for his house lot, for he and his father realize their mistake in not first consulting the Agrarian Committee. However, as a sort of compensation for this injury, the Committee has given preference to Don Fano (Adolfo’s father) in offering for sale the lot occupied by the old school. (Because of its favorable location this lot has been much desired.) In this way Don Fano’s prudence and Don Eus’ astuteness have prevented another dispute.

**Wednesday, November 4**

Assisted by his relatives, Pablo Ku exhumed from the cemetery the remains of his mother, who died about two years ago. The bones were put in a small wooden box, and this was placed in “the house of souls”—the small hut in the cemetery. Up to very recent times it was usual to put these boxes in the oratorio, but since strange noises have been heard in this building, it has been decided to carry all the boxes stored there outside of the village.

In the evening a rezó was held in Pablo’s house, in repose of the souls of his departed.
Thursday, November 5
All quiet; sun; pleasant temperature.

Friday, November 6
Santoyo is a good man; without anyone having asked him to, he worked all day on the new school building, now nearly complete. This act has increased the regard with which the village holds him.

Saturday, November 7
Today, after manifold difficulties and sacrifices, the school building was completed, to the great satisfaction of the entire village. It is composed of two spacious masonry rooms; the one in front is an arcade; that in the rear is closed in on all four sides, but with enough doors and windows to assure abundant air and light. In obedience to a suggestion made by Don Eus, they have put the following inscription on its façade: “Escuela Rural Federal. Plutarco Elias Calles.—1931.” Besides the school building itself, there is a shower-bath, a field for games, flower and vegetable gardens, toilet, fowl pen and pigeon-house. Chan Kom now has, without doubt, the best rural school in Yucatan.

Today was the octave of the “day of the little ones,” and the rezos of last Saturday were repeated in identical form, except that in the afternoon chachac-uhahs were offered in place of chacbilcax.¹

Sunday, November 8
The prayers and offerings made today (the octave of the adult dead) differed little from those of yesterday.
Teachers from neighboring settlements came for a brief visit.

Monday, November 9
With the unusual festivities ended, the souls of the dead have returned to their ghostly province (from which, according to Doña Francisca, they have recently been absent); therefore the women today carried flowers to the cemetery.
Don Nas and the other masons went off to their milpas to bend over the ears (doblar). The favorite diversion of the moment, of some grownups as well as of the children, is playing with tops.

Tuesday, November 10
The organizers of the coming Kaua fiesta came to invite the Cham Kom people to attend. They brought anis, which is ritual on these occasions, but almost nobody here took any, although the invitation was gratefully accepted.
In order to keep the new school building and the white-washed houses in their present clean condition, the comisario has definitely forbidden hogs to be allowed in the streets, and has provided a fifty centavo fine for violations. Although this decree is drastic, it has the approval of the village.

Wednesday, November 11
Almost everybody is suffering from stomach trouble, more or less acute.
Santoyo’s arrieros went off to Valladolid, carrying maize. Don Bus went to Chichen to sell eggs.

¹ See p. 303.
Thursday, November 12

Today was the day of San Diego. Don Fano and Don Guillermo were the only ones who remembered to make his novena.

Santoyo’s arrieros returned.

Friday, November 13

On his route through neighboring settlements, there passed through here a forester of the Federal Government.

The Director of Federal Education sent word that next Thursday he will arrive here with other school authorities so as to inaugurate the school.

Edilberto, Evelio, Don Pil, and the Tamay brothers have agreed to give one another aid in mason’s work; to this end they have begun a lime-burning.

“San” Dzul has sold his hogs, because he finds it too difficult to comply with the order issued by the comisario.

Emiliano and Adolfo set off for Merida to buy merchandise; the former will try to peddle his from village to village, and the latter will use what he buys to re-stock his father’s store.

Saturday, November 14

Santoyo is not merely lucky; he is astute. It is now generally known that the reason why the people of the neighboring settlements prefer his store to the other is because there they may obtain anis, “but secretly, so that the village does not hear of it”—so Santoyo advises them. When Don Eus heard of this violation of the village laws, he advised Santoyo, in a friendly way, that he abstain from the sale of rum, because the people here won’t have it. Santoyo promised to obey these instructions.

Sunday, November 15

Don Pancho Cortes, Kaua merchant, came and bought a cow from Don Fano for sixty pesos.

The school is the pride of the village; news of its completion has traveled as far as X-Kalakdzonot and X-Culasil, and to other distant places from which are now constantly coming people, here for no other reason but to see the school. It has become usual, every evening, for people to come together in front of the building to comment, with complacent satisfaction, on the great obstacles which they had to overcome in building it.

Monday, November 16

Today the village presents a charming appearance; the streets clean, the houses whitewashed and refurbished, the little gardens flourishing, all, indeed, uniting to make a cheerful and picturesque scene to meet the eyes of the “cultivated and civilized gentlemen” who are to arrive on Thursday.

Satisfied with the results of their trip, Emiliano and Adolfo returned from Merida.

Tuesday, November 17

Two delegates from the Liga Central arrived from Valladolid. In the evening, at a general assembly, these gentlemen explained to the people, in mellifluous discourse, “the eager desires of the governor for the development of the Maya, and the great obstacles he has encountered in combating ‘reaction,’ which is always trying to annul social advance,
The audience heard these long and tiresome speeches with patient indifference, as though they had been litanies, thinking meanwhile perhaps, of their maize plants, or of the cattle that for a long time have not returned to the village.

When the orators had concluded, they asked for applause for the governor; their hearers, interrupting their meditations, immediately complied.

_C Wednesday, November 18_

Don Eus went off to Cuncunul to get the papers necessary for the election of deputies, to take place next Sunday.

In order to provide sufficient meat for the meals to be offered the visitors tomorrow, a hunt was organized, resulting in the shooting of a deer. For the same reason, every household was required to contribute one hen. Great animation reigns. Drizzly weather, pleasant temperature.

_C Thursday, November 19_

At last the school was dedicated. Among those who attended were the Federal school authorities, numerous teachers, and Dr. Asael Hansen. The occasion was celebrated by a program in which spoke the most advanced of the school children. Then the Director of Federal Education addressed us. He congratulated the village on the completion of this important improvement, and offered to provide the school with its furniture and equipment. Then, in the name of the President of the Mexican Republic, he declared open the rural Federal school of Chan Kom—in the midst of bugle flourishes, the tolling of the bells, explosive rockets, and the national anthem, sung by teachers and pupils.

Afterward, in my character as teacher, I expressed my gratitude toward the village for the favor and affection in which it has held me, and my deep satisfaction in having been able to collaborate with it in the prosecution of such an important work. Furthermore, in order that all the visitors might realize the facts, I emphasized that this had been accomplished without the aid of anyone; that no authority had seen fit to give any aid whatever, although aid had been asked, when misfortune reduced the strength of the village. I ended by urging those present to go on, with the same enthusiasm they are exhibiting today, by the rewarding path of hard work, even though I would no longer be able to go along with them.

Then Don Eus spoke, recalling the long struggles they had passed through before reaching this night of triumph.

A _jarana_ followed, alternating with modern dances, reaching such animation that two of the teachers danced a Charleston, to the great enthusiasm of the Indians.

Without any doubt this is the happiest evening that has ever been spent in the history of Chan Kom.

_C Friday, November 20_

At sunrise today the fiesta ended, and the people departed, well content.

At the request of the people here, I postponed the trip to Merida I should have made today, in order to speak once more in a general assembly to be held this evening, to urge the people not to diminish their efforts for improvement, to offer to visit them from time to time, and to aid them so far as I am able.

_C Saturday, November 21_

Peace and silence. It is sunny and pleasantly warm. The people have gone to their _milpas._
APPENDIX B

MYTHS, LEGENDS AND TALES

As in other parts of the world, in Chan Kom the traditional narratives are told partly to recall and restate old-time happenings in which the people are interested (legends), partly to explain, justify and support conduct (myths), and partly simply to divert and entertain (tales). Which of these functions is served by a given narrative does not always appear from its mere contents, and can be correctly told only from its context of use in actual situations. Thus from the fact that No. 14 in the following small collection of narratives is known by us to have been told only on occasions when persons were whiling away the time by joking, telling stories and asking riddles, this story is judged to be simply a diverting tale. On the other hand, No. 6 is an important myth. One might suspect that it was not merely an entertaining story, from the fact that it lacks the varied and linked episodes which are usually present in the tales told for diversion; and indeed the story is not told as a contribution to entertainment. But the function of this narrative in controlling conduct becomes apparent when it is known that at critical moments when the village leader wished to arouse his people to certain endeavors, and to cooperate with the Americans at Chichen, he suggested, in his orations, that these Americans were the "ant men," the "brothers in work" of the Maya. The presence of this legend, in the mind of the speaker, weighted with emotional significance, and its presence in the minds of his hearers, similarly conditioned, made it a mechanism in the control of his conduct and theirs—this legend is also a myth.

Each of these stories does not characteristically serve only one of these three functions whenever it is told, or even only one of these functions at any one particular telling. Any episodic narrative is likely to interest and entertain, whether or not it also defines or sanctions conduct, whether or not it revives a memory of which the group is proud. On one occasion a story is purely entertainment; on another occasion it is more. The familiar story about the race between the tortoise and the rabbit is sometimes told in Chan Kom, just to amuse the hearer and please the teller. But we know of an occasion when a young man had hurried his horse and caused it to stumble, and an older man told the younger this story in order to point the moral—The more haste, the less speed. The same moral is pointed by reference to the story (No. 3) about the Itza who hurried to build a tower that would reach the sky. The reference is made by saying, "If you go along too fast you come out as did Chichen." This was said in Chan Kom more than once after the school building collapsed (p. 308).

Because a story is sometimes only a legend and at other times also a myth, because a narrative may be both tale and myth, the following transcriptions from oral telling can not be sharply classified into definite categories. But in the order in
which they have been placed, the stories which are best to be regarded as legends or as myths come first, and the tales told usually for entertainment come last.

Nos. 1 to 7 are legends which the older people know and tell to the younger. They are not apt to be recounted in general gatherings at which story-telling is a pastime. They form a primitive counterpart to history. But they also have significance as myth. These legends about the people with magical powers, who lived before the Maya came, explain the discrepancy between the great stone edifices of the ruined city-shrines and the humble and laborious lives of the people of the present time. They justify the ardors of the contemporary life. Further, as has already been indicated in the first paragraph, Nos. 4, 5 and 6 promise a great future for the Maya; they are millenialistic myths. They aided Felipe Carrillo Puerto at the time of the Revolution; they helped to organize Chan Kom in very recent years; and they will be ready to support the collective will tomorrow.

Nos. 7, 8 and 9 represent a large group of stories about chaacs, balams and other symbols of the supernatural. These are often told merely to entertain or excite. But in the telling, many of them reiterate the admonition of piety; the advice to pray and make the offerings and be devout, the warning of punishment and loss for the impious. So they keep the old gods and the old rites alive.

There are many short stories about the sacred animals (Nos. 8 and 10); they are instrumental in enforcing the taboos against killing or harming these.

Nos. 11 to 15 represent the sort of tale that is most often told when men are sitting together in the bush in the evening, with nothing to do to pass the time but talk and tell stories, or when the period of vigil at a wake must be whiled away. In Chan Kom there are, so far as we know, no purely nursery tales; adults tell these stories to other adults or to children. These stories are about witches, kings and younger sons, and the clever doings of the rabbit. Many are familiar to students of European folklore. Some of these stories are rather rigidly conventional, like No. 14, which apparently tends to preserve much the same episodes in different tellings, while others, like Nos. 11 and 12, present characteristic episodes that find themselves combined in different ways and attached, with an assumption of historicity, to specific contemporary people and places.

At such times as stories such as these last are told, it is common to ask riddles. Every riddle begins with the phrase: "naate baale, palen (guess what it is, fellow)." Some of these riddles find their charm simply in the imaginative or unexpected simile:

_Catorce brazos xiic/ cu bin ti a chich
Fourteen fathoms of nerves, as there goes your grandmother.
(The well rope)_

_or--_

_Huntul chan doncel/ cu yokot tu yit hunpell chan koop
A little maiden dances on the floor of a little dish
(The spindle)
Others afford an added titillation by referring to matters of sex or physiological function;

Tun lolancile, tun takancile
It flowers, when it ripens.
(Horse excrement as it falls)

or—

Cu yakab chalem cu lah uenel macab, cu holot(?) tzicbalo
When night comes and when men begin to sleep, then it begins to converse
(The anal expulsions of flatulence)

1. TOLD BY EPIFANIO CEME

A long time ago, in the time of my grandfather, there lived in these parts a race of little people. They could carry great loads on their backs. One day one of them was going through the bush carrying a great bag of stones on his back. The stones spilled out behind him, and thus the zacbe1 was made. But these little people became wicked. It was announced that there would be a great flood. The little people, to save themselves, built great stone tanks, thinking that they would float off when the flood came. But as they were of stone they would not float and all the little people were drowned.

2. TOLD BY EPIFANIO CEME

There was once a time when things happened in the best way possible. The men of that time knew much. They were the ppuzob, with small bodies and large brains. They knew many secrets, they knew how to command water, wind and everything seen or unseen. In order to construct buildings, they were not obliged to lift the stones with their own hands; all they had to do was to whistle in a certain way to have the stones, even the very heavy ones, by themselves get into the places chosen for them. The same was true with firewood which to the right whistle would come from out in the bush to the hearth all by itself.

This was the time when the big houses were built, and the fine roads which are now called zacbe. No one was wicked. Maize was of such a sort that one grain was enough to satisfy the needs of a whole family for a day. The tumba2 which now means so much effort to man, was then not known. It was enough to burn the bush with the aid of mozon-ik,3 who was summoned with special whistles, for the earth to be ready to be sown. These and many other things were known by the men of old. But all this was ended from the time that a son-in-law of one of these wise men, forgetting the secret, lifted stones with his own hands and carried firewood on his shoulders. His bride made the trouble worse by putting in the pot more maize than needed, which, in becoming nixtamal, increased so much that it covered the house, killing those who lived in it. This was the beginning and the sign of the Bad Times, from which the ppuzob could not save themselves, even by making the stone tanks with holes in them, which can still be seen in the bush.

3. TOLD BY ERLUTERIO PAT

Who built the temples of Chichen Itza? Who knows? I have heard the old people say that it was the Itza who built them. They were people like us, but they knew things

1 The elevated road or stone causeways built by the ancient Maya; a familiar sacbe runs from Coba to Xcultan and passes near Chan Kom.
2 A reference to the underground storage reservoirs of masonry likewise built by the ancient Maya, and to be found in various places in the neighborhood.
3 Felling of the bush.
4 See p. 133.
we do not know. They were the night-people (akab uincob); they built the temples during the night, because then the stones were soft and cut like wood. They made the stones come into place simply by whistling to them. The old people say that they were trying to get up to where God was, to see what it was like up there. But God did not like this, and he did something so that when morning came they could not understand each other. They were not crazy, but each one was talking in a way that the others could not understand. When the ones up on top called down for sascab, they were sent up water, and when they called for water they were sent up lime. So they could not finish building their city. That is why the old people say, when now they see some piece of work, like Don Nas's house, that has been a long time building and is not yet finished: "It has become morning for him."

4. Told by Guillermo Tamay

From the time that God made men, there have been three races of them on the earth; that of the Itza, who were wise; that of the ppuzob, who were punished by God with the flood, and that of the Maya who live today. The Itza have not died. They live underground in a place called Oxkinkiuic, and when the race of men here is done with, they will return to their ancient cities. One time a dzul succeeded in getting down to them by way of a path which led into a cave at Chichen Itza. Then the king of the Itza, to prevent more men from coming, made a great deal of water run out this path, enough to fill up the cave. So was made the cenote today called X-Toloc.

5. Told by Eustaquio Cemex

Once there were two kings, one of the dzulob and one of the Maya. There was to come a time when these two kings were to compete together for the control of Yucatan. They were to race on horseback through the ring in the wall of the ball-court at Chichen, and the one that arrived first was to have all of Yucatan. But it was destined that the king of the dzulob would fail to get his horse through the ring, and then Mayab would again belong to the Maya. But none of this has come to pass. Somehow the king of the dzulob died—somewhere, in Merida or at Chichen, the dzulob severed a rope, and blood ran out of the severed ends, and the king died. So now there is only the king of the Maya. He is hiding somewhere; some people say under the ground at Chichen. And some day he will come forth again. The old people used to say, It is not time yet, because the railroad has not yet reached Valladolid. Then they said, It is not time yet, because the railroad has not yet reached Chichen. When Felipe Carrillo came to Piste, and to the other villages, and told the people they should have the land of the dzulob, and promised them clocks, and tools, and wire, and schools, and music, people said that perhaps the king of the Maya had at last come forth. It was also said that when the king of the Maya should come forth, then also would come the chac uincob.

6. Told by Eustaquio Cemex

The old people, such as Susana Poot and the stepfather of Anastacio Caamal, and Doña Leandra, used to say that somewhere there lived another race of people. These were called Red Men (chac uincob). They are our brothers in work (c-lak-meyamacob). Some day, they said, we would be with them again, and they would show us how to work and to make things. The old people called this race also "the very tall men (canal ubaci-llob)," or "the men with eyes like the eyes of bees (yichobe bei yichob colelcab)."

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1 "Three-day-plaza (or market)."
3 This is the custom sum reported by Turner (A Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandones, p. 152).
I remember, in 1910, when the revolution was coming, Don Porfirio Díaz sent word around to all the wise men to find out what should be done. I remember that the jefe político of Valladolid sent for Juan Poot, who was a h-men, very old—he had to be carried on a stretcher—to ask him "when we should know our brothers again." Juan Poot said that the comet in the sky was a sign there would be war, but that the time was coming when we should know our brothers again.

Sometimes the old people spoke of this other race as the red ant men (chac-zay-uncoob), and told how they worked like the ants that take out the red earth and make straight roads through the bush.

7. Told by Eustaquio Ceme

There was a milpero who found his milpa always dry. Although it rained on the fields of others near by, his milpa was perishing with drought. But he merely cursed and blasphemed, demanding of the rain why it did not come to his field. One day in the road he met a tall man, with snow-white hair. This man spoke to him, saying, "Come with me and I will show you a cave, where perhaps you may find some tepetalcunte." "All right," replied the milpero, and went along with the other. The old man led him to an actun (dry cave) he had never seen before, and they both went in, the old man leading. Farther and farther they went into the earth, until at last the milpero had lost all knowledge of how to get out again. At last they came to a place piled high with tuti-uah. Then they passed a place with great heaps of squash and melons. And then they came to a place containing a huge canasto (such as are used to bring corn from the milpas). Here it was plain some people had been living. While the milpero looked about him, the old man got a horse ready to be ridden. The milpero pushed the old man aside, and himself mounted the horse. Then the old man asked him, "Who gave you permission to ride this horse?" "No one," answered the milpero, "but I want to go and water my milpa." "Very well," said the old man, "you may go on the horse, but only if you will promise to water only your milpa, and not the milpas of others." The milpero promised, and quickly the horse rose through a hole in the ceiling high in the air.

When the horse passed over the milpas, rain began to fall in torrents, and the milpero, much pleased, returned with the horse to the cave. The old man asked him if he had kept his promise, and when the milpero said yes, he showed him the road to the upper world and let him go out. The milpero went to his milpa and there, to his great disappointment, he found that while all the other milpas were soaked with rain, his alone was dry. So he said to the other milperos, "Why does it never rain on my milpa when it rains on yours?" The other milperos showed him what they did: how in the milpa of each were set out two large ficaras of zaca for the yuntzilob. But the other milpero mocked them, and said it was all foolishness; and he himself drank up the zaca they had put out.

Then he went again to the cave and found his way in, and there once more was the tall man with white hair, again getting the horse ready to ride. And again the milpero asked him to let him mount the horse and go up in the air to water his milpa. And again the old man agreed, exacting only the promise that he water only his own milpa. This time the milpero was sure of finding his own milpa, for before leaving it he had put some clothing on a tall pole stuck in the ground. And so he found his milpa, when the horse rose in the air. But when the horse tried to cross his milpa, he could not, for the hot vapor (yoxol) rose from the ground like flames, and the milpero was almost burned. So he returned to the cave. Then the old man told him what he should do: that at midday, when the sun was its hottest, he should put out zaca in his milpa and kneel there and pray. This the milpero did, and for the third time returned to the cave, and was once more

*The breads offered to the yuntzilob in the ceremonies.*
allowed to mount the horse and ride over the fields. And as before the rain fell in torrents. But this time, when he had returned the horse to the old man, and when he had gone to his milpa, he found the rain had fallen on his milpa in quantities, and all around stood great puddles of water. Then he knelt in the milpa and asked pardon of the yuntzilob. All the milperos know this story, and it is true.

8. FROM A NARRATION IN WHICH SEVERAL JOINED

There was a certain man who treated the tortoise well as did no other. He watched over him as none had before. If he burned the bush to make milpa, it was only after he had made sure that in that piece of bush no tortoise remained. On every occasion he was the tortoise's friend. One day this man fell by an accident into the cenote, and went to land before the old couple under the bower, who seized him and began the usual preparations that the devils might feast upon his flesh. For this they burned four almudes of chile, and divided it into piles, one at each corner of the table around which, after a strange ceremony, they are wont to dance. When all was ready, they went to fetch the devils. But when these came, and saw who their victim was, they ordered his immediate release; because of the loving care he had always shown tortoises, he was not one deserving of any punishment. The old couple released the man, who ascended through the conical hole till he emerged on the surface of the water, and from there he made his way to the land. Arrived at his home, what was his surprise to find his friends and relatives celebrating his year's end, when to him it seemed but three days since he had disappeared in the cenote.

9. TOLD BY Eustoquyo Ceiba

One time a man found his way into a cave (actun). There he found much water, but it was well hidden in the depths of the cave. All at once the man found himself shut in the cave; the way out had closed. Then he heard the voices of the Chaacs, giving their orders. They kept calling, at intervals, "X-Baacin! Make ready my horse!" (X-Baacin was the name of him who cared for the Chaacs' horses.) Three times the Chaacs gave their orders to X-Baacin, each time speaking thus. And meanwhile the man lay hidden. As each horse was prepared, the Chaac rose upward and disappeared. Each passed out of the cave through a small round hole, like a ring—first one horse and then another. Three archangels (Chaacs) went out so. And when they had all gone, it was raining a fine rain in the cave. Then the man came out from where he had been hiding and called out, as had the Chaacs; "X-Baacin." There was no answer. Again he called X-Baacin, and again there was no answer. A third time he called, "X-Baacin!" Then X-Baacin answered, "What is it, master?" The man said, "Make ready my horse!" And the other said, "Now is the hour when we have finished." But he went to make ready the horse.

As he tried to approach the horse, it threw him through the air, as it plunged and leaped. Three times he tried to catch it, before he finally secured it and, with difficulty, cinched it. Then the man heard him say, "Sir, it is ready." But three times the man tried to mount the horse before he finally succeeded. Then suddenly he shot upward and out of the cave through the round opening in the roof. He rode into the air, and a terrible wind blew around him—the chaac ikal ("wind of the chaacs"), so that even the great trees were blown down. For the horse that he had mounted was the sorrel-colored horse (tzimin alazan). Then all the Chaacs came together and tried to seize the sorrel-colored horse. But at first they could not get near it; it threw them all off. Then one Chaac

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1 For the customs and beliefs with which this story is connected, see p. 207.
2 The rite held one year after a person's death.
ordered the others to shoot the man, and as the man was trying to manage the horse they shot him with their lightning (hadz-chaaq). Then the Chaacs captured the horse again and put it back in the cave. But they say that on the day that the sorrel-colored horse rides forth again, the chaac ikal will come again and the world will be destroyed.

10. Told by Eustaquio Célix

The zac pacal is a bird that some people shoot and eat, but many say it is not good to do so, because these are the birds that saved God. Once God was hiding from his enemies, the Herods (los herodes), the people of Pilate, and when the pursuers asked where He was hidden, one dove answered, “Tzutzul lebeo (the way is closed),” and the other one said, “Chun cucul u chacte (in the covered trunk of the chacte).” But when they looked, God was not there. So God blessed them, always to say these things to each other, as you hear them now. One says “Tzutzul lebeo,” and the other answers, “Chun cucul u chacte.”

11. Told by Tiburcio Coyi

This happened in Yaxcaba. A certain man, having become suspicious of his wife, made up his mind to spy upon her. One night, when they were sleeping together, he saw her get up, perform certain mysterious acts, and turn into a cow. In the street some bulls were waiting for her, and as soon as she appeared they surrounded her and had intercourse with her. The man set about following the group of animals, and pursued them until far out into the bush he saw them enter a church. Resolved to end such mysteries without delay, the man fired his gun at the church, when immediately there rushed from the church a great crowd of bulls, passing close by him in their mad flight. At daybreak he saw that what he had taken for a church was only a jilixibtrit, and that in the bush there remained not a trace of what he had seen the night before, or any sign of the path he had taken. Then, lost and bewildered by such an inexplicable experience, he wandered through the woods until he met a line of ants carrying orange leaves. By this discovery he got his bearings, and arrived before night fall at a rancheria from where he was able to continue on his way to his own village, seven leagues distant. When he reached his home, he found his wife grinding corn, apparently quite ignorant of what had happened.

12. Told by Tiburcio Coyi

One time a man was pursuing a uay uacax, when in a clearing in the bush he came upon a crowd of people celebrating a jarana. The man sat down on a small bench offered him, and observed that the women were all pretty, the men very pleasant, and the musicians very skilled. But soon his curiosity was transformed into terror when he saw the women at break of day, turn into chachalacas, quails, wild pigeons, turtle doves and other birds that flew off with great twittering and clattering. The musicians and other men turned into deer, peccary and agouti, and returned to their haunts; the benches became enormous rattlesnakes and writhed off into the bush; and the bench, which alone remained, then disappeared into the ground in the form of an armadillo.

When the sun rose there was nothing to be seen—no clearing in the bush, no dancers, no musicians, nothing—only the bush as it had been.

By the narrow path made by some ants the man found his way again to his house, where he swore again never to follow the uayes.

1 Witch in the form of a cow. See p. 179.
By the tales told by our grandfathers it is known that in the great mound \(^1\) at Chichen Itza there is a hollow place, and in this hollow place is a santo which is guarding a treasure of gold coins. If a man could only get these coins on a Holy Thursday or a Holy Friday, one of these coins alone would be enough to make him rich, because they have the power of multiplying themselves, so that if one is put into a trunk, in a short time it will make the box overflow with money. But the fortunate man must then return the “mother money” to its place to avoid misfortunes.

One Justo Pat of Yokdzonot knew of this legend, and brought a turkey to Chichen Itza, to offer to “the serpents of the big mound” so that they would allow him to get the treasure. But he was not successful. Other men have tried with the same result. Perhaps after all it is only a tale of our grandfathers.

Our grandfathers also said that next to this santo there is burning a candle, and that on the day that this is extinguished, all men then on earth will die.

13. Told by Guillermo Tamay

There was a woman who found an egg and put it in a homa, and forgot all about it. Three weeks went by, and one day she was sitting in her house when suddenly she heard a baby crying, “Cune-e! Cune-e!” So she thought, “My neighbor has a baby.” So she made some atole and took some bread, and went to her neighbor’s house, so that her neighbor should have some warm atole to drink after giving birth to a child. But when she got there her neighbor said, “You must be crazy; I haven’t had a child. Perhaps it is my neighbor in the next house.” The woman took the bread and atole and went on to the next house; but there it was just the same; “Are you crazy?” said the neighbor, “I haven’t given birth to a child.” So the woman went back to her own house and sat down on a bench. All at once she heard the baby crying again, “Cune-e! Cune-e!” She hunted all around the room and at last she found that the sound was coming from the homa in which she had put the egg. She took the homa to the light and looked in, and there she found a baby lying. “He shall be my child,” thought the woman. She began to make his shirt and his diaper, and to prepare his food, and she gave him the name Ez.\(^2\) He grew very fast, was very lively, and in two months he could walk and talk. Then he asked for a guitar, and when it was given him he began to play.

Now at this time there was a king at Chichen that had a beast (alak); it was a serpent, like those you can see now at Chichen. It was called X-Kukican.\(^3\) It lived on children; it ate only children. From time to time the king sent to the villages round about for children to be fed to this serpent. At last it came the turn of Ez to go to Chichen to be fed to the serpent. Then the woman (who had found him) began to cry. But Ez said, “Do not cry, Ma’ chich, it will be all right.” And he took his guitar and began to play. When the men sent by the king came to fetch him, he jumped into an olla and hid there. They came in, and looked all around, but they could not find him. When they had gone, he jumped out and began again to play his guitar. So it went on; the men

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\(^1\) This story is the local version of a wide-spread Yucatecan tale usually called “The Dwarf of Uxmal.” Other versions occur in: John L. Stevens, Transes in Yucatan (1847); Eugenio Ancona, Historia de Yucatan Vol. I, p. 95 (version taken from that of Padre Eusteniano Carrillo of Valladolid); Ricardo Bimana Castillo, La Leyenda de Uxmal (in verse; Merida, no date); “El Enano Adorino que fue Rey,” Alma Nacional (school reader by Gregorio Torres Quintero, Mexico, 1925); Eduardo Negueria, “Leyenda de la casa del Enano en Uxmal,” Mercurio Maya, Vol. 5, Num. 3, Jul-Sep, 1959, p. 146-171.

\(^2\) “En. Casa que este encantada o hechizada.” (Moosil Dictionary.)

sent by the king would hear him playing his guitar, but when they came to get him, he was always hidden in the olla, guitar and all, and they could not find him.

By now he was very big and strong. One day he said, "Ma' chich, now I am going to give myself up to the king. But do not worry about me; I shall be all right." He took a splinter of glass (tok) and hid it under his tongue. When the men came to get him, they felt his clothes all over to make sure there was nothing in them that would hurt the serpent when he should eat him up. They felt him all over, but they did not find the glass under his tongue. They took him to the serpent, and the serpent swallowed him whole without chewing him. Then Ez took out his splinter of glass and with it slashed to right and left; he cut the serpent's liver; he cut the serpent's heart. Then he cut open its belly and jumped out. When he jumped out he was bigger and stronger than ever. He left the body of the serpent there and went home.

At first the king did not know that his alak was dead. But then there came by a bird, and it sang, "Zac tanen, zac tanen" (white belly, white belly). Then the king went and found the serpent lying dead, its belly all white with the eggs laid upon it by the flies, the eggs that would hatch into maggots. Then the people came out and thanked Ez, for the serpent had eaten many children, and they had been in great terror.

But the king became very angry, and resolved to punish Ez. He sent his policemen to arrest him. Ez did not resist, but went before the king. The king said, "We will have a contest, and if you do not win I will cut your throat."

"What must I do?" asked Ez.

"You must climb to the top of a ceiba," said the king, "with a bottle of honey, and you must pour all the honey out of the bottle into an empty bottle placed on the ground below. But if you spill so much as a drop, I will cut your throat. Be here at noon tomorrow."

"Very well," said Ez, and went back to his house. "Ma' chich," he said, "give me fifty hairs from your head, for I am going to need them badly."

So she gave him the fifty hairs, and in the middle of the night he climbed to the top of the ceiba tree. He made a thread of the fifty hairs, and tied a stone to the end, and dropped the stone into the bottle in the ground below, fastening the other end to the tree. Next day at noon the soldiers came and brought him before the king. Two empty bottles were placed on the ground, and Ez and the king climbed the tree, each with a bottle of honey. The king had a secret way, and filled his bottle. Ez made the honey run down the thread of hair into the other bottle without spilling a drop. Then the king said, "I did not beat you this time, but we will have another contest. At noon tomorrow we will have a horse-race, and if you beat me, I will give you my hacienda, but if I beat you I will cut your throat."

Next day the king and Ez met to have the horse-race. The race was to be in that part of Chichen where there are two long walls, in one of which there is fastened a round stone with a hole in it. First the two horses were close together, neck and neck; then Ez's horse got the lead, and Ez drove it right through the stone ring. The king followed, but he could not make his horse pass through the ring; it stuck, and he had to back up and start again. So Ez won the race, and the king gave him his hacienda. But he said to Ez, "We will have another test. You must shake the trunk of a ceiba tree so as to bring down all the fruit on it; if you succeed, you may cut my throat, but if you fail, I will cut yours."

"Very well," said Ez, and went home. When Ma' chich heard about it she began to cry and lament, but Ez comforted her and told her to make him a pair of wings like those of a bat. So Ma' chich did so, and that night he put them on and flew all around the ceiba tree, cutting all the stalks of the flower clusters with his teeth, so that each hung

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1 i.e. the Ball Court.
by only a slender thread, a piece as slender as a fiber of henequen. Next day at noon he met the king at the ceiba tree, and when he shook the tree, every flower cluster, to the last one, fell to the ground. Then Ez made ready to kill the king, but the king begged for mercy, and at last Ez relented and let him go.

Then the king thought and thought how to kill Ez, and at last he went to him and said, "We will have one more contest. We will get ten cargas of cocoyoles; and we will crack five of the cargas on your head, and five on mine."

"Very well," said Ez, "I will meet you here at noon tomorrow." And he went home. When she heard the news, Ma' chich began crying and crying. "The second or third cocoyol will kill you," she said. "Do not cry," said Ez, "but go to the ironworker and have him make a hat of bronze. Tell him the hat is for your grandson, and be sure he covers it well with hair." She did as he told her, and the bronze hat was made just as he wished it. Next day Ez appeared, wearing his bronze hat. The king told two slaves to crack the cocoyoles; one of them held the nut on Ez's head, while the other broke it open with a great stone. So they went on until five cargas had been cracked. Then it was Ez's turn; he cracked the first cocoyol on the king's head. But the king's head cracked too. The second cocoyol went right into the king's head, and the next into his throat, and so on until his body, filled with cocoyoles, burst. And as the cocoyoles came rolling out, Ez picked them up and ate the insides. So the king was dead, and Ez was made king.

15. FROM A NARRATION IN WHICH SEVERAL JOINED

Juan was a boy who used to go with his parents into the bush in search of wild honey. One time he went by himself, and when he had gathered a great quantity, he heard the beating of a drum; "tran ca tran, ca tran, tulacal tin tzucel yam." A few minutes later appeared the giant Juan Thuthulkin with his silver drum which shone so brightly that it could be seen a long way off. The giant, turning to the boy, asked him for a little honey to eat and when the permission was granted him, he devoured it all could be eaten. Although there was a great deal of it. This made the boy feel very sad but the giant comforted him by promising to take him to a place where much honey was to be found.

With the child on his back, Juan Thuthulkin went deeper and deeper into the forest until after a long time he put the boy in the branches of a tree so tall that it almost touched the sky. Here the poor boy gave himself up for lost, thinking he should never be able to get down. However, he soon regained hope when he saw coming near him a herd of peccary. These on coming up to him, asked, "What are you doing there, Juan?" And he answered them, "The giant Juan Thuthulkin tricked me and brought me here, but if you will get me down I promise to give you the milpa I have in my village." But the peccary were unable to help him and continued on their way. Shortly after he saw a large number of deer. On hearing about his troubles they said, "Juan, certainly the giant will eat you because no one can get you down from there." When they had said this, they fled hurriedly away because they saw shining from afar the giant's drum on which he was beating terrifyingly. Juan Thuthulkin, seeing the boy still in the tree, went off again confident.

He had not gone very far when a band of pisotes (chich) appeared. When they had heard the boy's story, they agreed to get him down in exchange for his milpas, and, each one taking hold of the other's tail, they came up to him. But hardly had he begun to get down by this curious ladder when the pisotes, hearing the beat of the giant's drum, let go each other's tails and ran away terrified into the forest. When Juan Thuthulkin came and saw Juan still high up in the tree, he was delighted and continued on his walks through the bush.

\(^1\) Nuts of the wine palm.
\(^2\) "Tulacal tin tzucel yam," "everything comes to my belly."
While he was away there came a band of monkeys, and to these Juan offered a banana grove if they should succeed in getting him down. The monkeys were won over; they joined their tails, and made a stairway down which the boy could easily reach the ground. Fulfilling his promise, Juan pointed out the banana grove to the monkeys, who rushed away into the forest screaming gayly. Shortly after came the giant. When he did not see the boy in the tree, he began angrily to search for him, shouting that he would eat him if he found him. Poor Juan, hidden in a hollow tree trunk, was soon discovered by the cruel Juan Thuthulkin who, ferocious with hunger, put his arm into the hiding place to drag him out. But clever Juan took his sharp machete and cut off the arm. The giant, howling with pain, furiously thrust in his other arm but this was also cut off by a second blow of the machete. A like fate was met by both his legs until nothing remained except his head, and this he thrust into the tree trunk so as to swallow up the cause of his troubles. But the boy succeeded in cutting that off too, and so put an end to the life of Juan Thuthulkin who had done so much harm in the region. The brave Juan, rejoicing in his triumph immediately left his hiding place and, taking possession of the drum, took the road to his village. On the way he found a cave which showed signs of being inhabited. His curiosity aroused, he decided to try to find out who lived there and, hidden high up in a tree, he waited patiently to see what would happen. At nightfall he saw come out from the depth of the cave many princesses who, seating themselves in royal chairs of gold, began a lively conversation. When Juan saw them there, he beat upon his drum; this caused them to flee without taking away their golden chairs. Juan took the chairs and continued on his way home. At midnight he came to a clearing in the forest where a large company were celebrating a vaquería. Invited by the dancers, he took a seat on a bench, after buying some crackles (chicharrón) from a man who was selling it not far from the enramada. When dawn came, his surprise was boundless to see that the furniture, musicians and dancers had turned into different animals. The bench, which he had used for a seat, was turned into an armadillo and with its companions soon disappeared into the forest. And moreover, he discovered that what he had bought as crackles was nothing more than dry wood. Recovered from his surprise, he went on again to his own village and arrived there late in the day. His unexpected return made his grandmother very happy and she could not caress him enough and question him with regard to the golden chairs and where he had got them from. Good Juan, when he had rested, calmed his grandmother's curiosity by telling her his many adventures without leaving out the appearance of the princesses who had forgotten their chairs in their flight. His grandmother, thinking that her grandson was worthy of a royal wife, prepared a wonderful banquet which the King and his daughters attended. The princesses, upon seeing Juan's great riches with his chairs of purest gold, fell in love with him. But of them all he preferred the youngest. The King gave his consent to the wedding and a short time later they were married amid great celebration.
Appendix C

Texts of Maya Prayers

The following texts were repeated to the authors of this report by the h-mens who used them in the ceremonies, in most cases soon after they had been ritually uttered. The upper (Maya) line, in the pages that follow, gives the text as the authors transcribed it. Corrections suggested to them afterward are written above. The translation was made in the first instance by Mr. Ralph L. Roys; the writers are deeply indebted to him for this assistance, and also to Dr. Manuel Andrade, who made many valuable suggestions.

Finally, certain older men of Chan Kom went over the texts with the senior author, line by line. In this discussion reference was constantly had to the actual conduct of the ceremonies, and to our own ethnological materials. The translation published here is intended to correspond as closely as possible with the understanding of the prayers had by the attentive and intelligent layman of the older generation in Chan Kom today.

1. Used by One of the Older Men in Making the Offering to the Wind-Gods Just Before Firing the Milpa

Cu yantal\(^1\) in kubic le zaca ti nohol ik yetel ti
Herewith I offer this zaca to the south wind and to the
kakalmozon-kanik, bey xan ti noh lakin-ik, bey ti
fiery whirlwind, so also to the great east wind, so to the
tun ti can tiz in cof, xan cu yantal in kubic ti
four corners of my milpa, also herewith I offer it to the
yum balamob, ti xaman-ik, ti chikin-ik, ti
lords Balam, to the north wind, to the west wind, to the
nohol ik, ti no hoch dios yambil, yum San Miguel Arcangel.
south wind, to great God the Father, Lord Saint Michael Archangel.

u kaba dios yambil, dios mehenbil, dios espiritu santo.
The name of God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost.

Amen.

Amen.

2. Used by H-Mens "A" in Offering Balche to the Gods in the U Manli Col Ceremony, and Similarly in the Chachaac Ceremony

Santo maben,\(^2\) yaw\(^3\) hool\(^4\) maben kubul ti dios yambil
The holy wine, the first best offering, delivered to God the Father

\(^1\) Yantal, same as yantal. (Qy. Beltran Nos. 93 and 156 for verbs in -tal.) Besides dictionary definitions, in the Xiú document, the word is used in the sense, yantal, to be on hand, to have present and ready, as "it is obligatory for them to have on hand their arms." (R.L.R.)

\(^2\) Informants say that the word "maben" is used in prayers to mean "balche." (The Motul dictionary gives "bon.")

\(^3\) For this word the common meanings are "first," "fresh," and "green." "First" is chosen here (in the sense of "first class") according to explanations given by the natives: "We say 'yolam yawx'-you kneel first." The table offered is a special one—de primos. If you kill a small deer it is not yaw, but if you kill a large one, it is yaw. When you do a big piece of work, we say it is yaw." See also prayer No. 1.

\(^4\) Hool means the chief, or largest, of any sort of offering.
uay tu tan _mesa_, _dios_ yumbil, _yax mesa_
here before the table of God the Father, the first table,

_yax altar_, _ti hun tul_ chaac _ti noh_ lakin _ti can tul nucte_
the first altar, to one Chaac in the great east to four great

_balamob tu can tizcaan, tiz muyal,_
Balams in the four corners of the clouds, the four corners of the sky

ti _dios_ chaac _tu abrecica_ _ti noh_ lakin _Coba,_
to god Chaac in his audience-chamber in Coba in the great east,

_canal_
ti kaana uincob, can _tul nucte_ balamob. _Ox tezcuntabac,
to protecting men, four great Balams. Thrice be greeted,

cu lubul in than _ti abrecica_ Chichen. _Uay cin_
as falls my word at _the audience-chamber Chichen_. Here I

_uenzic than_ can _tul nucte chaacilob, uay tu tan _mesa_
bring down the word, four great Chaacs, here before the table

_dios_ yumbil, _uay tu tan _mesa_ in _San Miguel,_
of God the Father, here before the table of Saint Michael,

_ti hun tul chaac. _Yax mesa, yax altar,_
to one Chaac. First table, first altar,

_ti tu can tizcaan, tiz muyal, _Ox tezcuntabac,
of the four corners of the clouds. Thrice be greeted

cu lubul in than Chemax. _Uay cin uenzic than, uay_
as falls my word to Chemax. Here I bring down the word, here

_tu tan _mesa_ cilich _dios_ yumbil.
before the table (of) holy God the Father.

3. **Used by H-men “A” in Consecrating the Fowl Offered at the U hanli col Ceremony**

_kub_

_Cu yantal u xolcab ti kubah ahkin idzac,_
As we kneel that the priest-idzac may perform the offering

_u likez u tzel_ uay tu tan _mesa_ huntul chaac_
who lifts his vessel, here before the table of one Chaac

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1 Each time the prayer is repeated (usually four times), this number is changed.

2 This does not mean "southeast." It is "great" east, because the yuntzilob dwell in the east, and from that direction issue clouds, rains, stars and sun and moon.

3 The h-men is summoning the four gods that stand at the four corners of the sky.

4 The reference is to the great hall supposed to exist at Coba, where the chaacs gather twice a week to receive their orders (p. 216).

5 The building, in which, until recent years, the adult male Indians of a town gathered to obey the orders of their barab, was known as _audience._

6 _el_ "my prayer reaches."

7 This phrase refers to the invocation, or invitation, that is being addressed to the yuntzilob.

8 The idzac is one of the 3 assistants appointed by the h-men to assist him with his ritual. The one who kneels at his right is called the _ahkin idzac;_ the one at his left, the _ca tul idzac ("second idzac").

9 The "izel" is the special boma used in some of the rituals.
APPENDIX C

4. Used by H-men “A” as He Sprinkles with Balche the Cross and the Altar Used in the U Hanli Col Ceremony

Before offering the first tzeli, he says:

Ea be hora cu man u yax tzeli, u kaba d'ios yumbil, etc.
Now it is time to pass the first vessel.

After the second has been offered, he says:

U dzoc caten mani u tzeli, u kaba, etc.
Now the second vessel has been passed, etc.

5. Used by H-men “A” in the U Hanli Col Ceremony, While Kneeling at the Altar on Which the Offerings are Disposed, to Invite the Gods.¹

U kaba d'ios yumbil, d'ios mehenbil, d'ios espiritu santo
In the name of God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost,

Oxtez cu lubul in than ti noh lakin,
Be thrice greeted when falls my word in the great east,

ti abrencia Cobail, ti cantul nucte chaacob,
in the audience-chamber of Coba, to the four great Chaacs,
can tul nucte balamob. Ox tez cu lubul in than ti abrencia
four great Balams. Be thrice greeted when falls my word in the audience-chamber,

Chichen, ti can tul nucte chaacob, ti can tul nucte balamob.
Chichen, to the four great Chaacs, to the four great Balams.

Uay cin uenzic than, uay tu tan mesa d'ios
Here I bring down my word, here before the table of God

yumbil, uay tu tan mesa yum San Miguel,
the Father, here before the table of Lord Saint Michael,

uay tu mesa hun tul chaac ti noh lakin.
here before the table of one Chaac in the great east.

X-katak-chucumil (?)
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti X-katak chucmil
Thrice be greeted when falls my word at ?

¹ This h-man recited what was substantially the same prayer at the analogous moment in the Chacsac ceremony, except that
he that occasion the place-names he used were the following: Chemax, Yuk-hausa, X-Karo-chucmil, X-Lahbunabun, Chemax, Naha-
cuca, Zari, Puero, X-Karba, Uayma, Schachchen, San Antonio, Bubul, Chanchen, Hanbe, Akmula, San Francisco, X-kan-chac,
X-mex, Okliniuxa, X-tohul, Famba, Yuk-secha, Sinul, Colen, Chabalam, Och-dznoet-aben, X-Cuuchhil, X-kalabob, Pekel, Xint
(for Xint'il), Chumuchca, X-Kopchen, San Pedro, Chulul. It will be observed that the two lists are the same in the names used and the
order of appearance, except that at the Chacsac the h-man included a few names omitted at the U Hanli Col.
Oxtez cu lubul in than ti X-Lahbutzubin.¹
Thrice be greeted when falls my word at X-Lahbutzubin.

Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Chemax.
Thrice be greeted when falls my word at Chemax.

Oxtez cu lubul in than Nahcuche,² ti tu
Thrice be greeted when falls my word at Nahcuche, to

dios chaac, dios balam, ti tu can tizcaan.
God Chaac, God Balam, at the four corners of the sky.

Oxtez cu lubul in than ti noh cah Zaci.³
Thrice be greeted when falls my word at the great city of Valladolid

Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Pixoy.⁴ Oxtez
Thrice be greeted when falls my word at Pixoy. Thrice be greeted

when falls my word at X-katbe.⁴ Oxtez cu lubul in
than ti Uayma.⁵ Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Sahcabchen.⁶
word at Uayma. Thrice be greeted when falls my word at Sahcabchen.

Oxtez cu lubul in than ti San Antonio.⁷
Thrice be greeted when falls my word at San Antonio.

Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Bubul.⁸ Oxtez
Thrice be greeted when falls my word at Bubul. Thrice be greeted

when falls my word at Chanchen.⁹ Oxtez cu lubul in
than ti noh cah Hanbe.¹ Oxtez cu lubul in
word at the large town of Hanbe. Thrice be greeted when falls my

than ti Ahmula.¹² Oxtez cu lubul in than ti San Francisco.¹³
word at Ahmula. Thrice be greeted when falls my word at San Francisco

Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Sinkanchac.¹⁴ Oxtez
Thrice be greeted when falls my word at Sinkanchac. Thrice be greeted

when falls my word at X-Mex.¹⁵ Oxtez cu lubul in than

ti Oxkinkiuic,¹⁶ ti can tul nucce chaacob, can tul nucce balamob,
at Oxkinkiuic, to the four great chaacs, to the great Balams,

uay cin uenzic than tan u mera cilich dios yumbil
here I bring down my word before the table of holy God the Father,

¹ This place we have been unable to identify.
² A cenote near Dzimup.
³ These places, all in the Chan Kom region, appear on one or another of the maps in Chapter I.
⁴ A covered cenote not far from Chan Kom, from which the water is taken for the cha-chaac ceremony.
⁵ Cenote and messobia near Ebun.
⁶ A cenote just east of Chichen Itza.
⁷ A cenote near San Diego (which is near Cuncunul).
⁸ A cenote near Chanchen cenote.
⁹ Near Dzitas.
¹⁰ Site of a ruin between Coba and Chan Kom.
ti ti *dios* chaac tu holhuntazmuyal¹
there to the God Chaac, to the doorway in the clouds

cu lubul in than ti zacpahuatun, cu lubul in than ti
when falls my word to white Pahuatun, when falls my word to

kanpahuatun. Oxtez cu lubul in than ti
yellow Pahuatun. Thrice be greeted when falls my word at

X-Tohil.² Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Pamba.³

X-Tohil. Thrice be greeted when falls my word at Pamba.

Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Sisal.⁴ Oxtez
Thrice be greeted when falls my word at Sisal. Thrice be greeted

cu lubul in than ti Colem.⁵ Oxtez cu lubul in than
when falls my word at Colem. Thrice be greeted when falls my word

at Chebalam.⁶ Oxtez cu lubul in than ti
Yokdzonot-aban.⁷ Oxtez cu lubul in than ti X-Kalakob.⁸

Thrice be greeted when falls my word at Chebalam. Thrice be greeted

when falls my word at X-Kalakob.

Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Pekel.⁹ Oxtez
Thrice be greeted when falls my word at Pekel. Thrice be greeted

cu lubul in than ti Chumucbe.⁸ Oxtez cu lubul in
when falls my word at Chumucbe. Thrice be greeted when falls my word

at Chankopchen.⁹ Oxtez cu lubul in than ti
San Pedro.¹⁰ Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Chulul.¹¹ Uay
San Pedro. Thrice be greeted when falls my word at Chulul. Here

cin uenzic than nucte chaacilob, uay tu tan *mesa*
I bring down the word to the great Chaacs, here before the table

*Ceteac*⁵

ti cilih *dios* yumbil. Tuux cu cetpahal than ti keteak?
of holy God, the Father. Where was equalled(?) the word at Ceteac?

Mani cah?¹²¹

Tuux cu mankahal than ti Manica?
Where has speech passed from memory in the city of Mani?

U kaba *dios* yumbil, *dios mehenbil, dios espiritu santo,*
The name of God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost.

*Amen.

Amen.

¹ This is the opening in the eastern sky through which the chaacs come out (p. 116).
² A cenote near Nichteh.
³ These places, all in the Chan Kom region, appear on one or another of the maps in Chapter I.
⁴ A cenote on the X-Kopil road, near Chan Kom.
⁵ This place we have been unable to identify.
⁶ A cenote just east of Chan Kom.
⁷ Not far from Chichen, east of Halakal, and on or near the road from Halakal to Tixum.
⁸ Ranalpax beyond Kaaux.
⁹ A well near Chan Kom.
¹⁰ South of X-Kopilel.
¹¹ This correction of the text and its translation were provided by natives familiar with the prayer.
6. Used by H-men “B” in the u hanli col ceremony, while kneeling at the altar on which the offerings are disposed, to invite the Gods

U kaba *dios yambil, dios mehenbil, dios espiritu santo*,
The name of God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost.

Amen. Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul in than, yum San Miguel
Amen. Be thrice greeted when falls my word, Lord Saint Michael

arcanael, utial in kubic ti
Archangel, in order that I hand over to
ah-canan-cacabob,
the Guardians of the Fertile Wild Lands

yetel ti ahtepalob, utial canan-*semilla*,
and to the Lords, for the Guardians of the Seed,
ti canan-era, ti ziz-cun-ah-era,
to the Guardians of the Planted Fields, to the Fresheners of the Garden
utial hoyah *semilla*, utial canan-*uitz*,
for the Sprinklers of the Seeds, for the Guardians of the Hillocks,

*canan-cacabob*

utial kakal-mozon-ikob, yetel kancacabob,
for the Fiery Whirl-winds, and the Guardians of the Fertile Wild Lands,

bacan u-kuil-kaax, ti yum ekpahuatun,
likewise Guardian of the Forest, to Lord Black Pahuatun,
ti yum chacpahuatun, ti yum kanpahuatun, utial zacpahuatun,
to Lord Red Pahuatun, to Lord Yellow Pahuatun, for White Pahuatun,
tu can titzcaan, can titz muyal.
of the four corners of the heavens, four corners of the clouds.

*icnal*

Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul in than ti icna
Be thrice greeted when falls my word at the place of

hadzen
hatzen-caan-chaac; ox tezcuntabac cu
striking-lightning-Chaac-in heaven; be thrice greeted when

*icnal*
lubul in than ti icna leleen-caan-chaac,
falls my word at the place of the flaming-lightning-Chaac-in heaven.

*icnal*

Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul in than ti icna yum
Be thrice greeted when falls my word at the place of Lord

1 “The yuatzikob who take care of the black lands, where there are wine palms, and where the best harvests are produced” (informants).
2 “Those who watch over the old pueblos (lab-cab), like Chichen.”
3 *Uitz* is a hillock. The artificially made mounds of the ancient Maya are also “uitz.”
4 Correction made by informants.
bohol caan-chaac. Ox tezcuntabac cu
the hollow-resounding in-heaven-Chaac. Be thrice greeted when

icnal cha-lelen-caan-chaac.

lubul in than ti icna cha-leen-caan-chaac.
falls my word at the place of the raining-lightning-heaven-Chaac.

icnal
Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul in than ti icna
Be thrice greeted when falls my word at the place of
cichpan colel canan gracia. Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul
beautiful Lady Guardian of the maize plants. Be thrice greeted when falls

icnal
in than ti icna cichpan colebil metaan gracia.
my word at the place of the beautiful lady embracer of the maize plants.

icnal
Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul in than icna noh-uir gracia.
Be thrice greeted when falls my word where the maize-plants are hungry

icnal thupil
Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul in than ti icna tuppil-caan-chaac.
Be thrice greeted when falls my word at the-least-heaven-Chaac.

Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul in than tu noh u kab nucte
Be thrice greeted when falls my word at the right hand of the great

chaac, yetel tu kab nucte balam; tu yax mesa
Chaac, and at the hand of the great Balam; at the first table

kuh tu noh caan; tu yax altar tu noh u kab,
of the God in the great heaven; at the first altar at the right hand

c a yumil Dios, kubul tu bendicion yokol hunppel santo noh mesa,
of our Lord God, delivered in his blessing over one holy great table,
kubental, utial hunppel santo noh primicia utial
to be delivered, for one holy great offering for

canan-cacabob
ah-kanan-kakabob,
the Guardians of the Fertile Wild Lands,

tu (?)
betic u kubul tumen ten u kin in uincob,
caused to be offered by me, on the day of my men,

1 Bohol means to resound like a hollow gourd, i.e. thunder.
2 Correction made by informant: “The chaac that makes the rain fall in drops. ‘Cha’ means to fall as drops fall.”
3 The maize plants very hungry (informant).
4 The most important Chaac (see p. 345).
5 “‘Dios’ in contrast to the yuntrilob.
6 “That is to say, the majin (work of preparing the sacred foods). The men who are doing the majin” (informant).
tu can titzcaan, can titzmuyal

to the four corners of the heavens, the four corners of the clouds,

*En nombre Padre, del Hijo, del Espíritu Santo. Amén Jesús.*

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen Jesus.

7. Used by H-men “B” in the u hanli col; Recited Immediately After No. 6, and Repeated Many Times, Each Time a Different Place-Name Employed in the Position Here Occupied by the Word “Nicteha.”

Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul in than ti

Be thrice greeted when falls my word to

ahcanan-cacab ti Nicteha

the Guardian of the Fertile Wild Land at Nicteha,

cu uenzal u kame hunppel noh mesa,

when it is brought down for him to receive it at one great table,

ti ahcanan-cacabilob, utial oxppel haab¹
to the Guardians of the Fertile Wild Lands, for three years,

metic(?)

ben ik utial uchi u meyah yum chaacob

he makes it because of old labored the Lords Chaac

hoyah semillaob yetel yum ziz cuanah-era, yetel
to water the seeds and ? freshen the garden and (also?)

nucte chaac, utial canan gracia. Leti u kubul

the great Chaac for the protecting of the maize plants. This is the offering

u noh mesail. U kaba dios yumbil, dios mehenbil.
of his great table. The name of God the Father, God the Son,

*dios espiritu santo.* Amén.

God the Holy Ghost. Amén.

8. Used by H-men “B” Immediately After Reciting No. 7 (u hanli col Ceremony). The Ceremony was on This Occasion Made by One Tiburcio in Order to Relieve His Illness.

Ea in cichcelem yum, in x-cichpam colel

Listen-here, my handsome young lord, my beautiful mistress

*natividad,* he cin kubic hunppel santo noh primicia yokol u

Nativity, here I deliver one holy great offering over the

manbaal² luumil u santo³ Tiburcio, leti cu
despised land of the santo of Tiburcio, he who

¹ “Three years,” because on this occasion the u hanli col was being offered by a man who had taken the harvest from new milpas for three years without making the ceremony.

² Literally “nothing.” Informants offer, as Spanish translation, “desprecioso” or “pecador.”

³ The reference is to the individual’s name saint.
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Dzaic hunppel santo noh mesa ten u santoil cin gives one holy great table to me, which I, my santo,

utial (?)
kubic, tumen ten u kinkin uincob3 ukil in kubic ti offer, by me the day of days of men, that I deliver to

yum achcanan-cacabob,
the Lords Guardians of the Fertile Wild Lands,
yum ahtepalob, licil in kubic tu noh u kab ca and the Lords Rulers, by which I offer it to the right hand of our

yumil ti dios, cu pulic4 u bendicion, licil in kubic hunppel santo Lord God, who gives his blessing by which I offer one holy

noh primicia, tu noh u kab yum chaacob, ti
great offering to the right hand of the lords Chaacs, to

nucte balam, ti nucte chaac. U kaba dios yumbil,
the great Balam, to the great Chaac. The name of God the Father
dios mehenbil, dios espiritu santo. Amen.
God the Son, God the Holy Ghost. Amen.

9. RECITED BY H-MEN "A" IN THE U HANLI COL CEREMONY, AND ALSO IN THE CHACHAAC CEREMONY, AS HE HOLDS UP EACH OFFERING, AFTERWARD SETTING EACH DOWN AGAIN ON THE ALTAR.

Cu yantal in kubic tu tan u mesa dios yumbil,
Herewith I offer before the table of God the Father,

hel u canppel, hel u
he lukaan canppel uahi, he lu santo x-hol-uahi,5
here are his four breads, again his holy chief breads,

hel u
he lu hoppel uahi ti tu dios balam. U kaba
here his five-breads there to the God Balam. The name
dios yumbil, dios mehenbil, dios espiritu santo. Amen.
of God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost. Amen.

10. USED BY H-MEN "B" AT THE SAME MOMENT (AS THAT INDICATED IN THE HEADING TO NO. 9) OF THE U HANLI COL CEREMONY

Likil in kubic hunppel santo bolon taz-uah, yetel hunppel santo Herewith I deliver one holy nine-layer bread, and one holy

noh uah ti yum ahcanan-cacabob,
great bread to the lords Guardians of the Fertile Wild Land,

1 Obscure. Informants give "día de días del hombre" and explain that it means that "almost every day the h-men is offering."
2 Translation approved by informants.
3 The bread of first importance (noh-uah or crut-uah; see p. 125), placed next the cross.
cin uemza (?)
ti ah tepalob, uay tu cahil Chan Kom uenza
to the Rulers here in the town of Chan Kom I bring down

than,¹ u talob u kamob hunppel *santo* noh *mesa*,
the word, they come to receive it (at) one holy great table,

tu can titz mesa. Ciemzal tulacal yum
at the four corners of the table. Here descend all the Lords

ahcanan-cacabob, yetel ti ah tepalob u
Guardians of the Fertile Wild Land, and to the Rulers (that) they

utialob
kamob hunppel *santo* noh *mesa* utial bacan xan yokol
receive one holy great table for them thus also over

luumil
manbaal u lumil Tiburcio.² U kaba
the despised land of Tiburcio. The name of

dios yumbil, dios mehenbil, dios espiritu santo. Amen.
God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost. Amen.

11. **Used by H-men “A” in the *hanli* col ceremony, and also in the Chachaac ceremony just before drinking the Balche in the Special Homa³**

*As he offers the small homa filled with balche:*

Ea cu xolcab kubah u yax uincil⁴ uay
O, while he kneels he offers, his first man, here I

tu tan *mesa* dios yumbil, etc.
before the table, God the Father, etc.

*Having offered it.*

Utial u kamic u *calix*, dios yumbil, etc.
That he receives his cup, God the Father, etc.

*Then a small quantity of the liquor is placed in the homa, and offered.*

Cu xolcab kubah u kamic chic⁵ ca *calix*, uah tu tan *mesa*, etc.
While he kneels he offers that he may receive a little second cup here before, etc.

*Afterward:*

Ea be *hora* xan u kamic u chic⁶ ca *calix*, dios yumbil, etc.
Now is time also to receive a little second cup, God the Father, etc.

¹ *i.e.* invoke the gods.
² The man giving the ceremony.
³ The text of this prayer was obtained only in part on the occasion of the ceremony, and was completed afterward.
⁴ *i.e.* the h-men.
⁵ Meaning?
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12. Used by H-men “A” in Offering Zaca to the Gods on the Second Day of the Chachaac Ceremony

Oxtez cu lubul in than ti abrencia
Be thrice greeted when falls my word in the audience-chamber

Yalcoba. Oxtez cu lubul in than ti
at Yalcoba. Be thrice greeted when falls my word in the

uennzic

abrencia Chichen. Uay ein uenzi thancob
audience-chamber at Chichen. Here I bring down my words

yoklal zac-cheunche (?)
yohla santo zizha1 than, zachteche than, ti
for the sake of holy fresh water word, ?-word, to

ah-bolen-caan
ahbob-lancaan-chacob, ahlelem-caan-chaacob,
the resounding-in-the-sky-Chaacs, the lightning-sky-Chaacs,

xoc-tun-caan-chaacob.9
the keeping-count-in-the-sky-Chaacs,

ah-chibal.4 tun
ahchibintun-chaacob, tu dios Chaac,
the Chaacs-of-all-the-generations, to the god Chaac,

dios chaac, dios balam, holtuntazmuyal.
the god Chaac, god Balam, the doorway in the clouds.

Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Chichimila,8
Be thrice greeted when falls my word at Chichimila.

Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Kaua.8 Oxtez
Be thrice greeted when falls my word at Kaua. Be thrice greeted

cu lubul in than ti Cehmaz. Oxtez cu lubul in
when falls my word at ?. Be thrice greeted when falls my

than ti noh cah Zaci.8 Oxtez cu
word at the great town of Valladolid. Be thrice greeted when

lubul in than ti Zamal.6 Oxtez cu lubul in than ti
falls my word at Zamal. Be thrice greeted when falls my word at

X-Cehni.7 Oxtez cu lubul in than ti Pixoy.5
X-Cehni. Be thrice greeted when falls my word at Pixoy.

Oxtez cu lubul in than ti X-cumzuc.4 Uay tu tan
Be thrice greeted when my word at X-cumzuc. Here before

1 Zicha is a reference to the saga being offered.
2 Substitution doubtful (an unidentified plant). Informants could not explain this.
3 Certain chaacs keep count or record of the chaacs when they assemble.
4 Chibal means “carrying loads” (Motu dictionary) or “generation” (informants). “The h-men is inviting all the chaacs, not only the
   big ones, but the small ones too.”
5 Near Chan Kom and on the maps in Chapter I.
6 A cenote near Valladolid.
7 A cenote near Cuzcuncul.
8 A covered cenote near Pixoy.
mesa yum San Miguel. Cu yantal in kubic santo
the table (of) Lord Saint Michael. Herewith I deliver a holy

zizha than, uay tu Ticincacab\(^1\)
fresh water word, here at Ticincacab

tu noh cah Kom.\(^2\) Oxtez cu lubul
at the great town of Tekom. Be thrice greeted when falls

Zayaltunicte(?)\(^3\)
in than ti Zayaltunite. Oxtez cu lubul in than
my word at Zayaltunite. Be thrice greeted when falls my word

uemza
ti X-Katbe.\(^4\) Uay cin uenza thancob tan u mesa
at X-Katbe. Here when I bring down my words before the table

dios yumbil, uay tu tan u mesa yum San Miguel,
of God the Father, here before the table of Lord Saint Michael,

uay tu tan u mesa huntul chaac. Amen.
here before the table of one Chaac. Amen.

13. Used by H-men "A" in Asking the Protectors of the Deer to Grant Success in a Hunt to be Undertaken by Men Gathered to Celebrate the Chachaac

Yum San Gabriel, yum San Marcelino, yum San Cecilio,\(^5\)
Lord Saint Gabriel, Lord Saint Marceline, Lord Saint Cecilius,

ahku kaax, ti Ticincacab,\(^6\)
god(s) of the bush at Ticincacab

canan-cacabob, canan-buktunob
kanancabob, kananbultun,
Protectors of the Fertile Wild Lands, Protectors of the Rocky Knolls,

kananchichluum,\(^7\) ekzipilob,\(^8\)
Protectors of the Hard Lands, the Black Zip,

hol-luum-cacabilob\(^9\)
tu cohencancabilob, in oltic zuhuy\(^10\) alakilob\(^11\) bey mayob,\(^12\)
in the cleared wild land, I want virgin tame creatures, such as deer,

bey cohob,\(^11\) bey cahmalob.\(^13\) Cu yantal in kati oltic
such as peccary, such as wild turkey. Herewith it is my desire to want

---

\(^1\) A lab-cah (ancient city) with a cenote near Chan Kom.
\(^2\) Near Chan Kom and on the maps in Ch. I.
\(^3\) Undefined.
\(^4\) A cenote near San Diego.
\(^5\) Guardians of the wild animals of the bush.
\(^6\) As Ticincacab is a lab-cah it is a place where deer abound.
\(^7\) "Chichluum" is a place not all rocks, and not all soil, but where there are small stones.
\(^8\) Guardians of the deer (see p. 177).
\(^9\) Correction by informant. Small knoll, "where the deer rest."
\(^10\) See p. 130.
\(^11\) "Tame" or "domesticated." These animals are the alakob of the gods.
\(^12\) Words used in liturgical language for the animals mentioned (instead of "ech," "citan" and "cns").
cayanak u hebe! zuhuy holbe.¹
that there may be opened a virgin opened road.

macal-u-chi-ekzipob
Bey xan cu mahcal-u-chich-ekzipob, cu yantal u
Moreover, that the Black Zip may be silenced,² herewith to
macal
mahcal u chi-ppaapzipob,³ cu yantal u mahcal-
stop the mouths of the ppaap-Zip, the Zip who open their mouth, herewith to stop
u-ni ti ekzipob,⁴ uay tu ticinabilob Chan Kom.
the noses of the Black Zip, here in the dry forest lands of Chan Kom.

Cu yantal in kati oltic zuhuy alak tu ah-kuilob-
Herewith I desire that they release (?)⁵ virgin tame creatures of the gods
canan
kaaxi, ti ahecanulilob tu kanankaaaxilob.
of the forest, of the Protectors, of the Guardians of the forests.

Amen.

14. Prayer Used in the Chachaac Ceremony (as Carried on by H-men "A") just before
the Balche is Offered to the Gods. This Prayer is Chanted, not Recited, not by the H-men, but by Four of the Laymen Appointed by Him.

Xul (?) Xul (?) Xul (?)
Xu lubul tun.⁶ Xu lubul tun. Xu lubul tun tu balam
? ? ? to the seat

kanche (?)
canche, dios yumbil tun, tun, tu balam,
of the Balam. God the Father, then, then, then, to the Balam,
yoklal
dios yumbil. Uay xan cin uenza thancob yohla
God the Father. Here also I bring down my words in behalf of
pakalte
pakalte in San Miguel. Cu yantal kati oltic
the seed-plots of Saint Michael. Herewith I desire to wish
santo ziz ha (?)⁷ ti huntul chaac ti noh lakin.
the holy fresh water of one Chaac in the great east.

¹ The animals are thought of as enclosed in a cleared space in the bush. The prayer is that the animals be released to the hunters by the opening of a path (holbe) performing the bush.
² As the deer are resting on the knoll, the Zip warn them that the hunters are coming, by whistling through closed hands (coh); hence this phrase.
³ Ppaap is a bird that whistle. The Zip are "ppaap-Zip" because when the hunters approach, the Zip whistle and warn the deer. When the deer lift their noses to smell the men then the Zip whistle the signal. Often hunters hear the whistling and see the deer escape, then.
⁴ Not clear. Translation by informants.
⁵ Information was not clear as to the meaning of the phrase. Possibly it means roughly "now is the last invocation."
⁶ So the rain.
Xul (?)
Xu lubul tun, tun, tun, tu balam, huntul chaac
? then, then, then, to Balam, one Chaac

yoklal

ti noh lakin, tun tu balam dios yumbil yohla
in the great east then, to Balam, God the Father, in behalf of

pakalte cin uemzah thanicob (?)
pakahte u uenza thancob ahhoayabilob,
the seed-plot I bring down my words to the Chaacs, the Sprinklers,

hadzacnac,¹ toppooknac
hazzacnac topoknac
that the rain may come, that it may thunder,

Cin uemzah thanicob (?)
U uenza thancob uay tu tan kancab,³
I bring down my words here in front of the red land,

yoklal yoklal pakalte
yohla zuhuy⁴ era, yohla pakahte
in behalf of the virgin garden, in behalf of the seed plot of

yum San Miguel, ti huntul chaac ti noh lakin, ca yumbil
lord Saint Michael, to one Chaac in the great east, our Lord

huntul chaac ti noh lakin, ti cantul balamob, tu ahhoayabilob.
one Chaac in the great east, to the four Balams, to the Sprinklers.

Xul (?)
Xu lubul tun, tun, tun, tu balam dios yumbil
? then, then, then, to Balam, God the Father,

uemzah yoklal pakalte
uay cin uenza thancob yohla pakahte xan
here I bring down the words in behalf of the seed-plot also of

yum San Miguel, ti dios yumbil, tun ti balam.
Lord Saint Michael, to God the Father, then to Balam,

cin uenza thanicob
yum San Miguel, uay tu tan in uenza thancob,
Lord Saint Michael, here before him I bring down my words,

ti dios chaac, ti dios balam. Amen.
to god Chaac, to god Balam. Amen.

15. Used by H-men “A” in Consecrating the Fowl Offered at the Chachaac Ceremony

Cu yantal xolcab utial u kubic kubah santo zuhuy alak,
Here with he kneels to offer a holy virgin tame creature,

¹ “We say hadzacnac when rain bursts upon us, and falls in big drops.”
² Love land with good soil and few rocks.
³ See p. 130.
APPENDIX C

uay tu tan mesa in cilich dios yumbil, uay tu tan here before the table of holy God the Father, here before mesahuntul chaac. Cu yantal u kubah uay xan tu tan u the table of one Chaac. Herewith he delivers also before ulaac mesa huntul chaac ulaak huntul zuhuy alak, the table of one Chaac another one virgin tame creature,

uay tu tan u mesa yum San Miguel, ti tu dios chaac dios mehenbil here table of Lord Saint Michael, to god Chaac, God the Son, espiritu santo. Hunppel, cappel, oxppel, canppel, hoppel, uacppel the Holy Ghost. One, two, three, four, five, six,
uucppel, uaxacppel, bolonppel. Cu yantal u kubah zuhuy alak seven, eight, nine. Herewith is delivered a virgin tame creature
tu tan u mesa dios yumbil, dios mehenbil, dios before the table of God the Father, God the Son, God espiritu santo. Hunppel, cappel, oxppel, canppel, hoppel, uacppel, the Holy Ghost. One, two, three, four, five, six,
uucppel, uaxacppel, bolonppel, lahunppel. Cu yantal seven, eight, nine, ten. Herewith
u xolcab utial u kubic santo zuhuy alak he kneels to offer a holy virgin tame creature.
uay tu tan mesa huntul chaac ti noh lakin, ti dios here before the table of one Chaac in the great east, to God chaac, dios mehenbil, dios espiritu santo. Hunppel, cappel, oxppel, Chaac, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost. One, two, three,
canppel, hoppel, uacppel, uucppel, uaxacppel, bolonppel, lahunppel. four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten.
Cu yantal u kubah tan u mesa dios yumbil Herewith is offered before the table of God the Father zuhuy alak, dios chaac, dios balam, a virgin tame creature, God Chaac, God Balam,
holhuntazmuyal, dios mehenbil, dios espiritu santo. the doorway in the clouds, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost.
Hunppel, cappel. Cu yantal u kubah zuhuy alak, uay One, two. Herewith is offered a virgin tame creature, here xan tu tan mesa xan dios yumbil, uay tu tan mesa also before the table of God the Father, here before the table yum San Miguel, uay tu tan u mesa huntul chaac, of lord Saint Michael, here before the table of one Chaac,
dios mehenbil, dios espiritu santo. Hunppel, cappel, oxppel, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost. One, two, three, canppel, uucppel, uaxacppel, laahunppel, bolonppel. Cu yantal four, seven, eight, ten, nine. Herewith

u noh kubulte (?)

u kubul ahnohcobte, tan uay xan tu tan mesa, is delivered the large-beaked one, here also before the table of

huntul chaac, uay tu tan mesa yum San Miguel, dios one Chaac, here before the table of Lord Saint Michael, God mehenbil, dios espiritu santo. Hunppel, cappel, oxppel, the Son, God the Holy Ghost. One, two, three, canppel, hoppel, uacppel, uucppel, uaxacppel, laahunppel.

four, five, six, seven, eight, ten.

u noh kubulte

Cu yantal u kubul ahnohcobte tan uay tu tan mesa Herewith is offered the large-beaked one here before the table

huntul chaac, dios balam holtuntazmuyal.
of one Chaac, God Balam (at) the doorway in the clouds.

ulaac

Cu yantal u kubul xan ulaak zuhuy alak Herewith is offered also another virgin tame creature

u noh kubulte

ahbohcobte tan uay tu tan u mesa dios yumbil, dios with a big beak here before the table of God the Father, God espiritu santo. Hunppel, cappel, oxppel, canppel, uaxacppel, the Holy Ghost. One, two, three, four, eight, bolonppel, oxlaahunppel. U kaba dios yumbil, dios espiritu santo nine, thirteen. The name of God the Father, God the Holy Ghost.

Amen.

Amen.

16. Used by H-men “B” in Offering Roasted Ears and Atole of New Corn to the Gods in the New Corn Ceremony

Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul than yum San Miguel Be thrice greeted when falls the word to lord Saint Michael

Arcangel. Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul than ti Archangel. Be thrice greeted when falls the word to

ekpahuatun. Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul than ti the Black Pahuatun. Be thrice greeted when falls the word to

1 The correction, made by informants, means “his great offering.” But ahnohcobte could mean “large beaked one” and refer to the fowl being offered.
APPENDIX C

chaćpahuatun. Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul than
the Red Pahuatun. Be thrice greeted when falls the word
yincal kanpahuatun. Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul than
to the Yellow Pahuatun. Be thrice greeted when falls the word
yincal zacpahuatun. Ti u kubul hunppel santo noh primicia,
to the White Pahuatun. There is delivered one holy great offering
ti can titzcaan, can titzmuyal,
at the four corners of the sky, at the four corners of the clouds.
Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul than yincal
Be thrice greeted when falls the word to
hadzencaan-chaac
hatzencaaan. Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul
lightning-heaven-Chaac. Be thrice greeted when falls
lelem-caan-chaac
than yincal lelemcaan. Ox tezcuntabac
the word to the gleaming-lightning-Chaac. Be thrice greeted
bohol-caan-chaac
cu lubul than yincal bohol-caa.
when falls the word to the hollow-resounding-heaven-Chaac.
Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul than yincal
Be thrice greeted when falls the word to
cha-lelen-caan-chaac
chacleencaan,
the raining-lightning-heaven-Chaac
tu can titzcaan, tu can titzmuyal.
at the four corners of the sky, at the four corners of the clouds.
Ox kubulte arcangel, u kubul hunppel
Let it be thrice offered (to) the archangel, is delivered one
santo noh primicia, tu can titzcaan. Amen.
holy great offering at the four corners of the sky. Amen.

17. USED BY H-MEN “C” IN OFFERING BALCHE TO THE GODS OF THE BEES IN THE U HANLI CAB CEREMONY

Cu xolcab kubah ahkin idzac,
As he kneels, the priest-idzac delivers it,
uximbal tzel, uay tu mesa noh-yum-cab
he passes the cup around, here to the table of Noh-yum-cab,
ti tu can titzcaan u noh kab u diat
there at the four corners of the sky, at the right hand of God
yumbil. Amen.
the Father. Amen.

1.3. he then walks around with the homes, offering it to the participants.
18. Used by H-men "C" in Offering the Bread-Stuffs and Other Foods to the Gods of the Bees in the U Hanli cal Ceremony.

Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul than ti noh-yum-cab
Be thrice greeted when falls the word to Noh-yum-cab.

Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul than ti x-mulzen-cab.
Be thrice greeted when falls the word at X-mulzen-cab

Ox tezcuntabac cu lubul than ti balamob,
Be thrice greeted when falls the word to the Balams,

hubil (?) hubil (?) silla-na-cab kanche
tu hubi kuna, tu hubi zia u caanche,
at his ruined temple—at his fallen (bee seat,) his bench,

hak-madz

tu bolon-hobon, tu bolon hacmatz. Ox tezcuntabac
to Nine-Hives, to him who greedily sucks. Thrice be greeted

cu lubul than tu nucte chaac, tu nucte balam,
when falls the word to the great Chaac, to the great Balam,

tu can titzcaan, to Cobail. Cu lubul than
at the four corners of Heaven, there at Coba. When the word falls (to)

nucte chaac, nucte balam, ti noh abrecia Chichen.
the great Chaac, great Balam, at the great audience-chamber at Chichen.

1 See p. 117.
2 Informants say that "kuna" is one of the gods of the bees, and that "hubi" means "hollow" and refers to the hives.
3 A certain class of bee-gods or supernatural bees. (See p. 117.) The Motul gives for Ab-bolon-hobon "el que sabe muchos oficios y el que es muy distro en alguno."
4 See p. 117. Informants say that in these two phrases "bolon" is "the same as subhu" (p. 120).
NOTES ON MAYA MIDWIFERY

By Miss Katheryn MacKay

Gregoria Canul of Piste is about fifty-eight years old. She has practiced as a midwife for about twenty years, among the Indian population of villages in her neighborhood. She supplied the following information.

The age of puberty of women is from twelve to fourteen years of age. Marriage takes place often at thirteen years, and fourteen is the most common age. The first baby is usually born one and a half to two years after marriage. Sterility is very uncommon.

To alleviate retarded menstruation (pasmada) and also to make it possible to conceive, there is administered at the time menstruation is due a hot drink made of the scraped and mashed roots of guaco, roots of balsamite and of chinanche, all boiled together and mixed with honey. No cold water may be given afterward.

During pregnancy the midwife gives monthly massage (pedz). This is done in order to keep the uterus in place and the child in correct position. The motion is rotary and in an upward direction, starting from the groins and passing along both sides of the uterus. This massage is begun at the third month of pregnancy and continued until the child is born.

The mother does her routine housework. She eats of all foods. All cravings for certain foods are satisfied, if possible; for if the want is not supplied, it is believed, abortion will follow. Usually this craving is for acid fruits or salty meat. It may be allayed by giving scraped santa ara (literally, "holy altar stone"—a sacred black stone supposed to come from the sea, obtained from Catholic priests, or from h-mens), mixed with honey and water.

An expectant mother prepares few clothes for her baby. The baby wears only a small sleeveless shirt and a diaper.

There is little abortion, and no real preventive measures against becoming pregnant. Abortifacients are very rarely resorted to, and only within the first three months of pregnancy. One such consists of chol-che, marjoram and chiopte boiled together in salted water and taken before breakfast for three successive days.

Only in the most alarming and dangerous circumstances is labor induced. When the mother's life is at stake, as in the case of eclampsia, this may be done by the h-mens.

Upon the first indications of labor one end of the living-room is curtained off with a piece of cotton cloth or with palm leaves. The space thus set off is very dark. The expectant mother remains here. She may recline in her hammock or assume any position she chooses. After four hours of labor pains a hot drink is administered. This is made of twenty leaves of mint, a stick of cinnamon, pixoy bark, and honey. The abdomen is well massaged with hot oil. Honey is burned under the hammock so that the patient may breathe the warm smoke which warms the body.

Usually labor lasts from eight to twelve hours. If it exceeds twelve hours, the patient is given a hot bath, by throwing gourds of hot water over her body; and then she immediately drinks beaten egg sweetened by honey, with half a teaspoonful of sulphur added. The beaten egg with honey is "heating," and the sulphur has dilating qualities. Much attention is paid to the patient's breathing so that she may have strength for final labor. She is instructed to hold a deep breath so as to give force to the labor pains. Great stress.
is laid upon the heating potions and foods, and "cold things" are rigidly excluded. The proper heating of the body is essential, and great care is taken that no evil wind enters.

Breech presentation is rare. In case a leg is first presented, it is well oiled and pushed back into place. The mid-wife never inserts her hand, but uses exterior manipulation entirely. She finds the head and manipulates it into correct position until it is presented. In case both feet are presented and well out, she is not able to turn the child and it must be born in that position. But this is rare. Delivery takes place with the mother lying in the hammock or kneeling on the floor.

The cord is not cut or tied until after the discharge of the placenta; this follows soon after the birth of the baby. The cord is tied off with a heavy thread or with candle wicking two fingers' breadth from the body. Then it is cut, preferably with strips of bamboo cane (halal).

The cord is dressed with salt and singed over a candle. Then hot oil is applied. The baby is bathed in hot water and soap, and dressed. A pad of burnt cloth is laid over the cord, with a band to hold it in place. The baby is wrapped in a square cloth, which may serve also as diaper. The baby is put to breast soon after its bath.

If the placenta (papi, or compañero) is delayed, a wide belt of cotton cloth, about two meters long, is placed about the mother's waist above the uterus, and it is gradually tightened with a downward pressure. The mother is given a bottle or seashell to blow upon. She is also given a hot drink made of a garlic, hot water sweetened with honey, and a small amount of the father's urine. Urine is used in the more difficult cases, whereas just garlic alone in hot water sweetened with honey is ordinarily effective.

Babies usually weigh a little over two kilograms, sometimes three kilograms, but very rarely. The cord falls off on the third day. From the first month the baby is fed small portions of atole, bits of bread soaked in chocolate, or broth. Honey is used in place of sugar. By the end of three months the baby partakes of most foods. Its first drink is made from one leaf of lavender boiled in water and sweetened with honey. Small sips are given to the baby. It really is a purge and cleans the baby of meconium and air. Sometimes it is dripped into the mouth from saturated cotton. Prayers are repeated during the birth of the child, usually the Credo, or prayers to the Virgen de Perpetuo Socorro.

In case of infected eyes, a wash of hot water and honey is used. Mother's milk is also used.

After birth of the baby the mother is allowed a warm sponge bath and is bandaged with narrow strips of cloth wrapped tightly several times about the waist; sometimes a towel is doubled and placed over the top of the uterus to keep it in place.

The mother is strictly confined to her little dark room for three days and given a daily warm sponge bath. On the third day she is given a hot bath in order to "cook the milk." This bath is made by brewing together fifty orange leaves, fifty guava leaves, some leaves of rosemary, some of lavender, and a handful of sulphur. This preparation is poured over the mother's body.

After three days the mother may go into the other room and help with light housework, but by no means may she step outside until the eighth day. Visitors are discouraged.

II. Lauriana May, about forty-five years old, was born in Tekom and is now a resident of Muchucuxca. She has had about sixty cases within a period of twenty years. The information she gave follows:

Before delivery, a little room is partitioned off from the main living room. The patient is delivered in either a standing or a kneeling position, pulling on a rope or rebozo
thrown over a beam, or supported by her husband or her mother (she holds on to the other's shoulders). Between pains she rests in a hammock.

The baby's clothes are warmed with the smoke of burning rosemary.

During birth the midwife repeats the Credo. A candle is burned to the Virgen Auxiliadora or the Virgen Libradora.

The mother may sit or stand up after the birth of the baby.

Hemorrhage is scarcely known. Puerperal fever is also very rare.

In cases of delay of birth, the mother is given a brew of the inner white bark of the pixoy, thirteen bej thorns, and thirteen chom thorns, sweetened with honey.

For eight days great care is taken that the mother and baby are protected against visitors, especially those who have passed through the bush, for the evil spirits of the winds cling to their garments. Such a visitor must be seated in the outer room for over a half hour before he is allowed to see the mother or the baby.

These evil winds cause infected eyes and colic. The baby cries and his navel protrudes, often causing hernia; the navel bleeds and may become infected.

The mother may have severe colic and bad muscular attacks, such as spasms, and if a h-men is not sent for the mother and baby often die.

Upon arrival of the h-men, he consults his zaztun to find out which of the evil winds is present. The usual remedy is to stroke the bodies of the mother and of the baby with branches of zipche.

In cases of uremia or ataques spumosas the midwife prepares a hot drink of scraped bark of the tancazche, dried fruits of yerba sapo and tamankan, well ground and mixed in hot water. Small sips only are taken, as it is a powerful potion and poisonous, producing profuse sweats. Hot baths of the same preparation are given, the patient well wrapped in a heavy sheet.

The baby is bathed every day in warm water, as is also his mother. In case of infected eyes, mother's milk is used as a wash. The placenta is usually burned under the hearth stones.

Pregnant mothers may eat of all foods.

Babies are nursed from a year and a half to two years, or until the next pregnancy.

Intervals between pregnancies are from one and a half to two years.

Sterility is very rare.

Babies are fed atole, bread, or chocolate. For three days babies are kept pacified by a sugar pacifier made from boiling lavender seeds, rosemary and honey. This is nourishing. Broth and atole are regularly given when breast milk is insufficient.

In case of the death of the mother, the baby is nursed by another woman until food is found which will agree with the child. Canned condensed milk is often resorted to, or oatmeal.

No regularity in feeding the baby is practiced. He is fed whenever he cries or the mother thinks he is hungry.

III. Marcelina Torres Bonilla, about sixty years of age, was born in Hunucma. She has lived in Dzitas for many years, and for thirty years has practiced as a midwife in Motul, Xiulub, Tizimín, Xocempich, and many other towns and villages. As far back as the fourth generation, at least, her grandparents bore Spanish surnames, and in blood she is largely white. She speaks Spanish, but not fluently; her ordinary language of conversation is Maya.
She says that she has attended over two hundred deliveries, among which were two cases of twins, and two of stillbirths. She has seen only one congenital deformity: a baby born in Dzitas not long ago, whose body was covered with hair from head to foot. She remarked, “Only the tail was lacking.” When asked what she thought to be the cause of such an unusual thing she said, “Why some very bad thing flew over the mother; it must have been a devil, because however could a little angel have been born so? It must have been turned into a little devil—but it lived only a short time.”

Expectant mothers are visited regularly after the third month of pregnancy for their massage (sobar, pedz), which she gives every month, as a rule, to keep the baby in the right position and the uterus in place.

There are no restrictions as to diet during pregnancy.

Delivery takes place with the mother in the hammock. The father stands at the head of his wife with his hands over the sides of the hammock and clasped under patient’s head at the nape of her neck, so as to give strength to labor pains by furnishing a brace upon which to exert expelling force.

Massage is given up to the time of birth. The midwife makes the sign of the cross over the abdomen the full length and breadth of the enlarged uterus, using the median line for the body of the cross and the arms of the cross drawn a bit above the navel. Then a final massage is performed, manipulating the uterus to its correct position and the baby to its normal position, ready to be born.

Labor usually lasts eight to twelve hours, but often less if it is not the first child.

In all of her experience, the midwife has had only one case of breech presentation, and in this one no injury was received by the mother or baby. In another case the baby’s foot was presented. The midwife first oiled her hand well with clean oil and pushed the foot back into place, at the same time with her other hand externally manipulating the head into the correct position. The baby was born in normal position.

After delivery the baby is covered with warm clothes and waits for the delivery of the placenta before the cord is cut. Two finger breadths from the navel the cord is tied off and cut, preferably with halal (bamboo). The cord is not cut previous to the birth of the placenta (pares), as the belief is that it will be drawn back into the uterus and death will ensue.

The cord of the baby is treated with salt and singed well over the flame of a candle. Then it is dressed with warm oil and clean, burned rags, secured in place by a bandage tied about the abdomen.

All clothing pertaining to the baby is held over burning rosemary until the ninth day, to protect it against evil winds.

The baby is oiled all over (there is no bath), and dressed in a little shirt, and then snugly wrapped in a large square cloth.

Babies are never diapered, and from the time they are tiny babies are held out to urinate and defecate. Chafing of babies is unheard of.

There are no circumcision practices.

This midwife usually gives the baby a warm bath on the second day and continues to oil the cord, which drops off on the third day, leaving the navel dry and clean in normal cases—where evil winds have been avoided.

Babies are put to the breast within a few hours after birth, “to learn” and as a pacifier. The first thing that is given the baby is a preparation made by boiling together lavender, rosemary and honey. The first time this is taken it serves as a purge, and after that it is sufficient to keep the baby nourished for three days. It is given many times during the day together with the mother’s breast secretion.

The babies are given light atole, but not much else besides breast milk until nine months of age.
APPENDIX D

A new baby and mother must be protected against too many visitors. By no means may a pregnant woman be allowed to visit them, unless by chance she lives in the same house, for there is great danger of infecting the baby’s navel. It will bulge, become infected with pus and even bleed. To prohibit this happening, if by chance such a visitor has entered, she must spit upon the baby’s forehead and upon the nape of its neck. Then she must blow with all of her force into the palms of the baby’s hands. Then from her head she must extract a hair and wind it about the baby’s finger as a ring to be worn for eight days and removed on the ninth.

In case the baby develops a bad navel, regardless of precautions taken after such a visit, small pieces of the clothing of an unmarried woman or virgin are burned and applied to the navel for several days.

The afterbirth is always burned, although this midwife does not adhere closely to the rule of the hearthstone. However, she says, “it’s really best that it be burned under hearthstones of a deserted house.” She often uses the ashes, after five weeks, to wash the mother’s head. This prevents the hair from falling out.

Visitors coming through the bush are not allowed to enter the mother’s room, as they bring evil winds, with bad results for the baby. A visitor may give the baby mal ojo for “who knows but the visitor was born on Friday.”

The mother is kept in close confinement in her hammock for nine days. On the sixth day a special bath, prepared by boiling orange leaves and Santa María, is given to secure the secretion of milk.

For three days the midwife gives massage to eliminate all uterine secretions or any particles of membranes or clots of blood which are not normally discharged. After each massage the mother sits upon a vessel of hot salt water—a partial sitz bath for cleanliness which also serves to extract any old blood which has not been eliminated naturally.

On the ninth day a second bath of orange leaves and Santa María is given. On the tenth day the mother dresses and may go about, even out of doors if it is a bright clear day. By no means may she step out of doors if the sky is the least bit cloudy. She will be stricken with halo-al (?), a severe pain in the head, with much fever. In the case of this malady a mixture of claudiastra, leaves of x-kan-lo, and orange leaves are boiled together and the patient is bathed with this. After the bath the mother is given another potion, made by toasting leaves of marjoram, Santa María, rosemary and lavender. These are ground on a metate and a teaspoonful of the powder is mixed in water sweetened with honey and heated—a jícara full. With this she can be cured.

The “night bird,” in one of its flights over the house, may drop one of his loose feathers on the roof, thus causing sudden death to the baby by admitting “evil winds of the water” to enter the body. This midwife takes special precaution against this bird. The father’s machete, hat and one sandal are placed under the hammock of the mother and the baby. Great care is taken to turn the sandal upside down. Also crosses of palmleaf are quite effective. Babies must sleep with their faces downward.

Stillbirth is believed to be caused by this bird, and a mother should sleep turned on her side with her face downward.

In cases of retarded birth of the placenta, the father removes his shirt and passes nine times under the hammock from the head-end, each time raising the mother up a bit with his back.

In case of delay in the birth of the baby the father wears his shirt inside out and passes nine times under the hammock from the side, raising his wife each time with his back. These practices are used when herbs fail, “and they are always effective.”

One of the standard mixtures for the delay of the placenta is to boil water in which a cinnamon stick, bark of pixoy and leaves of saffron are mixed.
This midwife never allows the mother to blow into a bottle or shell, "as it is very dangerous"; and she believes that a case of a woman suddenly dying, which she witnessed at one time, was caused by this violent blowing.

To bring the baby sooner she uses a brew of mint, pixoy and cinnamon, administered as a hot drink.

The father must remain in the room until the child is born "because he was the man who gave the woman the child."

Another remedy for delayed expulsion of the placenta is as follows: The husband urinates into a jícara, a live coal is put into it, and then it is given to the mother to drink.

If labor is longer than usual and the mother becomes exhausted the husband presses his mouth on top of her head and blows with his full strength to give force to her efforts.

This midwife has never had a case of hemorrhage and would not know a treatment for it. She believes that such maladies are caused by neglect of the midwife to care for her patient.

A narrow bandage is wrapped about the mother at the waist, and a little lower over the abdomen, not as a support to the pelvic organs, but to press into shape again the pelvic bones. This is kept on for eight days, and for a day or two more it is placed low over the hips to re-set the hip joints.

That the baby may be born sooner, rattles from a rattlesnake are tied on to the legs of the woman in labor.

Miss MacKay adds:

"I have consulted two other midwives, María Hoil of San Rigoberto, a very old lady, and Margarita Chi from Kaua. These women employ methods practically the same as those of the first and second informants."
INDIAN AND SPANISH ELEMENTS IN THE CHAN KOM CULTURE

Where elements of culture are definitely known from Europe, and where they are also not characteristic of American Indian cultures and are not reported for the ancient Maya, they are safely to be regarded as importations from Spain. Examples of such elements, encountered in the foregoing pages, are oranges, trousers, the seven-day week, and the notion of the Evil Eye.

Other traits are known not to characterize Sixteenth Century Europe, and are either actually reported for the ancient Maya by the first white invaders or else are known to be characteristic of other American Indian cultures. Many such elements may with assurance be regarded as indigenous to Yucatan. Among them are most of the agricultural techniques centering around maize, the idea of four cardinal directions associated with rain-, sky- and maize-deities, lightning, thunder and the cenotes, balche as a religious drink, and the preparation of ritual breads of maize and squash-seed in an earth-oven.

But in other cases traits of culture now found in Yucatan can not readily be assigned to the one historical source rather than the other, because both Europe and aboriginal America, in the Sixteenth Century, are known to have had customs like those found in Yucatan today. Shall we say that the patron santo of Chan Kom is the descendant of the local saints of the Mediterranean world, brought into the village by Spanish influence, or that it is merely a translation of a pagan patron god? Or that nine, as a ritual number, is Indian or Spanish in origin, in view of the fact that nine is known to have had important religious connotations among both ancient Maya and Sixteenth Century Catholics? We can not tell how much of Spanish influence and how much of Indian influence enter into the present-day usage and belief.

There are other traits of Twentieth Century Yucatan culture which do not lend themselves readily to this sort of historical analysis, but for a slightly different reason. There is doubtless a class of cases where the element was present neither in the Spanish culture of the early missionaries and conquerors, nor in the culture of the ancient Maya. Culture is forever undergoing changes. All culture contacts result in rebuilding, in redefinition of meanings. The contact of Spanish culture with Indian was not an addition of one and one to make two, but a fusion and complicated interaction resulting in a third thing, which was neither the one old thing nor the other. The notion of the alux, described in Chapter VII, is probably chiefly a development that has taken place since the Conquest. The suppression of the pagan religion and the destruction of the idols must have furnished the situation out of which arose this complex of practices and beliefs. It was not, of course, an idea held by the ancient Maya, and although there is an obvious parallel with European peasant beliefs in goblins and brownies, the Yucatecan alux may very well be a similar but independent development. Such developments have taken place continually. The writers of this report have been present (for example) when the people of Chan Kom heard first of vitamins, and then incorporated the idea into the folklore patterns already present—three little beings: "A" making blood, "B" making flesh, and "C" making bones.

When this sort of historical analysis becomes at all subtle, it results in the conclusion that no element of present-day culture is either Spanish or Indian, in the sense that nothing is just as it was in the early Sixteenth Century. The chaacs are different from the chaacs of the ancient Maya; the trousers the Chan Kom men wear today are not quite like any European trousers. When we say that an element of present-day culture
is "Indian," we mean only that it is the continuity of tradition with the ways of life current in Yucatan before the Spaniards came, rather than continuity with European tradition, that has brought it about that that element is present in Chan Kom today.

The culture of Yucatan today is an integrated and unified mode of life, that is neither the aboriginal Indian culture nor that of Spain, but a third thing. It is not the sum of Indian and Spanish elements, but a new development resulting from the contact of diverse cultures. Yet, in the sense indicated in the preceding paragraph, it may be asked: In just what respects is this Chan Kom culture "Indian," and in what, "Spanish"? But to answer the question requires a thorough knowledge of Indian cultures and of European, especially Spanish folk cultures, and invites a study of the documentary materials on the early colonial period in Yucatan. Without this knowledge and this study, the following short historical analysis of the culture is limited, beyond even the limitations I have stated to be inherent in the problem itself.

TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES (CHAP. III)

Drawings left us by the ancient Maya and the brief descriptions in Landa (Chapter XX) and elsewhere (Colección de documentos inéditos, second series, Vols. XI and XIII, cited by Genet, in his edition of Landa, page 144, note) indicate that the ancient house was substantially like that of the present time, except that there was then a longitudinal partition separating the front from the rear, and that the front was often open. Although in the ancient religious city-centers, buildings were grouped around courts, the scattered character of the houses in hinterland villages today and the known practices of the Spaniards in taking over an Indian community¹ show that the plaza in Chan Kom and the placing of the houses in regular rows along parallel streets are practices of European derivation. As the techniques of construction of the granary and of the fowl-house are similar to those employed in making the house, they may be included among the Indian elements, as also the caanche.

The essential elements of the kitchen—hearth of three stones, metate and handstone, griddle (though now of iron), clay pot, gourd and calabash—are generally characteristic of the Middle American Indian cultures. I do not know affirmative evidence for the pre-Columbian use in America of the banco, batea and table. These three articles bear only Spanish names in Chan Kom. The chuyub, as a more or less necessary concomitant of the round-bottomed gourd vessels, is presumably Indian. The pottery resembles generally, if not closely, shapes in use before the Spaniards came; but the botix is probably an olive jar from Spain. We know little about pre-Columbian Maya baskets; supposedly the present-day baskets are at least in part derived from Indian tradition. The wooden chocolate pots and beaters answer to early descriptions of Indian paraphernalia to prepare an Indian beverage, and the fire-drill, though now rarely used in Chan Kom, is certainly Indian. Of course the flint and steel, knives and metal lamps, are as European as the matches. The hammock is as certainly American in origin, but that it was introduced into Yucatan from the West Indies by the Spaniards, as has been supposed (Landa mentioning only a bed of poles), is doubted by Thompson, who gives good evidence (1930, pp. 93–95) to conclude that it was used in Yucatan before the Spaniards came.

Not merely the basic foodstuffs—maize, beans and chile—are Indian in origin, but many of the details of cookery, especially as regards maize, can be shown to be pre-Columbian, both because they are known from other Indian peoples and because they are described for the ancient Maya. The familiar Middle American method of preparing the maize is described by Landa (Chapter XXI) just as it is done today in Chan Kom, including the soaking over night in lime, the grinding on the metate, and the preparation

¹ Footnote, p. 37.
of pozol. The early sources mention often the mixing of cacao with corn (Landa, Chapter XXI), but this is not done in Chan Kom today, except in the ritual drink that was until recently employed as a part of the betrothal ceremony (p. 40). And pinole is made of a mixture of maize meal and pepper or other pungent flavors. Zaca is mentioned by that name, if not identified by detailed description, by Landa (Chapter XXXV) as an offering to the gods, as it is today. But the definition of zaca given in the Motul dictionary is confusing, for it identifies it with atole, and then says it is drunk cold in the morning; and Villagutierre (Book II, Chapter II), refers to zaca as made of cacao and maize. Atole, now a hot gruel of maize, and the tamales, could also be shown to be pre-Columbian, as is certainly the tortilla. The three techniques of cookery: boiling in a pot, toasting on a griddle, or baking or roasting in an earth-oven, are all described either for the ancient Maya, or for other Middle American peoples of the days before the Conquest. People never fry food—a European custom—in Chan Kom. Among the ancient Maya (Landa, Book I, Chapter XXI) the men ate separately from the women, which is true today in many situations, as it is also true today as then that they wash hands and rinse mouths after eating.

The men's costume of today has substituted trousers and shirt, which are European, for the loincloth-apron and shoulder-mantle of the ancients (Landa, Chapter XX). The hats are also probably European; they were being worn, of straw or felt, by the time of Cogolludo (Book I, page 301). But the sandals of today are probably derived from footwear of pre-Columbian Yucatan. By the middle of the Seventeenth Century, when Cogolludo wrote (Book I, page 301), women were wearing huipils of much the same form as those worn today, and similar skirts; but Landa's earlier account (Chapter XXXI) suggests a single, simple garment, perhaps fastened under the armpits. The floral and animal designs now embroidered on the huipils are often taken from printed patterns, and are probably European in source, but the strictly geometrical cross-stitch which used to be employed two or three generations ago may represent aboriginal design. The rebozo is a development of a Spanish woman's shawl (Nuñez y Dominguez). There is nothing in the present-day earrings in Chan Kom to suggest aboriginal jewelry, but it is notable that in Quintana Roo women prefer a gold earring with slender fringe-like pendants that resemble ancient Middle American goldwork.

There are few handicrafts in Chan Kom nowadays. As the use of henequen fiber goes back in Yucatan to times before the Conquest, it is likely that the simple techniques of preparation are Indian, as were certainly those of spinning and weaving.

Little in the contemporary culture is so surely to be identified with the Indian tradition as are the agricultural techniques. These are the roots of life; they have been in the soil for many centuries before the white man came. Landa says (Chapter XXIII): “Las tierras por aora es de comun, y así el que primero las occupa las possee. Siembran en muchas partes, por si una faltare supla la otra. En labrar la tierra, no hazen sino coger la vassura y quemarla para despuces sembrarla; y desde medio enero hasta abril labran, y entonces con las lluvias siembran, loquel hazen, trayendo un taleguillo a cuestas, y con un palo puntiagudo hazen agujero en tierra y ponen allí cinco o seis granos, lo qual con el mismo palo cubren. En lluiendo, espanto es como nace.” As far as it goes, this describes the procedure employed today, except that now the planting stick usually has an iron point. The Motul dictionary mentions the measuring of land by maceotes, but does not give the dimensions of this unit, although Landa (page 164) speaks of measuring land by square twenty “feet” to a side. The measures now used in Chan Kom conform with those in use by Spanish countryfolk, but as they are based on natural dimensions of the body, some of them may also have been used in America before the Conquest. The firing of the fields, and the bending over of the maize stalks when the ears have formed, are mentioned in the Chumayel manuscript, as cited in Chapter VII of this report; and there
is small doubt but that the survival of pre-Columbian procedures extends to such details as the slitting of the ears at harvest with a bone or antler knife and the manner of storing the ears, in their husks, vertically placed in granaries.

J. Eric Thompson (1930, Appendix II) has an excellent summary of native and imported plants, for the Maya of Central and Southern British Honduras. Those cultivated in Chan Kom which are native are maize, beans, squash, chile peppers, jicama, sweet potatoes, cassava, chaya, henequen, gourds (both Lagenaria and Cucurbita), tomatoes, custard apples, guavas, guanabanas, hog plums, chirimoyas, papayas, soursops, guayos and mameys. Those imported by the Spaniards are yams, sugar-cane, the castor-oil bush, watermelons, lentils, onions, coriander, cabbage, mint, balm-gentle, oranges, limes, grapefruit, bananas and pomegranates. I do not know if the variety of tobacco now cultivated by a few men in Chan Kom is a native to Yucatan, or from some other part of America. The peanut and the pineapple are both American plants, but the former probably and the latter possibly did not reach Yucatan until after the Conquest.

Cattle is of course a European introduction, and branding, breeding and gelding, as well as the techniques of harnessing and packing, came along with the animals. So too are hogs and chickens contributions from Europe, while turkeys are American and were domesticated before the Conquest.

Cooperative hunts are mentioned by Landa (Chapter XXIII), but hunting has been rendered more effective by the introduction of the gun and the carbide lamp.

The ancient Maya kept bees and housed them in the same sort of hollowed logs now employed (Ponce, p. 313, and references collected by Nordenskiöld, page 209). That the ancient Maya made use of honey as a sweetener is not open to doubt. That the Middle Americans also burned wax as an offering to the gods, as they burned rubber, copal and other substances, is also probable, although I do not know of conclusive proof. Thompson (1930, page 105) indicates his belief that the ancient Maya used candles as offerings, and (1933, pages 64 and 74) makes the same allegation for the ancient Aztecs. But Gomara (page 70) says that the Maya did not know how to make candles and were taught to do so by the Spaniards, and it is notable that the technique of candle-making employed today is entirely European, and that the emphasis upon wax for offeratory candles rather than another substance, and the distinction between black and yellow candles, which the Maya observe today, are both parts of standard Catholic practice.

ECONOMICS (Chap. IV)

We know very little about the economy of the ancient Maya, and therefore can make few safe comparisons with the situation nowadays. How large a surplus did an ancient village produce and export to pay for goods manufactured or produced in other villages? Was more or less needed than Chan Kom now needs to sell in order to buy factory-made textiles, soap, salt and gunpowder? Foodstuffs introduced by the Spaniards play a small part in the Chan Kom diet; nevertheless, the contribution made by hens, eggs and beef is not entirely negligible. And to what extent has buying power been increased by profit from cattle and poultry? Such questions as these must be answered before the man-land ratio computed in this chapter for Chan Kom can be made the basis of an estimate as to the amount of land necessary to support a given population in the Fifteenth Century. The agricultural techniques, as stated above, constitute a factor that is probably a constant.

The store in the town has apparently largely taken the place of the ancient market, and coined money, of course, has displaced primitive currencies. Old people in eastern Yucatan remember when cacao beans were still used as money, at least in making ritual payments. Such cacao money is not infrequently used today in parts of Guatemala.
APPENDIX E

The present customs with regard to the distribution of property at death (p. 62) may be compared with Landa's statement (Chapter XXIV) that the sons inherited the possessions of the father, and that if the daughters received anything it was only as a gift.

The modern law, in declaring the communal ownership of the agricultural lands (ejidos) no doubt recognizes an ancient conception of property; but the fundo legal, and the house-lots around the plaza assigned to settlers, correspond closely with Spanish usages (G. M. McBride).

THE DIVISION OF LABOR (CHAP. V)

The essential division of labor between the sexes that prevails in Chan Kom today accords closely with what we know to have been true for Middle American Indians before the Conquest; it has changed as little as the techniques of maintenance themselves. Bakers of wheat bread are men, as were such bakers among the Spaniards. The maestros cantores are men, and not women, partly because they are no doubt derived from the male assistants trained by the Catholic priests and partly because the aboriginal patterns require religious matters to be led by men. The h-men is of course a derivative of one or another of the various kinds of native priests of the lower orders mentioned by Landa (Chapter XXVII), and the existence of a marriage-intermediary among the ancient peoples is attested by the same authority (Chapter XXV).

The cooperative construction of houses, a custom now in disuse in Chan Kom, is probably a heritage from pre-Columbian days. In Chan Kom a system of work-exchange, whereby groups of men prepare the fields of each cooperating individual by turns, is not usual, as apparently it still is in southern British Honduras (Thompson 1930, 43) and as it was among the ancient Maya (Landa, Chapter XXIII). The custom of jagina bears a Spanish name and has early European parallels; it is easy, however, to think that it is also a survival of a system of contribution of part of the individual's time to public improvements which made possible the construction of the ancient sacred city-shrines. If the ancient Maya had to devote to his private affairs no more time than does the contemporary man of Chan Kom, he could spend one-third of his days working under the direction of the priests and master-artificers.

The complete extinction of the ancient calendar among these northern Maya contrasts with the survival of the tonalamatl in parts of Guatemala and Chiapas. The feasts of Chan Kom are fixed entirely by the Catholic calendar, and it is only speculation to assert that any one of these corresponds also with a seasonal fixed festival of ancient times. But the rain and harvest ceremonies that are in charge of the h-men are set with reference to no calendar, but only as need dictates. We can be sure that as the annual rhythm of life is still determined by the maize cycle, it must be much as it was in ancient days: the felling of bush, the critical period of the burning, the appearance of the rain-gods and the first rains, the sowing, the fears and prayers of the time of threatened drought, and the relaxation and rejoicing at harvest.

FAMILY, VILLAGE AND STATE (CHAP. VI)

So little is known of the kinship institutions of the ancient Maya that no comparison can be made with the situation at the present time. An analysis recently made (Eggan) of the kinship terms listed in the Motul Dictionary, indicates the likelihood that there once existed a system of cross cousin marriage, entirely unrepresented in Chan Kom today. Although some of the same kinship terms (zucuun, cic, idzin, chich, icham, atan, mahan, hah, aibil,ilib) are still in use, their application has changed in all cases where there was inconsistency between Maya and Spanish categories, so as to conform with Spanish usages.

1 Except that idzin, as applying either to younger brother or to younger sister, has no Spanish equivalent.
The terms and the accompanying attitudes and usages that now characterize Chan Kom are found also in the towns and cities of Yucatan, among Maya-speaking peoples (except, perhaps, the extended application of older brother and younger brother terms). The whole system appears to be European, rather than Indian.

Nevertheless, some of the marriage customs may be survivals from the Indian heritage. The disposition for the fathers to select husbands or wives for their children is at least in part Indian in origin (Landa, Chapter XXV); and so also the marriage-intermediary and the muhul (Landa, op. cit.; and Motul Dictionary, "muhul"). Haan-cab is also Indian: "quedava en casa del suegro el yerno, trabajando cinco o seis anos por el suegro." Landa also gives ancient parallels for the custom, remembered in Chan Kom, whereby fathers sometimes betrothed their children in infancy, and for the absence of all ceremony in remarriage of widows or widowers (op. cit.). The reluctance to marry cousins sounds like a result of Catholic instruction rather than of Indian influence, but the curious persistence of myths disapproving marriage with a deceased wife's sister, in the face of practice to the contrary, may be due either to Catholic influence or to ancient Maya practice (Landa, Chapter XXV). The godparent-compadre institution is characteristically Catholic, although one is in no position to assert that there is no contribution to the custom from Indian sources—possibly from sponsors at initiations. Nor can one say the extent to which aboriginal ideas of chieftainship still persist in the authority granted the comisario today; certainly all the formal governmental institutions are importations to the village from the city; and certainly the ancient secular and priestly government is, in all essential respects, extinct.

THE INVISIBLE WORLD (CHAP. VII)

The introductory remarks to this appendix mentioned the santo as an example of a present-day institution, in external appearance Catholic-European, which might nevertheless very well represent a continuity of attitude from aboriginal thinking with respect to the patron god of the community. The anomalous presence of saints' names in lists of rain-gods and deer-gods points to a definite substitution of Catholic saint for pagan deity. The question whether or not the veneration of the cross has a pre-Conquest aboriginal source, as well as a Christian origin, has been discussed without definite result; some are of the opinion that the fact that crosses in Yucatan are painted green indicates that the present cross is in part a translation of the "first tree of the world" of the ancient Maya, represented in ancient portrayal by cross-like images. Certainly the ritual formulas involving the cross are, in Chan Kom, characteristically Catholic.

The nature-deities are plainly Indian in origin; they do not suggest European analogies, and their close identity with rain, maize and the forest indicates strongly a survival of essential parts of the ancient Maya religion of the common man. This does not mean that we can safely reverse the process, and argue that what the present-day Maya do and think with respect to these deities and their rites, is also what the ancient Maya did and thought, for in four hundred years many changes have taken place—the rain-gods ride on horseback, for one thing.

The kuilob kaaxob can not be identified with any particular deities known to us from the ancient Maya, but it is likely that they represent terrestrial aspects of some ancient nature-gods, and correspond, for level Yucatan, with the mountain-valley deities found among the various Maya tribes farther south (Thompson 1930, pages 57 to 61). Nor can we say from what ancient concept of divinity have been derived the balams; the name ("jaguar") is variously met with in sources as to the ancient Maya, but not as the name of a class of gods. Genet (footnote 232) identifies them with the old bacabs, supporters of
The balams, as known in Chan Kom, are characteristic of the Maya of Yucatan (see also Mendez, 169) and of Quintana Roo (Basauri, 24), but not of those of Central and Southern British Honduras. The chaacs had the same name and similar attributes in pre-Columbian times. Landa refers to them as "the gods of the milpas" (Chapter XL) and as "the gods of the breads" (XL, under "Mac"), and describes offerings made to them. Cogolludo says (Book I, page 317) "Otros decian que fue gigante, llamado Chac, inventor de la agricultura, y por eso le adoraban. Tenianle por Dios de los panes, truenos y relampagos." The Motul dictionary also indicates the identification of the chaacs with the rain, thunder and lightning: "Chaac fue un hombre asi grande que enseño la agricultura al cual tuvieron después por Dios de los panes, del agua, de los truenos y relampagos."

Genet (footnote 23:1) regards the ancient pahuatuns as distinct from both chaacs and the bacabs, declaring that each group of four pertained to one of the three superimposed, four-cornered layers which composed the universe of the ancient Maya: the pahuatuns dwelt in the nether regions and supported the earth; the bacabs stood upon the earth and supported the sky; and the chaacs pertained to the heavens themselves. No confirmation for this view can be derived from the ideas held in Chan Kom today. But the conception of the four world-quarters, the references in the prayers to the colors red, white, yellow and black in connection with these four, and the idea of groups of four deities, each one protecting one corner or one direction, are all plainly old Maya elements that have survived (see note by Genet, already cited). The emphasis upon the east as the most important of the four world-directions, and the idea that there the gods are resident, are also probably old indigenous ideas, because they are deeply interrelated with these other ideas, which are certainly Indian, and also because the Lacandones have the same conceptions (Tozzer, pp. 94–96). The conception of the village as similarly oriented and the custom of marking each of the four quarters (entrances) of the village with two heaps of stones is expressly reported for the ancient Maya by Landa (Chapter XXV): "Uso era en todos los pueblos de Yucatan tener hechos dos montones de piedra, uno en frente de otro, á la entrada del pueblo, por todas las quatro partes del pueblo, es a saber a oriente, poniente, septentrio y medio día."

The gods of the bees are also plainly native survivals, but although Landa tells us (Chapter XL, under "Mol") that the bee-keepers celebrated their own fiesta, and briefly describes the ceremony they made at this time, we are given no account of the ancient bee-deities with which to compare the ideas of the present day. The zip, supernatural guardians of the deer, are apparently unreported from elsewhere in the Maya area today, but Landa (Chapter XL, under "Zip") testifies to the existence of similar deities in ancient times. In the Maya month named Zip the hunters made offerings before an idol, invoking the gods of the chase, Acanum, Zuhuyzib ("Virgin Zip") and Zipitabai.

Nothing presents itself to explain why a guardian of the cattle should be called "John Termite" (p. 118). The personification of certain winds, and the making of offerings to them at the time of burning the milpas, is to be ascribed to the influence of the ancient Maya tradition, on general considerations. The alux, as has already been suggested, probably represent an idea developed after the suppression of most of the ancient religion by the Spaniards, and the survival of general notions of awesomeness and uncanniness in respect to the old clay images, no longer made anew (Brinton). The Motul dictionary (ah lox katob, ydolatras) indicates that the concept was already present by the end of the Sixteenth Century. The idea is general in Yucatan and Quintana Roo (Mendez, 169; Basauri, 24; Gann, 1924, 38). I do not know if the x-tabai is derived from Indian or European tradition.

1 "Figian otro DiOMI, qui 1111hnabu el cielo. qUI atrib1b. 1n cllou 1111 nombru eran Z.C.I Daub. C.nll Bacab, Chacal Daub. r E.bl Bacab, Y •toa dlcian, que van tambiu ~de loa Yiantoa." Cotolludo, Boolr.l, p. 311. See also Landa, Chapter XXXIV.
The rituals described in this chapter are addressed to deities chiefly Indian in historic origin and are in various of their details demonstrably derived from pre-Conquest customs. But no entire ceremony corresponds with any described by Landa; nor should we expect it to, for very soon after their arrival the Spaniards must largely have eliminated such elements as blood-offering and the re-making of the wooden idols, as form so large a part of Landa's descriptions. We can only point out particular ritual elements in the customs of today that are more or less clearly native.

The idea that offerings should be made at four-year intervals accords with what we know of the practices of the ancient Maya, and the foods and drinks that are offered are certainly survivals. Zaca is mentioned more than once in Landa (Chapter XXXV), and balche is clearly described (Chapter XXII). Fowl (originally turkeys only) are also frequently referred to as offerings; they were apparently decapitated (Landa, Chapter XXXVI). Offerings of maize breads are mentioned many times, but not described in detail; but they must have been much like the tuti-uhah of the present time; one reference, among others, is to a "corazon de pan, y otro pan con pepitas de calabazas" (Chapter XXXV).

The idea of "hot" and "cold" will be discussed in connection with Chapter X. The notion of ritual purity expressed in the word "zuhuy" is almost surely an old Maya idea, especially as it is obviously related to continence in connection with religious rites, a practice abundantly attested for the ancient Maya, as for other Indians. Landa (Chapter XXXVI) mentions the offering of a "virgin dog," and he also tells us (Chapter XL) that in the month Uo the fishermen and hunters performed a ceremony requiring "virgin water," drawn in the bush from a place where no woman had been—just as is done in the rain ceremony in Chan Kom today. The use of fresh cloths and gourd vessels in certain of the present-day rituals has its general parallel likewise in the ancient rites wherein the ritual objects were "renewed."

The weather prediction known as xoc kin is widespread in the Maya area. The description given by Santiago Pacheco Cruz corresponds exactly to what is here described for Chan Kom, except that there is a slight difference in the names applied to the four counts. Starr (pp. 21-22) reports for Yucatan the first two counts of this same xoc kin, and adds simply that "the portions of the day give the prediction for the part of the month corresponding to them in position." The first two counts are also reported for the Maya of the Chetumal Bay region (Manuel Rejon García). The identical system is described from San Antonio, Southern British Honduras (J. Eric Thompson, 1930, 5-11). It is doubtful that the xoc kin is an aboriginal Maya institution, as it is found outside of the Maya area, and in places where Indian heritage is small. Thus it occurs in Santo Domingo (R. Emilio Jiménez). (This information was given by Dr. Manuel Andrade.) The local name in Santo Domingo (as in parts of Yucatan) is cabañuelas, and again it is only the first two series of twelve days each that are mentioned. The system is also found, as Mr. Charles A. Thomson reports from personal experience, in Costa Rica, under the names pintas. Here the two methods reported differ somewhat from the system prevalent among the Maya. (See Calvert, 347-348.) And the pintas are also employed in Venezuela (Gagini). Landa's statement (Chapter XL, under "Uo") that in Uo, the second month of the year, certain of the priests opened their sacred books and announced the "prognósticos de aquel año," is not enough to show that the xoc kin is an indigenous custom.

Other special features of the ceremonies can be related safely to indigenous tradition. The preparation of altars, with each offering placed in its own proper position, the whole directed toward the east, is such an Indian element, for it accords with practices of other Indians, and corresponds closely with the arrangement of the sacred hut among the Lacan-
dones (Tozzer, p. 112). We can also regard the invocation of the gods to the feast as aboriginal, the disposition to exclude women from the ceremonies, and the impersonation of deities at the cha-chaac. The four “Chacs” appointed to hold the sacrificed fowl are without any question derivatives of native tradition, for every year the ancient Maya appointed four lay priests of this name (Landa, Chapter XXVII); and the principal rôle of these men was to hold the sacrificed victim, by his arms and legs, on the sacrificial stone (Landa, Chapter XXVII). But the special home of balche, covered with a cross, marked with a cross, the elevation of this vessel and the solemn partaking of its contents, suggest strongly the chalice, the removing of the chalice-veil, and the act of communion, of the Catholic mass.

Although Landa briefly describes ceremonies offered by the ancient Maya to the chaac (rain- and maize-gods) (see, for example, Chapter XL, under “Mac”), none of these can be identified with present-day ceremonies. One suspects that there existed even in ancient times popular rituals performed in or near the milpas over which the priests exercised little control, and which are not clearly reported in Landa.

The u hanli col is briefly described by Tozzer (p. 160-161). Thompson (1930, 117-118) described a first fruit ceremony for the Cayo district of British Honduras with many similar elements. The cha-chaac, with the mimetic features which distinguish it, is apparently the same in Quintana Roo (Basauri), and a mention made by Thompson (1930, p. 150) indicates that it is also present in northern British Honduras. But a ceremony which Gann (p. 42-48) describes from Quintana Roo does not contain these mimetic elements, has nothing in it to suggest a prayer for rain, was performed by a single family (under the direction of the h-men), and suggests the u hanli col of Yucatan, rather than the cha-chaac.

For the bee-ceremonies, also, we lack specific bases for comparison with ancient customs. Although the Catholic church has a ritual blessing of houses, the new house ceremony remembered in Chan Kom is probably aboriginal in origin. Cogolludo says (p. 295): “Cuando hacen casas nuevas, que es de diez a doce años, no entran en ellas, ni las habitan, hasta que venga el viejo hechicero de una legua, y dos, y tres, a bendecirla con sus torpes ensalmos, lo cual (dice) of decir: pésame de no haberlo averiguado.” And in some Yucatecan towns, both new-house ceremonies—of h-men and of priest—are known and distinguished.

NOVENA AND VILLAGE FIESTA (CHAP. IX)

Although the present-day Maya have adjusted the functions of the Catholic novena and rez0 to their needs and interests, these prayers are in form, of course, entirely European. The fiesta of the patron saint can not be satisfactorily analyzed historically without a good knowledge of European folk festivals and of the history of Indian-Spanish contacts in Middle America. Some of the elements are likely to be Indian in origin. The enramada, the bower or corridor of leaves, may be one of these, but there are Spanish parallels. The bulls and the fireworks were of course introduced by the Spaniards. The jarana is one of the many derivatives of the Spanish dances of the jota type, but it is easy to assert that the custom of dancing before the santo was already familiar to a people used to dancing before their idols. The “cuch” element—the perpetual festal organization depending upon the ceremonial delivery of something from one votary or pledger to his successor—is widespread in contemporary Middle America; whether these features are characteristic of the Spanish Catholic cofradas I do not know. The dance with the pig’s head has, also, historical roots that are unknown to me; related customs extend at least to central British Honduras (Gann, 1925, p. 48; Thompson, 1930, p. 113). The planting of a pole or tree is a ritual element with both Indian and European parallels; that a ceiba is selected suggests at least some native Maya origins. The occurrence in the fiesta of a pisote, either actually,
as in Atitlan, Guatemala (Lothrop), or in impersonation (Thompson, 1930, p. 113, and my own notes from Dzitas, Yucatan), is suggested by Thompson (op. cit.), as a connection with pre-Columbian custom, in view of the fact that Gucumatz, the Quiche equivalent of Kukulcan, was called *pisolt*. The *ramillete* has Spanish parallels (*Folklore y Costumbres de España*, t. II, p. 31). For the customs of *dza akab* and *hadz pach*, I have no comparable data. *Dza akab* conforms to the widespread Indian custom of vigil and continence before ceremonial games.

**SICKNESS AND ITS CURE (Chap. X)**

Whether the distinction between "hot" and "cold," with respect to foods, medicines, plants, persons and lands, goes back to Indian or to Spanish antecedents—or to both—could probably be answered by a marshalling of more facts than I can command. The extension of this idea into the ceremonies performed by the *h*-men to the *yuntzilob* suggests that the idea is an old one in Yucatan. But this does not mean that it is necessarily Indian in origin. It is noteworthy that the idea—at least as regards medicines and foods—is quite as well developed in the towns and the capital city of Yucatan as in the remote villages (personal notes; and information supplied by Dr. A. T. Hansen), and is also found in very similar form among Costa Rican people who are apparently without Indian heritage (correspondence with Mr. Charles A. Thomson). Yet the idea may have existed in Yucatan before the Conquest; a document written in 1579 by Martin de Palomar and Gaspar Antonio Xiu says with reference to the medicinal herbs of the Indians that "Preguntandoles razon de su propiedad no saben dar otra mas de ser fria o caliente" (Relaciones de Yucatan, Vol. I, p. 62). (Information supplied by R. L. Roys.)

The concept of evil winds as instruments of disease is widespread in Mexico. In Yucatan, at least, the idea is best developed in the more remote villages; this suggests an Indian origin, especially as the diagnosis and naming of these winds forms a part of the special knowledge of the *h*-men. The Spanish and Cuban peasants commonly attribute disease and mischief to "wind" or to "the air" (*Folklore y Costumbres de España*, t. I, p. 280), but they apparently do not recognize many individual and personified evil winds. Whether the ancient Maya did so is not clear. We meet nothing on the subject in Landa.

In the Yucatecan medical documents of the Eighteenth Century, translated by Roys, we meet with diseases under the names of winds: *Hadz mo ik tu uich uinic* ("Blow from parrot wind in a man's eye"); *ceh ik* ("deer wind"); *yaax moo ik* ("green parrot wind"). (Roys, pp. 98, 206, 210).

We can only guess what these words meant to the writers; and there is the further possibility that the idea was introduced into the medical lore after the Conquest. The medical manuscripts contain not a few elements that are plainly of European derivation. There is some indication that the ancient Aztecs thought of disease as brought by rain and wind-spirits (Sahagun, Book I, Chapter I, p. 45), and Kukulcan, as wind-god, was for the ancient Maya a god of fever (Seler, I, 669, quoting Hernandez).

Both by reason of its name and by reason of the peculiar complex of ideas which made it up, *ojo* is to be identified with the Evil Eye of the Old World. The absence of the notion in aboriginal America has been a matter of comment. But the ideas of danger in connection with menstruating women, and even those which ascribe perilous qualities to persons in other abnormal physical states—fatigue or intoxication—may go back to Indian origins.

The *tzitz-moo-tancaz* is probably derived from native tradition. *Tzitz-moo-ik* is mentioned in a manuscript (*Chilam Balam de Nah*) in the Tulane collection (Roys, p. 207), and in the *Chilam Balam* of Kaua. A similar idea is recognized by the Tarahumara (Wendell Bennett, Ms.). The use of blue coloring to protect children or other persons from this and other dangers suggests very strongly the sacred blue paint or dye
used by the ancient Maya in many religious or magical situations (see, for example, Landa, Chapter XXVII).

Although the crystal (zaztun) as an instrument of divination is known to us from both the New and the Old World, its use in Yucatan today doubtless goes back to aboriginal Maya practices. Other Indian peoples used it, but it is not mentioned in Landa, and the Lacandones use other methods of divination. Divination with grains of maize is almost surely a native custom. It is mentioned by Cogolludo (p. 296) and by Aguilar (206); and maize-divination, somewhat different in character, was practiced by the ancient Aztecs.

Both Indian and European elements have contributed to the herbal medicine of Chan Kom (Roye). Massage, bleeding and cupping were certainly known to the Spaniards, but they were also probably used by the ancient Maya. Bloodletting as a remedy for sickness is mentioned by Landa (Chapter XXVII). One can not say whether the loh and santiguar ceremonies¹ are chiefly Indian or Spanish in origin. The ancient Maya had a ritual (Landa, Chapter XXVI) wherein maize, copal and balche were cast on a brazier and the whole carried out of doors and thrown away by a man who might not then look behind him; "y con esto dezian quedava el demonio echado." But such magical acts are familiar from Old World folklore, and the Catholic Church itself recognizes exorcistic rites, at baptism as did the ancient Maya, to free the child from evil spirits. The performance of ceremonies at the four entrances of the village has ancient parallels (Landa, Chapter XXXV). I do not know which of the elements that make up the amulets used in Chan Kom are Indian in origin.

It will be equally difficult to untangle the historic skeins that have gone to make up the web of beliefs and practices having to do with witchcraft. In the account of witchcraft in Chan Kom we apparently recognize the werewolves, ghouls and incubi and succubi of European folklore. The preventive use of salt is also familiar from Europe; indeed, the Church puts salt in the mouth of a baptized child to protect it from corruption. On the other hand there are some indications of prehispanic witchcraft in Yucatan. Landa (Chapter XXVII) refers to the hechiceros of the Maya of his time, although this is natural in a missionary. It is plain that in the early part of the Sixteenth Century there was practiced in Yucatan a witchcraft resembling that of today, including the important use of love-charms (Aguilar, 207; Cogolludo, p. 296; see also the words in the Motul dictionary beginning with ah pul and pul). The references collected by Brinton (1894) to support his view of the existence of a widespread diabolic cult ("nahualism") in Middle America indicate the belief in witches that transformed themselves into animals by the beginning of the Seventeenth Century; but the earlier references suggest only the practice, apart from sorcery, of identifying each individual with some guardian animal—often the day-sign, according to the tonalamatl, of the day on which each was born. Yet the Motul (under ah uay chamac and uayinabal) indicates the presence in the last part of the Sixteenth Century of a belief in witches transforming themselves into animals.

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH (CHAP. XI)

So little is known about the birth-customs of the ancient Maya that direct comparison with the present-day practices is not possible. In Sahagun's account of such customs among the Aztecs there is very little that corresponds with the Chan Kom practices. The custom of taking the baptismal name from the name of a saint appropriate to that day in the Catholic calendar may have become established because, perhaps, the ancient Maya gave the child its first name from the name of the day (in the tonalamatl) on which it was born. We know, at least, that the ancient Aztecs had this practice (Sahagun).

¹ Similar therapeutic ceremonies are described for British Honduras by Thompson (1930, p. 70-74).
Although the ancient Maya had a ceremony called "rebirth," which the Spaniards identified with their baptism (Landa, Chapter XXVI; Cogolludo, p. 307), this ceremony took place when the child was about twelve years old, and the present-day ceremony is in every aspect Christian. The formal asking-for-the-godfather, like the formal requests made in arranging marriages, resemble in their general form and spirit analogous practices among the ancient Aztecs. Especially did the Aztecs make use of long, formal charges or admonishments at the "rites of passage" (Sahagun; Las Casas). This is at least some grounds for thinking that the ancient Maya did so too. I know nothing as to the origins of the tsicil ceremony.

We know (Landa, Chapter XX) that the ancient Maya carried their babies on their hips, as do the present people. The ceremony of hetzmek, when the child is first placed in this position is probably of Indian origin, because the Aztecs had a similar custom whereby they placed in the child's hands implements which, according to its sex, the child would use in adult life (Sahagun, Book II, Sect. 16).

As already indicated, Landa (Chapter XXV) tells us that in ancient days, as now, parents arranged marriages for their children through intermediaries. The four successive nocturnal visits to ask for the girl's hand correspond with ancient Aztec practice (Sahagun, Book II, Sec. 16; Las Casas) and is therefore also probably Indian in origin. The existence of the muhul is also indicated by Landa ("los padres ... concertavan las aras y dote, lo qual era muy poco, y davalo el padre del moço al consuegro" (see also under "muhul," Motul dictionary).

The practices and ideas involved in death and burial appear to be almost entirely European in derivation. None of the features mentioned by Landa (Chapter XXXIII) is present in the customs of Chan Kom, although in Quintana Roo they still bury the dead in or near the houses, as Landa says was anciently the case. When Landa says of the ancient Maya notions of the future life, that it "se dividia en buena y mala vida, en penosa y llena de descansos. La mala y penosa dezian era para los viziosos, y la buena y delectable para los que uviessen vividos bien en su manera de vivir ..." we are presented with a parallel so close to Christian ideas and so different from Aztec and Indian thinking generally, that we suspect the correctness of his report. At any rate, if the ancient Maya had this idea, as did the Catholics, there is no telling from which source spring the beliefs of the present time; nor can we tell whether metnal is Indian or Spanish in origin if it be true, as Landa says, that in metnal the wicked souls were "atormentados de los demonios."

I can say nothing as to the derivation of the ideas of reincarnation held by the people of Chan Kom.

THE MEANING OF NATURE (chap. XII)

To the present-day cosmogony the Christians have contributed heaven with its pearly gates and its angels; but the quadrilateral world and skies with the rain-gods that have their seat in the east are certainly Indian. One wonders whether the cenotes were anciently regarded not merely as associated with the rain-gods, but as the mouths of hell, or whether the double connotation that they now have is a development since the Conquest. The planting of crops according to the phases of the moon has familiar European parallels. The name of the Milky Way ("white road"), that of the Pleiades ("rattlesnake's rattles") and that of the stars in Gemini ("tortoise") are apparently all aboriginal (Landa, Book II, and Motul Dictionary, under "ac" and "tzab"). That the early Maya regarded the eclipse as a critical moment, and beat on tables and doors to drive away the ants who were eating the sun or moon, is attested by Cogolludo (Book I, p. 295); and the idea of the domestic utensils revolting against their masters is a widespread aboriginal American idea (Krickeberg, 386); it occurs in the Popul Vuh. It would take extensive consideration of folklore materials, as well as some temerity, to separate Indian from
European elements in the ideas held in Chan Kom with regard to the symbolism and behavior of plants and animals. As in so many other of the topics mentioned in this appendix, one would encounter many parallels between European and Indian beliefs. Both Indian and European, for example, read omens in the movements of birds and animals (Cogolludo, p. 294).

R. R.

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GLOSSARY OF MAYA AND SPANISH PLANT AND ANIMAL NAMES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

With few exceptions, these identifications are taken from the lists given in The Ethnobotany of the Maya, by Ralph L. Roys, Tulane University of Louisiana, Middle American Research Series, Publication No. 2 (1931). As plant and animal names are very uniform in Yucatan, the identifications are probably correct in nearly all cases. A few of the plants here listed were submitted to Field Museum of Natural History, where Dr. Paul C. Standley kindly identified them.

Roys' lists are derived from the botanical works of Standley, Gaumer, Mills-paugh and others, and from the zoological works of Tozzer and Allen, Gaumer and Goldman, aided by references in Maya manuscripts and dictionaries.

The names are here given in alphabetic order, according to the letters of the English alphabet, and disregarding the facts that in both Maya and Spanish listings it is common to treat as a single letter two letters that represent a single sound, that the glottalized and unglottalized forms of Maya consonants are really two different sounds, and that the “x” prefix may or may not be pronounced in front of many Maya plant and animal names. All names are set down here in the forms in which they appear in the text. The words cheleem, chioh, choy, becki, chuy, and hooch should be written with a barred “h”; i.e., the consonant represented by “ch” is glottalized. The character “h” is not available in the small capitals in which the following lists are printed.

FLORA

**ABAL**—*Spondias* sp. A generic name for native plums.

**ACHIYOTE** (sp.)—*Bixa orellana* L. The annatto.

**ANICAB**—*Cydistia aquinocitialis* (L.) Miers.

**BALCHE**—*Lonchocarpus longistylus* Pittier.

**BOB**—*Coccoloba schiedeana* Lindau.

**BOHOM**—Unidentified. Same as bom, *Sabal* sp?

**BUUL**—*Phaseolus vulgaris* L. The kidney-bean.

**CATZIM**—*Prosopis chilensis* (Molina) Stuntz(?)

**CHACAH**—*Bursera simaruba* (L.) Sarg. Gumbo-Limbo.

**CHAC-MOLON-CHE**—Same as chac-mol-che, *Erythrina americana* Mill(?)

**CHACTE**—Standley’s identification is *Casalpinia platyloba* S. Wats., described as a shrub or small tree 6 to 20 feet high, bearing flowers. The chacte referred to in our notes supplies the chief beam for house-building.

**CHACTE-COC**—*Casalpinia* sp. (?)

**CHAC-ZICIN**—Same as chac zincin, *Casalpinia pulcherrima* (L.) Swartz?

**CHAY**—*Jatropha aconitifolia* Mill. Chaya.

**CHAYOTE** (Sp.)—*Sechium edule* Schwartz.
APPENDIX F

CHELEEM (or cheleem-ci)—Agave ixtli Karw.
CHICAM (or xicam)—Pachyrhizus erosus (L.) Urban. Jicama. Yam bean.
CHICMUL—Unidentified. Same as chac-mol, Gomphrena globosa L?
CHINTOC—Probably Krugiodendron ferreum (Vahl) Urban.
CHOM—Indigofera anil L. Indigo.
CHOY—Unidentified.
Cl—Agave sp. A general term for agave, including henequen.
CEIBA (Sp.) (Maya, Kuy-che).—The silk-cotton tree, and other members of the genera Ceiba, Pachira and Bombax.
CUNCHE—Unidentified.
DZIN—Manihot esculenta Crantz. The manioc or cassava.
DZUDZUC—Diphyca robinoides Benth. or D. carthaginensis Jacq. (Standl.).
ELEMUY—Guatteria Gaumeri, Greenm.
EPAZOTE (Sp.)—Chenopodium sp.
HAAS—Musa sapientum L. The banana.
HABIN—Ichthyomethia communis Blake, or Piscidia erythrina L.
HALAL-CHE—Podianthus nodiflorus Mills sp. (or else same as halal.)
HOL—Hibiscus subiflorus DC, or H. clypeatus L.
HOMA—Probably a variety of Lagenaria siceraria (Molina) Standl. The gourd.
HUNCHICH—Unidentified.
IC—Capsicum annuum L. Chile pepper.
ICICHE—Roys says Maya texts give ic-che as a synonym for ixim-che, which is Casearia nitida (L.) Jacq. (?)
IXIM—Zea mays L. Maize.
IXIMCHE—Casearia nitida (L.) Jacq. (?)
IZ—Ipomea batatas L. Sweet potato or camote.
JICAMA (Sp.)—See Xicam.
KANPOKOLCHE—Duranta plumieri Jacq., Machaonia lindeniana Baill?
KAX—Randia trunciata Greenm., & Thompson or R. xalapensis Mart. & Gal.
KAXAYYUC—An unidentified vine.
KULINCHE—Astronomium graveolens Jacq., Palo mulado.
KUM—Cucurbita moschata Duch. Calabaza (winter crookneck squash).
KUTZ—Nicotiana tabacum L. Tobacco.
LEC—Probably Lagenaria siceraria (Molina) Standl. The gourd.
LUCH—Crescentia cujete L. The calabash.
MACAL—Dioscorea alata L. The yam.
MULOCH—Triumfetta remiriloba L. and T. dumetorum Schlecht.
NICTE—Plumeria sp.—Frangipani.
OP—Chac op is Annona colorada L. Yaax op is Annona reticulata. The custard apple.
OXCITINCHE—Unidentified.
OXOL—Unidentified.
PAKAL—A generic name for orange. Chuhuc pakal is the sweet orange.
PAYLUC—Coutarea acamictlada Robins. & Millsp.
PICI—Psidium guajava L. The guava.
PIXOF—Guazuma ulmifolia Lam.
POMOLCHE—Jatropha gaumeri Greenm. Piñon.
PAX—Annona cherimola Mill, the cherimoya, and A. muricata, the guanabana.
PUC AK—Notoptera leptocephala Blake.
PUT—Carica papaya L. The papaya.
SUCURBIC—Unidentified Chile pepper.
TAMAN-CAN—Unidentified. The Motul gives, "ix tamam can. Yerba acedera, o casi ella."
TANAM—Gossypium sp. Cotton.
TANCACHE—Zanthoxylum fagara (L.) Sarg. Prickly ash.
TEMPORA—(Sp.) Unidentified.
TEZ-ABANICO—ROYS says that "tez" (from "tezcuntah," the term of respectful salutation) is a generic word for *Amaranthus*, "but is probably applied chiefly to *A. dubius* Mart. and *A. annectens* Blake." *Abanico* is Spanish for "fan."
TZAH—*Jatropha aconitifolia* Mill. A variety of chay.
TZALAM—Lysiloma bahamensis Benth., or *L. latissilicu* L.
TZAMA—An unidentified bean.
TZUTZUC—Diphyus carthagenensis Jacq.
TZUTZULPOX—Annona sp.
UACHE—Unidentified.
UAXIN—*Leucena glauca* (L.)
UAYAM—Talisia oliefera (H. B. K.) Radlk.
XAAN—Sabal japa Wright. The guano palm.
X-HOLOM-XAL—Tillandisia streptophylla Scheidw.
X-KAKALTUN—Ocimum micranthum Willd.
XIAIT (or *X-yat*)—Chamaedorea graminifolia Wendl.
X-KAN-LOL—Tecoma stans (L.) H. B. K. Yellow elder.
X-MABCHE—Unidentified.
XUL—Unidentified.
YAXCHE—Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gaertn., or *C. casearia* Medic. Silk-cotton tree.
YAXX-EK—Lysiloma sabicu Benth.
YAXXIC—*Vitex guameri* Greenm.
YINCHE—Unidentified.
YUMTZUYTZUY—Unidentified.
ZAC-CUY ZILCHE—Standley lists Zac-kuy-che as *Bombax ellipticum* H. B. K. "A large tree with large white flowers."
ZIPCHE—Bunchosia glandulosa (Cav.) DC.
ZIT—Lasiacis diminuicata (L.) Hitchc.
ZIZEC—Vanilla fragrans (Salisb.) Ames. The vanilla.
ZUPIUTH—Unidentified. (Perhaps zutup was meant: *Ipomaa bona-nox*, L. The moon-flower vine.)

**FAUNA**

AC—Turtle or tortoise.
AKAB DZUNUUN—"Night hummer." Unidentified insect.
BA—Heterogeomys torridus Merriam, or *Orthogeomys scalops* Thomas.
BAACEN-CHULUL—Unidentified bird.
BACH—Orthalis vetula pallidiventris Ridgway.
BECH—Euphasytorx nigrograrius Gould.
CEH—Odocoileus toleucus Saussure.
CHAY-I-KAN—Unidentified snake.
CHAPAT—Centipede?
CHIBILUB—Unidentified bird.
CHIC—*Nasua narica yucatanica* Allen. *Pisote.*
CHUC-MUC—Unidentified insect.
CUC-TZIMIN—Unidentified bird.
CHUCUCIB—Unidentified bird.
CITAM—Pecari angulatus yucatanensis Merriam. Collared peccary.
COLELCAB—Melipona fulvipes Quer.
COK—Dactylorhiz thoracicus Sharper.
CUTZ—Agriocharis ocellata Cuvier. Ocellated turkey.
CUUC—Seirus yucatanensis Allen. Squirrel.
CHUY—"The kite."
EHOL—Trigona braueri Fr.
HALB—Dasyprocta punctata yucatana Goldman.
HOEH—Gaumer has identified this as Marmosa gaumeri Osgood.
HOOC—Roys: "A long-bodied ash-colored ant found in old tree-trunks."
HOONOB—Unidentified snake.
KAMBUL—Crax globiceps. Curassow.
KANTZAC—Trigona jaty Sm.
MAZ—Cricket?
MUCUY—General term for dove.
NOH—Crypturus salai goldmani Nelson.
ONOM—Unidentified snake.
PUHUY—Nyctidromus albicollis yucatanensis Nelson.
TZUB—Dasyprocta punctata yucatanica Goldman.
TZYTYZUV—Leptotila fulviaentris Lawrence.
XIK—Unidentified bee or wasp.
X-CUCUCIB—Columba flavirostris Wagler.
X-KOL—Unidentified bird.
X-MAHAN-NAI—An unidentified butterfly.
X-KUC—Unidentified bird.
YA—Either Myiarchus yucatanensis Lawrence or Platypsa risaglaia Lafresnaye.
YAK KABLAI—Unidentified snake.
YAXICH—Unidentified bee.
YUYUM—Icterus mesomelas mesomelas Wagler.
ZAC PACAL—Melopoda leucoptera L.
ZADZ—Unidentified worm or grub.
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