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TRADITIONS OF GuATEMALA



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FATE IN THE POPULAR FOLKTALES OF GUATEMALA

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1. The Woodcutter

"One day a poor man was cutting down a rotten tree at a riverbank, and the axe was loose; then with five strokes of the axe, the axe fell into the river and the man started crying.

- Oh, I've already lost my axe,
- Then, an old man was passing by and asked him:
- Why are you crying, son? - he says.
- Because I dropped the axe in the river.
- Don't cry, I'll get it out of you,

Then, he took off his clothes and jumped into the river. First, he took out one made of gold.
and told him:

- Is this the one?
- No.
- Then, he took out one made of bronze:
- Is this the one?
- No.

He took out one made of silver.

- Is this the one? - he asked him:
- No.

Then, he took out one made of iron and told him:

- Is this the one?
- "Yes," he said to him.

He came out of the water and said:

- Keep this axe, in a locked chest for seven days,
and after those seven days, open it.

Then the old man left and the man went to his house and locked up the axe; after seven days, he opened it and gushes of money came out. But there was a rich man who was very envious of the great find that the poor man had made, so, he loosened his axe too and went to the river. Before he had asked the poor man where he had gotten so much

money and the poor man told him that, he obtained it when.... he kept his axe in a chest, for seven days with a key that had been given to him from an old man.

Then the man loosened his as well and went to cut the same tree; after three strokes of the axe, it also fell into the river. And the same old man was passing by and asked him too:

- Why are you crying, miijo?
- Because my axe has fallen into the river - said the rich man

Then he told him

- Don't worry, I'll get it out for you.

Then, he took off his clothes and jumped into the river. First, he took out one made of silver and told him:

- Is this the one? - he asked him:

"No," he told him.

he took out one made of bronze.

- Is this the one? - he asked him.

"No," he told him.

Then he took out one made of iron

- Is this the one? - he asked him: .

"No," he told him.

And then again, he took out one made of gold

- Is this the one? - he asked him: .

- "Yes," he said to him.

When he got out of the water, he said:

-Keep this axe for seven days in a locked chest, and after seven days, open it.

Then the rich man ran away and locked it up. After seven days, he opened it and a bunch of wasps came out and stung him everywhere. It was there where the rich man's ambition ended.' (Inf, 1)

2. The piece of lead

"There were two friends, and one of them was rich and the other was poor. and had a family who only lived off his job. Then one day (the rich man) saw him, and told him he wanted to help him. He owns a bakery and several businesses, so he told him to come every day to get a loaf of bread. But another friend also came to get a loaf too, but he had a smaller family. To this one, who was a closer friend, he would put a coin of higher value inside the

bread, while to the other, he gave a different coin but a larger loaf of bread. Then he said to him:

- And how many of you guys are there?
- There are five of us
- There are three of us, let's swap the bread.

They swapped the bread. He arrived happy with his bread and when he cut it, he noticed there was a coin with which they ate that day.

Some time passed by as they kept swapping the loaf of bread, but the ungrateful friend didn't say anything about the coin. By the time their friend (the rich man) thought he had helped them enough, he tells them:

- Go, I'm not going to help you tomorrow for I've already helped you enough.
- It's okay.

Then he would find him again, always in the same situation, so he tells him:

- I've always helped you, but you're always in the same situation.
- So he told him:

- Oh - he says (the rich man) take this money so that you can set up your own little business and help yourself.

The rich friend gave him a bag of money, so he took it and went to his house. But he didn't say anything to his wife and put it in a bucket he had. He took out some and kept the rest, and then poured ash on it. With that little money they were getting by. Eventually they ran out that money and one day when the man went to his house to look for the bucket, he didn't find anything, and he asked the woman:

--Oh? Where is the bucket that was right there? Where is it?

--Ah, she said, "Someone was buying some ash, and I sold it because I had run out of money you gave me."

--Ahh!! Why did you sell it? I had hidden money there,

--You should have told me, but instead you didn't tell me anything, I didn't know and the children were hungry,

-- well, what can we do?

So he continued to work-

He found his friend again, and he asked him:

- So? What about the money I gave you?

He told him what had happened.

- Oh, I can't believe it. I'll give you some more again, so take it.

And he gave him another bag of money again. He took it and happily walked away, and then he bought a basket and went to buy some meat and put it in the basket. He took the basket on his arm, attached to her shoulder like women do; but as he was walking, since they lived outside the village, an eagle passed by and grabbed the basket and flew away, taking the meat and the money that he was carrying in the basket.

"Oh, I'm so unlucky," he said— "I was happy with the money and the meat, and now what am I going to do?"

He arrived at his house and told the woman what had happened:

"Oh," she said— "But why did you decide to carry the basket like that?"

- It's bad luck.

He continued working day by day. One day when he found his friend again, he told him:

- Well, my friend, I have helped you so much, and you are always in the same bad state.

And he told him what had happened

"Oh," he said, "I can't believe it. Well, take this piece of lead then, it must serve you for something.

When he arrived at his house, he threw the piece of lead under his bed; and he kept looking for a job, as always.

One day a man came looking for a piece of lead to fix his cast net. He was a fisherman; he went to a house and said:

- Don't you have a piece of lead that you can sell me?

- Oh no, maybe in the other house.

Not here either. And she says to him:

- Maybe in the little house across.

"Oh," he said, "you don't have any; they are going to have even less in that little hovel."

"Maybe they do," he said, "Go ahead and try."

He left and went to ask her;

- Ma'am, Do you have a piece of lead that you can sell me?

- Oh, yes, there's one here, take it.
- How much do you want for it?
- No, it's not worth anything; all I'm asking for is that the first catch you take out is mine.
--"Fine" --the man said to her.

And as he was an honest man, he went to the river and threw away the cast net, and in the first catch, he caught a fish. Then he took it to the woman, and as she thanked him, she left to fix the fish for eating, and when she opened it there was a big diamond inside the fish; so, she put it away, but as one of the children took it out to play, a jeweler that was passing by knocked her door and told her:

- Ma'am, could you sell me that diamond that the child has?
- How much do you give me for it?
- I give you about three thousand pesos
- Oh no, I'm not selling it, she said.

She took it away from the child and kept it to herself:

- This is worth more.

She went to a jewelry store and said:

-Sir, how much is this diamond worth?

"Oh, this is worth about five thousand," he told her. So, she didn't want to sell it. Then she went to another jewelry store, and they told her that they would give her ten thousand pesos, only then did she sell it and with all that money she left for her house, and when the husband arrived, she said to him:

"Look"-- And she showed him the ten thousand pesos.

- And where did you get that money from?

"Oh, I made this money from selling the piece of lead," he said to her. And told him what had happened,

- Oh, so we can leave this place.

They left that pueblo and went to buy a house. As they bought a small farm, he got to work, bought cattle; the Ma'am worked as well. They opened a store, and it was very successful because they kept climbing higher and higher. The man became so rich that he had servants in livery, and anyone who came to visit had to pass their card on a silver tray. One day a man (the rich one) was passing by their house and saw that it was a palace, and it had the name of the man engraved on the door, and he said:

- He fooled me! He told me that the money I gave him was worthless. And now look at the house he's got.

He knocked (on the door):

- Is him here? -- he asked

"Yes—" he said, "put your card here—" said the servant

Then he put up his business card. The servant went to his boss: When he read the card he said:

- Oh, let him come on in, he's my friend, he doesn't need a card, and they started talking and he says:

"Oh, my good friend" he says—so you deceived me, huh? The money I gave you was useful...you lied to me.

-No - he says — I did not lie to you, it was so just as I told you, So please I'm inviting to stay for lunch. Let's go hunting; maybe we will find more things. I will tell you everything, as it was.

"Fine—" he told him.

He stayed to lunch there. He gave him a feast! Some time after lunch they left and when they were on the way, in a little hovel he saw the bucket and says:

Look, that bucket was mine, where I had the money, the first time you gave it to me.

- That's true! - he says.

The house was abandoned; they turned the bucket over, and there was the money.

- Look, this was the first money you gave me, but how come it is still here?

And from there, they kept walking, but then in a very tall tree he saw the basket and told a servant to climb up the tree to lower the basket and so he did. The money was exactly there, because the animals had only eaten the meat, and there was the basket with the money, so they lowered the bag of money.

— See? I didn't lie to you; this money came before the piece of lead you gave.

He told him everything as it had happened, and that was how they kept being great friends, and he was convinced that it had been that way and that was the end of it."
(Inf. 2)

3. Wealth and Fortune

"One day there was a man whom Wealth had thought of helping. Wealth was passing by, and at that time money sacks were used. Wealth walked passed by the man and gave him a sack of money so he could multiply it and turn it into wealth.

Wealth was always envious, so she happened to invite Fortune to ride together on his steed that Wealth had.

A year after giving the sack of money to the man, they returned to the same place to see how the man that Wealth had helped was doing but found him poor because he, at that time that Wealth had given him the bag of sack of money but the wheat couldn't be harvested, and since the woman was ambitious, he had two jars of wheat saved for his next crops next winter. And he hid the sack of money between one of the wheat jars because he was afraid of losing it by the time Wealth came to collect it every year, because he had the whole sack of money, even if he didn't use it.

Two farmers passed by looking for wheat seed and while mounted on their mules, they asked the lady :

- do you have no wheat that you could sell us? We'll pay you well for it
- Of course I do, she said

She gave them the two jars of wheat, the woman, not knowing that in the jar of wheat was the bag of money,

A year after Fortune and Wealth came back, and when they were walking by to see their friend again, Wealth was angry to see that the man had neither the sack of money, nor progress, nor anything done so she left him another sack of money. The man no longer wanted to hide it in the house but in his sack, so he went to the market to buy his wheat seed and his supply to work during the year and to start forming his agricultural work. Since it was very hot in the market, he was loading an ox-drawn cart and hung his coat on a stake in the cart. But as it was springtime, when the eaglets were nesting, the eaglet would look for old clothes or anything it could find to build its nest. the eaglet noticed that the man's jacket was fluttering on the stakes, and he let itself come swooping inside the jacket, whoosh! The man took his jacket with the other sack of money that Wealth had left him.

A year later Fortune came back with Wealth to see the man who was helping Wealth. As they came back at that time of the year, Wealth found the man in a worse state, in poverty and hiding from her. Wealth found the man and kicked him, then did as she wanted to and left him crying.

Then Fortune told her:

- Now I'm going to help that man you fought so hard to help, I'm going to help him. I'll leave you here— Fortune said (to the man) - this piece of lead so that you can make your wealth.

Are you serious? said Wealth to her, "Even when I left him two sacks of money, he could not make wealth, you think he'll make wealth with a little bit of lead?"

"Well, yes," she said— "I'm going to give him this little piece of lead." And they left:

- In a year we'll come to see how this man is doing with the little piece of lead that I gave him - said Fortune.

Wealth and Fortune went on their way. The next day the woman's neighbor was expecting and eager for a fish. She wanted to eat a fish but the man (the husband) had a hook but he had no lead for the hook, so the pregnant woman came to the neighbor's house and said:

-Ma'am, I beg you, if by any chance, you have a little piece of lead that you would give me for my hook. I have a desire to eat fish, my husband has a hook but no lead

. -Yesterday two ladies passed by, Wealth and Fortune. Fortune gave us this little piece of lead, so I'm going to give it to you so that your husband can go and catch your fish, since you have a desire to eat a fish.

- Oh, thank you so much, Ma'am. I promise the first fish that my husband catches I'll come to give it to you as a reward for the little piece of lead that you have given me.

- Oh, thank you very much, Ma'am.

The neighbor left, and after a while she came back:

- Ma'am, Ma'am! My husband came back from fishing. The catch is good and look at this big ugly fish, it was the first one he caught.

The woman grabbed the fish, cleaned it, and removed the little ball from its stomach. She then took the diamond inside the fish and gave it to one of her children to play with.

Since it was already a matter of chance that Fortune would help the man, a jeweler—who was a buyer of silver coins and old items—happened to pass by. He was surprised to see the little child playing with one of the most valuable diamonds in the world. The jeweler told the lady that if she was willing to sell him the diamond, he would offer her two sacks of money in exchange. The lady told him she wasn't selling it because her little son loved playing with that little diamond and didn't want her little son to cry.

The man told her that he was giving her five sacks of money for the diamond

but the woman didn't accept it again.

- Fine, look, ten sacks of money is a lot, so I'll give you thirty sacks for the diamond. The woman refused again because the little diamond was her child's and she didn't want her child to cry and she couldn't make him play with sacks of money, since what he wanted was the diamond. So the man told her to sell the diamond to him and he was going to give him all his wealth and about sixty thousand sacks of money.

"Of course, even if my little child cries—" said the woman— "I can give it to you." And she gave him the diamond and the man gave her all his capital in cash. When the husband arrived from his work he found the woman with that enormous amount of money so she tells him:

-I gave away the little piece of lead that those woman gave you - And why did you give it away?

-The neighbor was expecting and wanted a fish; her husband had a hook but he had no lead,so I gave it to her and she promised to give me a fish. I have it already ready to eat. The fish had a little diamond inside, and a man came by and gave me all his wealth for it. Look at all the money I have! --she told him.

The man was thrilled with the woman and couldn't hide it, so he took it all and said:
- From now on we're going to work, I'm going to buy a farm. People say that some rich farmers are desperate and they sell the farm in thirty sacks of money, so I'm going to go buy it, but first I'm going to go buy a horse. He bought a horse since it was his favorite way to travel. So he went on horseback to the farm and asked them if it was true that some men were selling the farm. They said they were selling it.

- How much do you want for it?-- he asked They said they wanted thirty sacks of money, so he did as he was told.

He started to clean up the farm. As he was doing so, he found the little jug where he had kept the first sack of money that Wealth had given him. He took the sack of money and bought a shotgun. He went out to hunt eaglet nests, and at the tip of a big tree there was a nest of an eaglet, so he said:

- I'll take down, he said.

He discovered that the jacket the eaglet had stolen was there, with the other sack of money inside.

By that time, the deadline has already passed, and Fortune and Wealth had to return from their journey. They returned on the same steed because Fortune didn't have one but Wealth did. They did not find him in the same place as they were coming on the steed looking for the man. The neighbors said they had become rich overnight, but they didn't know how, and that a woman had given them a piece of lead, which, after some time, had made them

wealthy. They also mentioned that the man was immensely rich and lived on a farm by the river near the village."

They went to the farm and found the man with large quantities of cattle and large barns of wheat. He had a farm already in production and was the boss of it. Wealth got mad at Fortune because she couldn't believe that when she gave him the sack of money to work he had not prospered and now that she had given him a little piece of lead he had prospered.

At the moment they were in that discussion, the man came out and said to Wealth;

- Look, that day, you kicked and hit me, but the jug of wheat is here and also the first sack of money that you had given me to work. When you gave me the second sack of money I went to the market to buy my provisions but the eaglets were nesting and they stole my jacket with the other sack of money. Here are the two sacks of money that you gave me. And as for the woman who gave me the piece of lead I can't return it because my wife gave it away, but from that it came to us an immense wealth. I am very grateful to you (Fortune)—said the man. I wanted to reward this lady with something, or with a portion of what I have.

And Fortune told him that it wasn't necessary because she didn't need any more fortune than the one she had and that Wealth was certainly rich, but she was Fortune, and she was the fortunate one, and no one in this world could be rich without fortune, because wealth was one thing, and having fortune was another. That's where the story ends. (Inf. 3)

4. The three students

"There were three young people who studied at the same school, and by the time they finished their studies, they left and walked a long way keeping each other's company. At school they became friends and loved each other like brothers: and two who were from the same place said to the other, who was from a different place:

- Look, man, you studied the same thing as we did. We are classmates from the same place, but you are from another, so you'll leave by yourself. We'll take separate paths, but we beg you that as soon as you arrive at your place, start looking for a job to earn a living that will be of some use. We plan to do the same.

They said goodbye and each one went to their own place. The two that were from the same place and the other that was from another. Those two who were from the same place focused on figuring out if they could get employed. In fact, they found a job, both of them. And the one who was alone, arrived to his place and only worried about resting. After a long time he found his two friends. Those young men were well-dressed, riding on the back of good mules. One said to the other:

- Look, the one there looks like Julano,

"Ah, It can't be him—" the friend told him, "Julano must be well-dressed because he studied the same thing we did. He must be at least a little more dressed up and the one who comes there that comes distracted."

They were getting closer and closer until they recognized each other and said:

- Is it you, Julano?

- Yes, I'm Julano.

They got off with their mules, and went to greet him, and told him:

Oh my, man, what's wrong with you? You haven't done anything to be employed. You can do it. You can hold any position, just like us, you can work in any office. Haven't you looked for a job?

- Oh, people. I'm so unlucky because I couldn't find anything,

--Ah," they said, "it's because you haven't looked properly. You're too worried about your weaknesses.

One friend says to the other:

- Look, man, what should we do for our friend? He's down. How about we give him eight hundred pesos?

--Let's do it! - said the other

They gave him four hundred pesos each and they said to him:

- Well, with these eight hundred pesos you'll figure something out and see what position you can get. Next time we find you again, we want you to get a little dressed up.

They said goodbye to him and left. He took the money and took a piece of the hat he was carrying and put the eight hundred pesos in it. On his way he felt like going to relieve himself, so he left his hat on the way and went into the bush. When he returned he did not find the hat, and he said:

- My hat is gone, where is it? my money is lost. After all, it cost me nothing - he says to himself - they had given it to me, wow...

He arrived at his house and told his woman what had happened:

- Look, I met up with my friends.

- And what did they tell you?

- Ah, they not only talked to me but they gave me something.

- What did they give you?

-They gave me eight hundred pesos, four hundred each, and told me to look for a job. Also that it was shameful for them to introduce me as their friend to the public anywhere; but if I dressed up It would not be shameful for them. That was what they recommended to me.

But after that, I felt like going to relieve myself and I left my hat on the way and when I came back to take my hat it was not there anymore.

--Ahh!! - the woman said to him-

--What's wrong with you,Julano? All your studies were useless.

- Ah, well, but what can I do? After all, the money didn't cost me anything, they gave it to me, and as for the hat, it was an old one, it was a piece of fabric already. I only had the money, but neither the hat nor the money was there. It was lost; it was lost.

As time went by the same friends found him again, he was even worse and they told him:

- Is it you, Julano?

- Oh, people - humiliated always — I am Julano,

- But what's wrong with you, man? You haven't prospered at all

- Ah, look, I'll tell you. The day you gave me those eight hundred pesos, on the way to my house I felt like going to relieve myself and left my hat on the way, but when came back to take my hat it was not there anymore.

- Ah, what's wrong with you, man? for God's sake! - they said to him-

What will we do for you now? You, an elected, competent man, who can perform any position walking through this sadness. It is shameful for us to say that you say you are a friend and fellow of us.

Hey, what can we give him now? - says one to the other

"Let's give him this lead ingot," says one of them. "Let's do it!"

So they gave him a lead ingot. There you go...whatever you do with it is up to you.

Then he says:

- I'm not even a shooter to be able to occupy lead, but anyway, you are giving me this. I'll take it

They said goodbye and he went home and told his woman:

- Look, I met my friends again and they asked me some questions and a complaint, they shamed me, I feel bad, but what can I do? I told them that I had lost the money in that way, and they told me what good was all that I had learned, the cunning within me. I deserve it, what can I do?

--"Oh," says the woman, "not even because your friends love you and try to find a way to make you prosper in something, you don't appreciate anything" You're so lucky.

"Ah, maybe God wants it that way," --he resigned himself.

"But you should at least use your head a little —" she told him.

- Oh, look at this lead ingot they gave me for our children.

They already had children who played in the yard with that lead ingot, rolling it around like a toy for a long time. Suddenly a merchant passes by and says to the man:

- Sir, this lead ingot, will you sell it to me?

- Oh no, it's my children's toy, I have no way to buy them fancy toys, at least they're rolling that wheel around; that's how they have fun.

-Okay, fine.

He didn't want to sell it, so his children kept playing with it. Suddenly another man arrives again, a little hurried this time,

--Sir, with all the smarts you've got.," he said— "Don't you have a lead ingot you've kept all this time that you could sell me?

Well, look, there was a lead ingot for the children's toy. If it's somewhere over here, then, of course, I'll give it to you and use it as you please.

They searched for it and eventually found it

- Here it is, look!

-Aaah - he says to him, he was a fisherman- sir, you have what I need. How much do you want for this lead ingot?

- I don't want anything,sir, someone gave it to me. I can give it to you too.

So he gave it away to him. The fisherman thanked him and left, then he weighted his cast net with lead and immediately went to the river to fish. The cast net was fixed up nicely with the lead he had found and on the first cast he threw, he caught a huge fish then he remembered something and said:

Oh, what a lovely fish I just caught! My cast net was weighted properly. I should give this fish to the man who gave me the lead.

As he kept fishing he caught more, but medium in size. Since he had caught enough, he went to his house and told his wife:

- Look what a beautiful piece of fish I caught in the first cast I-- he told her. My cast net is good. I've been thinking about taking this fish to the man who gave me the lead.

"It's up to you—" the woman said, "Of course, if you think so, go ahead.

- Cook that fish to make some broth - he said to her. I'll to hurry and give him this fish for him to make his fresh fish broth.

He, happy and excited, went to give the fish to the man who had given him the lead. He said to him: -Sir, I came to see you and brought you this fish. - Oh, sir. May God bless you.

-With the lead you gave me I weighted my cast net and this was the first fish that I caught when I went to the river to fish. Then I remembered you and I brought it to you so that you could also taste the fish,

- Thank you very much sir, God bless you.

The man tells his wife:

- See? That's why we have to do favors. If I had sold the lead ingot to him, this man would not have given us this fish, but since I gave it to him, he remembered me so that we could also taste the fish.

"Yes," said the lady, "it is true.

When preparing the fish, he found a stone in its head, a similar stone that he did not know what it was, but it did seem that the time came for him to understand his fate. He said:

- Look! What a precious stone this fish has on his head. We are going to use this stone for children's toys. All his concern was about the toys for the children. The fish was eaten but the stone was left rolling there among the toys of the children. They got tired of playing with that stone, and suddenly a merchant passes by and tells them:

-You all, may I have permission to rest for a moment?

- Of course, sir.

He never lost his manners.

- Come on in and rest.

As the merchant saw the stone, he picked it up and cleaned it.

"Sir," he said, "what a precious stone you have, give it to me!"

- Oh, -no, - he said.

- I'll give you one hundred pesos for it.

- No, give me two hundred pesos. ,

- Oh no, I can't give you that. I give him one hundred pesos. Where they can give you two hundred pesos for it is in that place. Then he told him the directions to the place.

-There are two jewelry stores where they work all kinds of metal. Go show it to them and maybe they do buy it there.

Okay -He says. To my way of thinking it was time for luck to finally approach him-. Then he says to the woman as the merchant leaves:

— I'll to go where this man told me, to offer then this stone.

- It's up to you- says the woman.

And he left. When he arrived to the first jewelry store he said:

- Sir, I came here with this stone, to see if you can buy it.

- What kind of stone are you bringing?

--Here, look it for yourself

The owner of the jewelry store came and slapped his forehead and said:

- Sir, what you carry here is a treasure, two jewelry stores that are in this place aren't enough for me to give you, not even a farm. He (the jeweler) had a big farm, with so many cattle, so many beasts and so many waiters:

- Giving him those three things is not enough for me to buy his stone from you.

The stone was a diamond but he had not understood what it was. However, the owner of the jewelry store had:

- Only if you want, we can make an exchange: I give you the two jewelry stores and the farm, for this stone. I only need to take out of here my clothes and some things that interest me the most. And so they did. He said:

-Being so, who'd give me more for this stone? Maybe I will not find someone so I will agree. He agreed to receive the two jewelers' shops, and the other farm, for the stone. They looked for authorities to make the documents and transfers, so he made himself owner of the three things and went to receive them; He looked for the best mule and went back to see his family, at home his children were saying:

- Mom, and my dad, when is he coming?

- Oh, your dad, I don't know how that poor man is doing out there.

- Oh, but Mom, look at that man coming on that mule it looks like it is my dad.

--My son? said the lady— how are you going to think that your father came on a mule? You already know how poor he was when he left...? And for him to come on a mule, , .!

- Oh, but he looks like my dad.

And they stood at the door, all the children to watch him coming and the woman too, his wife. He was getting closer.

- Oh, isn't that my dad?!

- Yeah, It's him! - says the woman

The man arrived and told them:

- How have you been these days while I haven't been home, my children? And you? how are you doing? - he told his wife.

- Well, we're fine, and how was it for you?

-Well, it went well for me, thanks to the great will of God, because I exchanged the stone for the two jewelry stores and a farm, with so many heads of cattle, servants and so many beasts and so much more -he informed her—That's right, he told him, I came to pick you up, we're going there.

He now was using another clothing.

- So let's go.

He picked up his family and left with them. He preferred living on the farm to living in the houses where he had the jewelry stores. And then a few days later, he met his same friends and they told him:

- Is it you Julano?

- Of course!

He was already walking with a different face because he was riding on a good mule, in another clothing:

- That's how we wanted to see you.

They hugged and everything:

- That's how we wanted to see you, how did it go? Fine?

Well... He told them the story of what had happened to him and they told:

- Wow, that's how we wanted to see you, look, we thank God and congratulate you, so we're going to come to see you where you live,.

- Well, I'll be waiting for you, what day are you coming?

- We'll go that day.

- Well, I'll be waiting for you then

+

He invited his friends, and they took their friends too. So he prepared a good banquet for them. When his friends arrived it was a moment of joy. In the yard there was a tree, high, covered with branches and he told them:

- Let's move to the shade for a bit, to let the breeze blow on our faces.

He order the servants to take the chairs outside and they went out and being there resting they looked up at the tree, and they saw that there was a nest, and he said:

- There is a nest there, I don't know which bird it will be, I hadn't seen it, I'm seeing it until now. I'll go up and lower that nest to see what's there.

- Ah, but it's dangerous

- No, I'll do it — he said,

He climbed up the tree, found the nest and two eaglets, and managed to lower it. The nest turned out to be his hat, which had been lost when his friends gave him the eight hundred bills.

Then he said:

-This is the hat that I lost at that time, I'll prove to my friends that it was true that my hat had disappeared so that they can't say that it was a lie.

As he could he lowered his hat and told them:

"Friends—" he said to them, "this is my hat that got lost at that time when we met for the first time and you gave me the eight hundred bills.

- Are you sure it is the same?

- Yes, I am.

- And the money?

Ah, this is the money. I know this is the money you gave me.

- And the eaglets, whose are those?

- Ah, the eaglets, without the slightest doubt, are from the eagle.

Because there were people who knew the eaglets and said:

- These are eaglets.

Then they confirmed that, while he was relieving himself, the eagle passed by and saw the hat and picked it up and took it to put it on that tree to raise his eaglets. I think that luck comes to the Christian until the time God destines like that, and that's why he suffered all those consequences and meetings with his friends in that state of poverty until he became happy with that stone that he had found in the head of the fish. But the beginning of his life was the study with the two fellow students, that's why we say the case of the three students, termination." (Inf, 4).

Biographical data of informants:

1. Marco Alfredo Cordón Chacón

He was born in Río Hondo, Zacapa. He is 16 years old, the son of Marco Antonio Cordón and María Magdalena Chacón. Marco Alfredo is a student, the stories he knows were told by his grandfather.

2. María Graciela González Vargas

He was born in Esquipulas, Chiquimula. He currently lives in the Capital City,

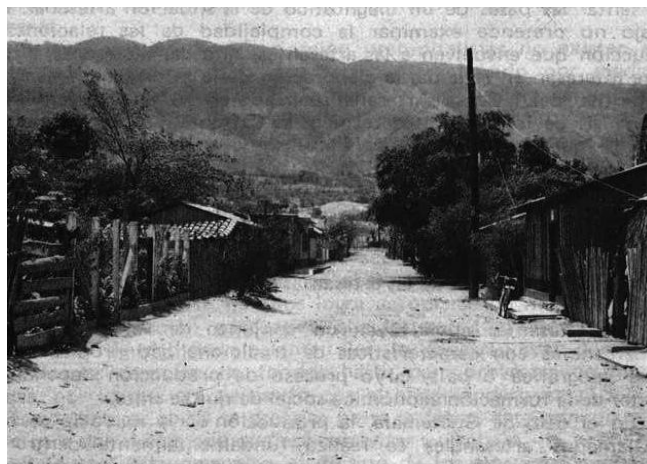
3. Ricardo Dardón Rivas

He is 39 years old. He was born in the village of Agua Salóbrega, Sanarate, El Progreso, and attended school for only two years. Then he got to work, his main job is agriculture, he also works burning lime and has worked as a driver. He lived fourteen years in Tiquisate, he has also lived in Petén, where he was engaged in cutting the state and learned the story. Don Ricardo explained that he tells his stories at wakes, with an audience of up to sixty people.

4. Gregorio Morales Mayorga

He is 67 years old. He was born in the village of Piedras Blancas (San Cristóbal Acasaguastlán, El Progreso). He lived there for approximately 50 years, then moved to the head of that municipality, and has never lived outside of it. He never went to school, so he can't read and write.

He is a peasant who sows corn, beans, and cane. Don Gregorio lives alone, he has no family. He currently lives in the village Estancia de la Virgen (San-Agustín Acasaguastlán). The stories he knows he learned them when he was very young.



Paths and hamlets of eastern Guatemala, the cradle of popular tales and legends. (Photo by Manuel Guerra Caravantes).

THE SITUATION OF HANDICRAFTS IN GUATEMALA IN THE LIGHT OF THE CENSUS OF 1978

Edgar Pappe Yalibat

I. General Aspects

To analyze handicrafts, it is necessary, in principle, to define this activity within the framework of the socio-economic conditions of the country and to know what its immediate implications are to determine its most important characteristics, as an initial point to lay the foundations for a diagnosis of the artisanal situation. This paperwork does not intend to examine the complexity of the production relations that involve handicrafts, but to make known, to those who are interested in the subject, the elaboration of the information gathered on the occasion of the Artisan Census carried out in 1978. Even so, the analysis of the technical elements itself faces serious limitations since no data were published on the characteristics of the owners and staff, nor on the material resources used, which, together with the criteria used by the General Directorate of Statistics, restricts the achievement of a well-elaborated knowledge of the prevalent circumstances in the sector.

The framework of production of handicrafts

Handicrafts constitute a set of use values and merchandise with characteristics of inherent traditionalism typical of a geographical region or country, whose production process depends on the nature of the economic-social formation in question.

In Guatemala, the production of the majority of so-called handicraft objects is carried out fundamentally within the framework of pre-capitalist relations of production; that is, in the so-called "informal" sector, subordinated to the dominant mode of production.

A first analysis of the economic structure of the country allows to detect great deficiencies in the quantity and quality of the productive process in general, a different degree of accumulation of capital, productivity, resources and different forms of organization of production.

Just as unequal development in agriculture and the coexistence of various forms and modes of production are certain, so is the case with industry, where productive units can be grouped into two large sectors: the artisanal, subordinate, informal, or traditional and the capitalist, dominant, modern, or formal.

Historically, we find one part of artisanal production within the family group as use-values aimed at self-consumption. The other part is developed with elements similar to the previous, but in this case, the products created based on family work are mainly intended for sale, for exchange. This type of organization is called a Family-Based Commercial Industry and in both cases, the ranch or the producer's house functions both as a family shelter and craft workshop.

These pre-capitalist organizational units do not exist isolated and independent, but are interacting through complex links with other forms of production characterized by a diverse degree of technical development, by different production relations and also by differences on the superstructural plane.

To support the above, it is enough to recall that, in the colonial era, artisans grew in the shadow of the reduction of Indigenous people and the foundation of the first cities, whose main function was to reproduce the existing model of domination. The mestizos, blocked by the colonizers in their access to the land, became the main makers of the colonial handicraft works, only a small part of them managed to appropriate adequate means and conditions of production, which allowed them to ascend in the prevailing feudal organization. Usually, then as now, the artisans lacked funds even to provide themselves with raw materials, so the Spanish or Creole encomendero had to pay them in advance, as is practiced to date, so that the artisan could begin his work,

Under these circumstances, the fate of the artisans remained throughout colonial life immersed in levels of marginalization, either as rural ladinos or as part of the urban plebeian class. Their lack of cohesion seems to have grown since then, because while today we have a Chamber of Industry and several organized business associations, artisans lack such strength, which is an aggravating factor for their own abandonment,

In this regard, capitalist forms currently play the most dynamic role and tend to establish their domination at all levels. Therefore, although the process of artisanal work, tends to preserve, in a general way, the physiognomy of the use values of a "typical" or folkloric character. However, its coexistence with the capitalist mode of production leads to partial or total modifications in the original physiognomy of the values.

The sector that we call "artisans" does not have uniform characteristics, but involves a multitude of small producers that vary among themselves by their organization, efficiency, standard of living, and by their insertion in the consumer and labor markets. In this regard, the most advanced form of technical and social organization is represented by the artisan workshop. These types of production units carry within them the seeds of their own decomposition, as they are a borderline form of transition towards the capitalist enterprise. Let us remember that the artisan workshop fundamentally produces goods; on the other hand, it partially uses paid labor. Under these circumstances, the owner of the artisan workshop can establish himself as a capitalist entrepreneur within the framework of the manufacturing industry; although the rule is the absorption or destruction of the artisan by the capitalist, and the conversion of the former into a salaried worker.

When this change occurs, which implies an expansion of the technical division of labor, the artisanal model is broken, and the goods become completely different from those produced under artisanal conditions, due to market demands; it is at this moment the materiality of use values suffer important transformations as in the case of huipiles or traditional fabrics mass-produced, or in the case of the substitution of much of the pottery by plastic containers, to cite a few examples. works through the use of a special ability to impregnate modalities of a recognized beauty, regardless of their usefulness as a satisfier of material needs (decorative or ornamental objects).

However, the producer of this type of handicrafts does not seek aesthetic enjoyment, nor recreation, but the material means that he can obtain in exchange to procure or complement his survival.

Handicrafts can also be transformed into capitalist home-based industry, where the production units dispersed in a multitude of workshops are dominated by a capitalist entrepreneur who provides them with the labor instruments, pays a salary and imposes on them the type of use values to produce.

As has been pointed out, handicrafts are constituted on family bases, the technical skill being transmitted by generation and with limited innovations within a simple process of vertical integration, which goes from the acquisition or elaboration of raw materials to the sale of the finished product, based on mainly manual work instruments that are sometimes elaborated by the artisan himself.

Other craft units also use the exploitation of teenagers moved by the need of the producer to have help at work and by the need that hundreds of young people have to learn a trade.

The previous concepts allow us to conclude, before entering into the quantitative analysis of the census, that handicrafts constitute a process of transformation of work objects—both inorganic and organic substances—where the work is predominantly carried out by hand. In its historical development, handicraft constitutes the second major division of labor and, in various forms, explains the origin of what is today the manufacturing and mechanized industry. In Guatemala, handicrafts subsist as an autonomous industry, dragging with them the lingering traces of traditional forms of production. and as a result of the low degree of development of their productive forces, which, are obsolete and incompetent in the face of the overwhelming force of Modern technology and transnational capital, are relegated and determined by these.

From this, it can also be explained that the consumption of artisanal products in Guatemala shows a sharp decline as the capitalist industry advances and its consequences, such as the so-called “ladinization” process, which is subordinating or liquidating the traditional sector. The inhabitants of the city, and in general the middle class in Guatemala, use artisanal products to a small extent, and many indigenous groups have abandoned their use, especially in clothing.

II. Analysis of the First Artisan Census (1978)

In the first and only Artisan Census of the country, carried out in 1978, information was received on the main economic variables that intervened in that activity, which contribute in some way to detecting the important situation that the productive sector is going through. In order to better understand the information, it is necessary to clarify the aspects on which the census was based.

A. Area of coverage of the census

The census covered all craft workshops that employ less than five workers and that produce for sale or for consumption and sale, excluding workshops that produce exclusively for self-consumption.

For the purpose of comparison and ordering, the craft workshops were grouped according to the main branch of activity to which they work, using the Nomenclature of the International Uniform Industrial Classification of all Economic Activities (CIU-Revision-2) and the National Nomenclature of Products and Activities, ordered by departments and municipalities of location of the workshop,

In order to reconcile the need to classify the data according to international economic activity categories, with national peculiarities, the General Directorate of Statistics grouped these activities under the name of Manufacturing Industries, which are characterized by the existence merchandise transformation process. It includes repairs of machinery, other means of production and transport equipment as long as there is a reconstruction of its parts. Repair activities for consumer goods and end-use items are outside the scope of application.

B. Geographical location

The artisanal activity is deeply linked to the agricultural sector because, in many cases, it is developed as an additional activity necessary for the collection of income that allows satisfying the minimum needs of families, as a consequence of the low productivity resulting from agricultural work on smallholding (for those who own their land or. on lease), or of the low wages they receive due to their seasonal employment in other productive units.

The departments with the highest concentration of craft workshop establishments, in order, are as follows:

Number. department, No. of establishments, structure of the smallholding
It represents the percentage of smallholdings (small and subfamily farms) of the total existing farms in each Included department.

Order	Department	Number of Establishments	% Smallholdings
1	Guatemala	5,630	93.0%
2	San Marcos	5,585	81.0%
3	Totonicapán	5,159	98.0%
4	Alta Verapaz	4,781	86.0%
5	Chimaltenango	3,815	96.0%
6	Quiché	3,717	89.0%
7	Huehuetenango	3,548	91.0%
8	Quetzaltenango	3,450	96.0%

1/ It represents the percentage of smallholdings (microfarms and sub-family farms) out of the total number of farms in each of the included departments.

Of the 42,192 establishments recorded in the census, 85% are located in the above-mentioned departments, confirming the interrelationship between smallholding areas and craft activities. This has demonstrated that agricultural production methods and land possession structures significantly influence the development of handicrafts.

C. Distribution by branches of activity

In 1978, according to the number of existing establishments, the activities that stand out, in their order, are:

Order	Main Economic Activity	Number of Establishments	%
1	Manufacture of clothing except footwear (pants, shirts, dresses, capes, coats, jackets made of typical wool and cotton fabrics,	15 804	37
2	Manufacture of sacks, ropes, and cords (belts, ties, nets, bags, etc.)	4 914	12
3	Manufacturing of sacks, ropes, and cords (cinches, laces, nets, bags, etc.)	4 046	10
4	Manufacturing of wooden and cane containers and small cane items (baskets, mats, hats, braids)	2 903	7
5	Spinning, weaving, and finishing of textiles (fabrics, belts, traditional ribbons, embroidery, etc.)	2 890	7
6	Manufacturing of pottery, earthenware, and porcelain items (flowerpots, jars, pots, etc.)	2 310	7
7	Furniture and accessories manufacturing (except primarily metal ones)	1 899	5
8	Manufacturing of bakery and tortilla products	1 845	4

These branches of activity gathered the 87% of the total registered establishments, an independent variable with respect to the level of production.

D. Value of production

According to the census, gross Value of Production (GVP) includes the value of products made in the workshop with its own raw materials and the value received for the manufacture of products or repair work carried out in the month prior to the interview or the last month of production. According to the published figures, it can be inferred that the amount of production reached approximately 080 million in 1978, quantified at current prices *.

By relating this data with the salaries paid and the number of employed personnel, the low productivity of the artisans can be established in monetary terms; it should be reiterated that self-consumption products were not computed. This is because they operate on a reduced production base and a poor organization for the acquisition of supplies and marketing of their products. It should be emphasized that it is through the mechanism of prices that artisans transfer, to commerce and other affluent sectors, large amounts of value. In other words, the exploitation of the artisan sector occurs through unequal exchange.

The value of artisanal production presented a structure by branch of activity in the following order of importance;

Order	Main Economic Activity	% of the value of total production
1	Manufacture of articles of clothing, other than footwear	34.8
2	Manufacture of bakery and tortilla products	18.8
3	Manufacture of furniture and accessories	7.6
4	Articles made up of textile materials	4.5

According to the census, the departments that participated in the largest amount in the Gross Value of Production (GVP), were in their order:

Order	Department	% of GPV	Main Economic Activity
1	Guatemala	22	Garment manufacturing
2	Totonicapán	14	Garment manufacturing
3	Quetzaltenango	12	Garment manufacturing
4	San Marcos	7	Garment manufacturing
5	Chimaltenango	7	Garment manufacturing

6	Huehuetenango	6	Textile products (except garments)
7	Quiché	6	Garment manufacturing
8	Alta Verapaz	4	Garment manufacturing
Eight departments in total		78	
Other departments		22	

It is necessary to add that in the department of Guatemala there is a high concentration of artisanal production, derived from several factors, among which it is worth mentioning the urban process of the capital city, the existing infrastructure and services, and the fact that this is the main collection and distribution center for goods in general.

E. Employment

The census includes as "employed personnel" the individual owners or partners, family workers, and operators—salaried workers—who worked in the workshop in the reference period, i.e., the month before the interview or the last month of production of the census period. Apprentices are excluded from this category. The artisanal activity has contributed to give occupation to an important sector of the population, mainly rural, as a result of the structural characteristics that prevail in the agricultural sector.

This is an element worth highlighting when analyzing handicrafts and their impact on the labor market, considering that unemployment and underemployment are constants in the country's development model. One of the advantages of handicrafts is the abundant use of labor relative to invested capital, manifesting in 1978 the occupation of 66,232 people for a capital of Q 11.4 million. This determines an average investment of Q 172 per employed person.

The tendency of large or modern companies is towards the use of capital-intensive methods; In that same year, an average cost of Q. 9,322 per employee in this sector was recorded; to which, without a doubt, a high foreign exchange cost for machinery and imported technology also corresponds. Another important aspect is that in both activities, almost the same volumes of employment occurred in the aforementioned year, since the formal manufacturing sector absorbed 70576 workers, which confirms the importance of handicrafts as generators of productive employment at low cost.

Of the total employment established in the handicraft activity in the year of the census, the labor force was mainly concentrated in the following branches of activity:

Order	Main Economic Activity	% of total employment
1	Manufacture of articles of clothing, other than footwear	36.3
2	Manufacture of sacks, ropes and twine	10.4
3	Manufacture of wooden containers	9.1

Order	Main Economic Activity	% of total employment
4	Articles made up of textile materials	6.3

2/ Relations were established based on the information published in the First Artisanal Census of the General Directorate of Statistics and the statistical journal of the Bank of Guatemala.

The rest of the employed personnel (37.9%) were in the other activities (50 branches).

Geographically, the artisanal workforce contingent was mainly located in the following departments:

Order	Department	Number of Employees	% of Total Employees
1	Guatemala	10,063	15
2	Totonicapán	8,593	13
3	San Marcos	7,521	11
4	Quiché	6,342	10
5	Alta Verapaz	6,121	9
6	Quetzaltenango	6,006	9
Six departments in total			67
Other departments			33

Additionally, it should be noted that the publication of the analyzed census does not include the variables gender and age in terms of employment, which makes it difficult to establish internal relationships, important for understanding the problems of human resources in the sector,

III. The main problems faced by the artisanal activity

The elements analyzed above highlight the importance of handicrafts in the context of achieving progress in alleviating the problems of unemployment, primarily in rural areas, partially preventing the increase in migration to urban centers, and producing self-consumption items for the domestic market and, on a smaller scale, for export; in another aspect, helping to preserve the traditionalist and cultural values of Guatemalans.

Handicrafts, throughout their history, have faced different types of problems and limitations that have slowed down their development, which are aggravated by the absence of an industrial policy that transforms the unilateral structure of the country's economy and by the lack of support from the state to favor small production, mainly from the traditional rural sector.

In this context, the following specific problems are highlighted:

A. Productivity

A basic element that summarizes the problems faced by the handicraft sector is the low degree of existing productivity, measured in terms of value generated by each employed person.

According to the census data, each worker produces an average value of Q 52.00, regardless of their occupational category. This gross income is less than that produced by the manufacturing industry in the same period, which reached the sum of 16,000 quetzals.

This indicator highlights an aspect of the sectoral disparity of the Guatemalan economy. Due to the low amount of wages paid in the previous month when the census was conducted, which reflects the insignificance of direct or salaried labor, it was decided to add this value to the total net income and relate it to the number of people employed, resulting in an average remuneration for artisanal work of Q 52.00 per month.

The low productivity is due in large part to the little technical division prevailing in handicrafts, to the traditional techniques and methods used, and to the fact that although the artisans indeed have skills and abilities in direct work, it can be assured that the low level of qualification of the labor force prevails, in relation to the organization of production, as well as other collateral factors that determine this situation, including the lack of primary education.

Low productivity is also influenced by the absence of general conditions that facilitate the development of handicrafts and their access to the "structured" sector, such as communications, transport and other related services necessary for artisanal production.

B. Lack of funding

Financial institutions have so far only covered the Modern manufacturing sector, because the rigidity of the prevailing credit criteria in the country does not allow access of artisans to the banking and financial system. Although some efforts have been made through the National Financial Corporation -CORFINA= and some cooperative entities, the financing has not been allocated in sufficient amounts to the artisanal sector, which distorts the objectives and actions contained in the National Development Plan 1979-1982, by "trying to strengthen artisanal activity", improving the technical capacity and quality of the accessories and raw materials used; as well as increasing and improving the equipment and machinery.

This plan declares that the artisanal units would be provided with monetary resources, via credit, in an amount of not less than Q.9,4 million for the purchase of machinery and work instruments and an amount of not less than Q14,3 million for the financing of their operations. This would mean providing credit to no less than 29,457 artisanal units (70% of the total established in the census of 1978), in the next four years. All these aspects related to financial assistance would be in charge of CORFINA.

The information published by CORFINA in their Work Report of 1980, shows the distance between what's declared and real since the allocation of resources to this sector during the 1978-1980 period was very limited: only 301 credits were granted for handicrafts, amounting to 495.7 thousand. From 1979 to 1980 there was a contraction in financing, both

in the number of loans granted and in their respective amount. It is undoubtedly that the worsening of the economic crisis that the country is going through includes this sector, so there can be firm bases to ensure that the trend of the years 81-82 is likely to have been to further restrict the financial support received from the government.

Financial assistance for handicrafts cannot be expected from the private banking sector, mainly due to the lack of guarantees that artisans can offer to obtain a loan, no matter how small it may be, so they do not meet the requirements of "eligible" or "credit subjects". The sources of financing are closed for artisans, as they are for the informal sector in general.

C. Lack of institutional support

With few exceptions, the problems faced by artisanal activity do not concern development institutions, since it is widely known that the main support mechanisms are directed to other branches of activity, in the technological, financial, infrastructure, advisory and other aspects.

It was established that technical assistance and staff training would be provided by CORFINA, the Community Development organization, the Technical Institute for Training and Productivity (INTECAP), as well as the establishment of an Institute for Handicrafts. All these aspects have not been carried out with the firmness with which they were considered, giving only sporadic cases of training, which has an impact on the improvement of production volumes and the quality of the products.

On the other hand, it is known that a large part of the production has a high propensity for sale to foreign markets, for which the National Export Promotion Center - GUATEXPRO - is responsible for establishing the corresponding marketing mechanisms.

However, this institution "encourages" the exports of a countless number of products, among which artisanal ones do not have greater significance, taking into account that there are others of greater significance, such as those of purely industrial origin or non-traditional agricultural products. Only the manufactures and the productive units produce in significant quantities and have a better position — in several ways — to be able to make use of the services of GUATEXPRO; leaving aside the artisans that operate under inferior production conditions, which constitute the majority of industrial producers in the country. There are therefore enough indications to ensure that the artisans have no idea how to approach GUATEXPRO or a credit institution.

D. Organizational weaknesses

Apart from the aforementioned problems, artisans face problems arising from the position they occupy in the social organization of work, since as "small businesses" they present low productivity, deficiencies in production and marketing; all as a result of constituting individualized production units which are not organized into guilds, chambers, associations, or other entities that could serve to defend their interests.

One of the obstacles derived from the poor organization is the commercialization of their products, since they lack adequate means of transport for this purpose, they are at a disadvantage with the Modern industrial sector.

In addition, there are almost no commercialization means, only the intervention of intermediaries, which constitute a negative factor for the activity, since they are the ones who have the necessary capital to buy at low prices and sell with an increase that translates into profit, with consequent damages for both the final consumer and the producer.

However, it is expected that the implementation of artisanal parks and the grouping of artisanal production units into associative forms of commercialization, as outlined in the 1981 Government Plan, will help overcome this situation.

On the other hand, in recent years there has been a notorious displacement of craft workshops with regard to modern companies producing articles (mainly costumes), with artisanal characteristics, which try to captivate the consumer under the appearance of being made "manually", but in reality, having better technology and organization. They produce in larger quantities, which has an impact on lower production costs. In addition, this sector has better conditions for expansion and market dominance, limiting the field of action of traditional artisans.

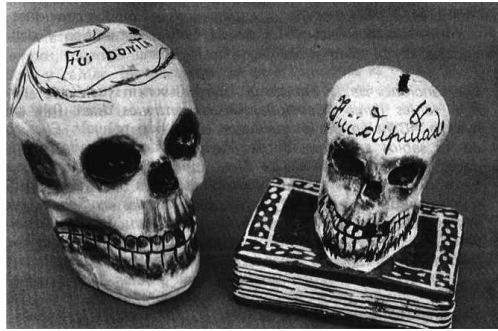
IV. Conclusion

Since the artisanal sector is of the utmost importance in economic activity, as a generator of use values and a source of employment, as a means of subsistence or complementary activity that generates an additional income for families and as a tourist attraction, it is necessary to make special efforts to overcome the backward conditions in which it operates as a result of the character of the existing economic structure. This structure has not allowed the development and promotion of artisanal activity as a source of production and permanent employment or as an element of linking element between the agricultural and industrial sectors; but only as a complementary activity of smallholders and landless workers or as the main occupation of poor urban producers and in the process of impoverishment.

Therefore, the problem of handicrafts and industry in general is intimately linked to the agricultural problem: In the conditions of low level of development of the productive forces and the slow progress that the agrarian structure presents in Guatemala, it is logical to assume that the artisans will maintain their same characteristics of backwardness for a long time unless substantial modifications occur. Government policy and the lack of institutional support contribute to this situation, in the most important aspects, such as the provision of financial resources, technical advice, artisanal areas, commercialization, promotion programs, and others, which have left artisans adrift, who act and invest at their own risk and at the mercy of what modern entrepreneurs call "the free interplay of supply and demand".

Failing to adopt support measures that reorient the artisanal activity towards taking advantage of the benefits it represents for the poor population in terms of employment and income will stimulate the flow of migrants to the city. Therefore, the formulation of an

industrial development strategy and within it a specific artisanal policy, based on reforms in agricultural production and the use of local raw materials, is an important condition to improve the standard of living of the population that operates in the "informal" sector; and in this direction, it should begin by improving and systematizing frequently the statistical information obtained, in order to develop a more in-depth diagnosis of the development of handicrafts in Guatemala.



SONGS OF THE FACE OF THE EARTH: RESEARCH ON TRADITIONAL TZUTUHIL MUSIC

First Part

Linda O'Brien

Translation by: Sandra Sáenz de Tejada

Revision and notes to the translation: Enrique Anleu D faz

1. The origin, classification, transmission and power of songs of the face of the earth.

It is believed that the Songs of the Face of the Earth were given to the Tzutuhiles by the Nahuals, the heroic and powerful ancestors whose wonderful actions created a myth. These twelve men and their female companions created songs, musical instruments, and other forms of traditional music and dance. In the words of Diego Pop Ajuchán:

The Songs of the Face of the Earth (bixrxin Ruch'lew) they are also called "Songs of the ancient days" (bix rxin ojer) or "Song of the Nahuals" (bix rxin nahual). They belong to the wise ancestors, to the Martins, and were left by the twelve. They are especially from Mam, because he did his job. These twelve are the owners and guardians who have kept safe the world for a long time. These are the songs of the old wise men, those who bring rain and good fortune, the fortune tellers, those who gathered on the mountain tops: the twelve fishermen. Francisco Reanda, Jacobo Coo" and Marcos Rucuch, whom I saw myself and Francisco Sojuel whom we called Pla's.

The set of songs is called 'Songs from the Face of the Earth'" (bix rxin Ruch'lew). Although they are called bix, "songs"", they are usually performed as instrumental pieces on marimba, reed flute or guitar. When sung, the instrumental accompaniment is invariably the five-string guitar; they are rarely sung without accompaniment. Musicians usually refer to a song by a broad title that includes several different melodies. Some of these titles are "Songs of Mam"",* "Sad Songs of Women"; and "Songs of Courtship", "Songs of the Face of the Earth" which is the general title that identifies the whole group of songs, which includes several different melodies. Some more specific titles are derived from the content of the sung text, such as "Song for Dancing with Mam", "Song for Dressing Mam", "Song for a Woman whose Child Died", "Song of Saint Martin", "Face of the Earth". In most cases, the singer creates lyrics based on the title's theme assigned to the melody.

Those who frequent the brotherhoods listen to the songs and become familiar with their melodies, titles, and meanings so that they can identify them by name. Some songs

are familiar to everyone, especially the “courtship songs”, which are sung and played in the streets by young men.

The middle-aged man who decides to sing the Songs of the Face of the Earth does so in response to the call of a spirit, a nahual, whom he sees in his dreams. The spirit directs him in learning and often instructs him to play and sing.

These actions are a representation of the events that took place at the beginning of time when the Nahuales taught the first musicians to play and sing. The performance of these songs is a sacred duty, part of the destiny, of the luck of each one, and given by the Nahuales. The singers I know received no formal instruction, although some of the way they play and sing is learned through observing other musicians.

The performance of the songs is a form of service to the community, because the singer expresses the feelings of the people to the Nahuales and the saints. The function of the songs is to influence the spirits to make changes in the world of nature and in the hearts of men. The power of the songs is derived from a form of imitative magic, where the singing of the nahual's songs brings the effect of the nahual's power: his songs made it rain and by being sung today they will also do it. The music made the tree from which the idol of Mam was made animated and spoke and so do the songs of Mam today; the songs of courtship of the ancestors were able to influence the decisions and emotions of the loved one and they will achieve it now too. Music drives away and breaks spells, invokes the spirits of the dead, controls, heals and defends them against evil spirits.

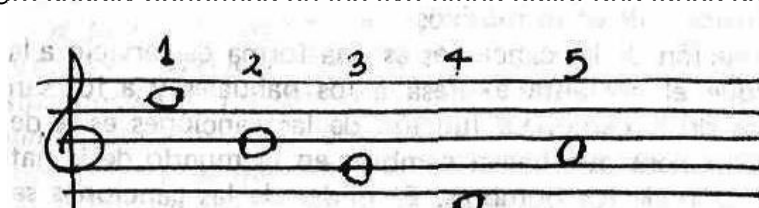
2. Music and lyrics, fonts and techniques

The style of the lyrics and the meaning of the Tzutuhiles songs have preserved an indigenous character, but their musical style shows an extensive foreign influence. Elements of the late 15th century are recognized in it! And from the 17th century, Spanish ecclesiastical and secular forms, such as modal practice and rhythmic and harmonic conventions, forms, and melodies. The instrumental part is usually performed on the five-string guitar or on the marimba, of Spanish and African origins.

The Indigenous esthetic has modified the Western rules of the style of the original Spanish models on the use of tone, harmony, and rhythm.* The songs are performed in an indigenous vocal style, very different from the Western one. In this style, the interpretation of the emotional content and the meaning of the text is the most important. Great expressiveness is achieved through the use of vibrato, and glissando, including screams, phrases, or spoken words, yips at the end of prolonged tones, and the “breaking” of the voice, as a result of a strong feeling.

2.1 The tzutuhil guitar

The performance of the instrumental solos and the accompaniment of the vocal performances are usually performed on the five-string guitar and tuned as follows:



Nowadays Tzutuhiles use modern guitars made with six metal strings, which they modify by removing the two lowest and replacing them with a string of a lighter caliber and tuned to the note A, although the tuning can vary by up to a fourth higher or lower, depending on the performer's preference. It is common to approximate rather vaguely, the interval relations which results in the tones used being outside the Western notation.

Tzutuhile guitarists call this tuning system *jun trchiad* (a bass), in which the fourth string is lower than the fifth. Musicians in general do not know musical theoretical terminology, such as the names of strings, keys, tones, etc.: they rely entirely on oral methods and play by ear.

The colonial documents of Atitlán do not mention secular music at that time, although undoubtedly it was the colonizers who brought the Spanish guitar to Atitlán. The five-string guitar, tuned as they do today in Atitlán, had its maximum popularity in Spain during the 17th century, as mentioned and described by Juan Bermudo in his Declaration of Instruments (1555). In tzutuhil the guitar is called *ctar* or *vantur*, the last word derived from the Spanish term *bandurria*.

Most of the songs are played in the so-called first position of the D major chord using tonic, dominant, and over tonic and sub-dominant chords.

3. Composition of the texts

The selection of the texts (lyrics) of the songs is strongly determined by traditional conventions. The main part consists of a body of standardized epithets, phrases and loose syllables. Some of these belong to a particular category of songs, such as the phrase *chana chana acha*, which is immediately identified as a "mam Song". These verses provide a framework within which the singer improvises his own text. In some songs, conventional verses are used to fill in the syllables necessary to maintain the rhythm of the music; in others, the verses are repeated regularly, in order to provide a formal structure to the text. Some songs are characterized by their metrical regularity, versification and rhyme. Some others are vaguely made, irregular, and do not serve formal analysis.

The laments and prayer-greeting songs are generally lyrical, told in the first person, and express the singer's feelings. The story songs may be sung in the third person, in the style of a narrative ballad, or as a dramatic narrative dialogue about the story's characters and the singer, who includes their commentary.

Being the interest of this work to explore the background of the tzutuhil world-view in its musical concepts, the types of songs that are analyzed are those that are directly related to the spiritual world: the songs of the *nahuals*, of St. Martin, of the lawyers and of the ancient *mam*.

4. The spiritual world and the cult of Saint Martin

The images of the saints are found in the ten brotherhoods of Atitlán and are considered the personification of the spirits of the tzutuhil pantheon, the nahuales, and the saints. The Nahuals, "the ancients" are the heroic ancestors of the Tzutuhiles and lived at the beginning of time. These spirits were men and women whose wonderful actions and powers created a myth, which is told in the form of stories, prayers and songs. All these spirits were gifted with intelligence and superior powers, which allowed them to control the forces of nature, predict the future, make heal and forge idols that could speak and move. They were the authors of the ancient music, the dances and songs of the brotherhood. At the end of their lives they went to live in the mountains, but they left their statues of the brotherhoods, as the personification of their presence and power. From their domains in the mountains they control the forces of nature, the rain, the fertility of the earth, wild animals and the fate of men. They are so identified with the forces of nature that in the songs they are called "the lightning-men, the mist-men, the rain-men, the thunder-men" (exisoc, exajquipya, exaimtzumul, exajcb'artan).

In the brotherhoods, the nahuales are present in the continuous renewal of the annual cycles of traditions, and their true mission lies in the repetition of their words and actions, as well as in the representation of their prayers, dances, and customs.

The saints are not seen as the ancestors of the Tzutuhiles, but as powerful men from Spain or another foreign country, who came to Santiago Atitlán in remote times or with the conquerors. Like the Nahuales, they now live in the mountains and are represented in brotherhoods and churches with various statues. Their actions are also related in stories and songs that are represented in the customs of the brotherhoods, although in general in a less elaborate way than that of the Nahuals. The saints are subordinate in authority and power to the nahuals, acting as guardian spirits of animals, crops, places, groups of minor spirits, etc. The Spanish names of the saints have been preserved, although frequently modified, as is the case of the Virgin of Dolores, whose name became Andolor. The elements of the stories about the saints and their powers resemble those of the iconography of the Catholic Church and the life of the saints.

The relationships between men and spirits are based on an exchange of services. Just as man needs the cooperation of spirits for the growth of crops, healing diseases and direction of their destiny, spirits also need men. In the spirit world there is no fire to warm up and to get their food. The spirits depend on the offerings of men, incense smoke, tobacco, candles and liquor; these objects are abundant in the rituals of the brotherhood and are offered in the hope that the spirits respond with favors in terms of prosperity and health.

Two brotherhoods, the one of San Juan and the one of Santa Cruz, shelter the statues and the equipment of the Nahuales. The first and largest of them is not represented by a statue but by a sacred wrapper, preserved in a wooden trunk, in the confraternity of St. John. This wrapper is known as "San Martín" and constitutes the center of the nahual's power. It is identified with the earth, the sky, the celestial bodies, and the underworld and keeps identity with the being called Ruch'lew, the Face of the Earth, who is the sky and the earth and the substance that they contain (the statue, the wrapper). He is the leader of "The Companionship of the World.", and the ancestral spirits subordinate to him. All the products

of the earth, the lives and bodies of men come from him and return to him in the great cycle of life and death.

For the Tzutuhiles, all parts of the physical universe are inhabited or protected by spirits, who control time, plants and animals, subordinate spirits, and human destiny. These nature spirits, called "The Companionship of the World," are personified in statues arranged on the altar of the Brotherhood of St. John in two groups: those on the left side, near the wrapper of St. Martin, are the spirits in charge of human affairs: crops, rain, weather, work tools, trade, etc. Those on the right side of the altar are reserved for the spirits of women's affairs: weaving, childbirth, and upbringing. A wooden box, similar to the one with the St. Martin's wrapper, hangs from some ties placed on the beams, on the right. It is called t"he cradle" (cusul) and contains sacred objects used in women's rituals. This box, whose key is kept by the xo' (the leader of the women members of the Brotherhood of St. John), is called in the prayers of the shamans "the navel of the world, the heart of the world, the source of human life". In this brotherhood of St. John, the powers of transcendent spirits that generate life and the cycles of nature are addressed.

4.1 The world of Spirits

The spirits that inhabit the Face of the Earth form a hierarchy that goes from the highest lord, Martin, to the spirits of the underworld. Each group of spirits belongs to a specific place in the world, which is its sphere of action and its abode. The hierarchical order of the spirits in the world corresponds to the geographical order, in concrete terms, the higher their residence in the sky or on the mountain, the higher their hierarchy in power, thus, there is an analogy between the physical and the metaphysical.

4.2 The Songs of Saint Martin

Diego Cua Simaj: "Song of the Lord of the World"(bix rxin Rajaw Mund),

Diego Cua Simaj is a young man, about twenty years old, and he is proud of his extensive repertoire of songs. He was the first tzutuhil singer whom I heard, in 1966. I was anxious to hear him again. In August 1971, I ask him, through a friend, if he would sing for me again during my stay in Atitlan. His response was to come to my room with his guitar, accompanied by two friends.

While I was preparing the usual drinks, guaro, and the recorder, he talked about himself, boasting about his lack of fear, great courage, and dexterity in dealing with the witchcraft his enemies used against him. After some time, he started playing and singing. By then it was already late at night, so we decided to continue the next day, in which this song was recorded.

His "Song of the Lord of the World" is a greeting to the cosmic god of the earth, the sky, and the underworld, whose body is the substance of all things. This deity, usually called Saint Martin, is invoked under many names, which indicate the multiplicity of his powers and his manifestations in nature: "Green-mountain-World," "God the Father," "St. Bernardine Lamp," "God Jesus Christ," "Manuel of Jesus Christ the Savior," and "Face of the earth. "

This god is the source of life, vitality, and the individual destiny of men, and motivates the great respect with which the singer asks him to forgive the men for standing and walking on the sacred earth of his body. The singer gives special praise and gratitude to the sun, called 'San Bernardino Lamp,' for the gift of the present day, for the fruits of the earth, and for the birth of the singer himself, whom he compares to the sprouts of a seed. The singer is especially grateful to him for the great gift of the nahual, the ancient mam, the guardian god of Atitlan, who protects him night and day.

During one of the conversations we had after we had sung this song, Diego recognized it as dedicated to the sun, "Our father who is in heaven...":

Diego: This is the music of The Lords of the World, the Earth, of our father who is in heaven, because everything is theirs.

Gaspar: Who is our father? (my translator)

Diego: The San Bernardino Lamp...

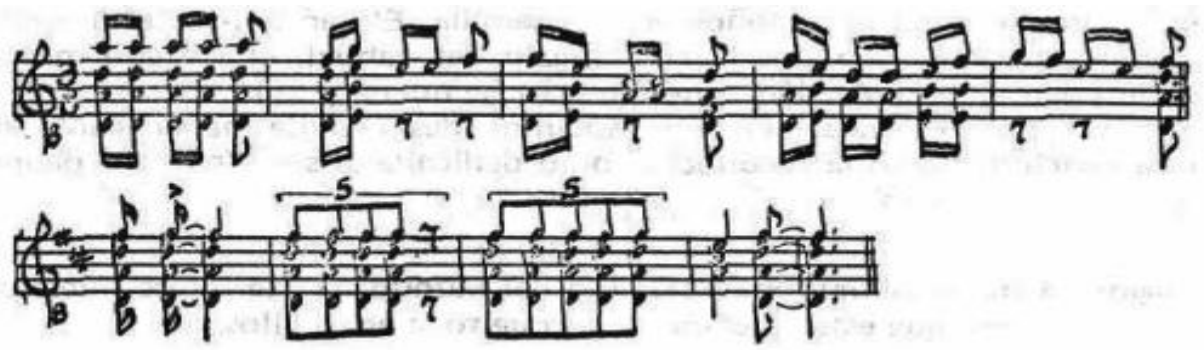
Gaspar: Then I'm going to write, "Our God who is in heaven",

Diego: Yes, the San Bernardino Lamp that is in the sky, that moves around us.

Diego began this song with a guitar introduction, during which he paused for a moment to make a brief comment, then repeated the themes of the introduction in a varied order, then began to sing, accompanied by a strumming and following an irregular rhythm. The singing was interrupted by two guitar interludes similar to the introduction, concluding with a postlude and also on guitar.

Section	Time in minutes
Guitar intro	3:20
Lines 1-71	3:00
First guitar interlude	1:55
Lines 72-165	4:05
Second guitar interlude	0:35
Lines 166-197	1:10
Guitar postlude	1:08

GUITAR POSTLUDE



The ornaments of the song resemble melisma, characteristic of mode 6. There is a resemblance between the B formulas and the b and c units of the guitar solos themes. The triad notes that form the structure for the formulas b and e of the instrumental solo, are identical to those of the melodic formulas B-1 and B-2, although the ornaments differ.

5. Antonio Sosof Coo' "Songs of The Face of the Earth" (Bix Rxin Ruch lew)

The spirits of the dead are very present for the Tzutujil people; they walk together in the village at night and occasionally speak to the living or let themselves be seen by them. Since their spirits have joined them, they belong to the Face of the Earth. I learned more about these concepts one night while listening to the songs of Antonio Sosof Coo'. He had played and sung for almost an hour at his house when he asked me what other song I wanted to listen to. So I told him: "The Face of the Earth", eager to learn something more about the owners of nature.

The song he played at that time gives an image of the spirits of the dead walking together, who sing a dirge to the Face of the Earth. The second half of the song, after the guitar interlude, is a lament of the dying men, the elderly, and the sick or any man contemplating his death. These hope to join the spirits of the dead in the underworld, the region under the earth, where the sun spends the night and from where the Owners of the underworld take care of them.

In this song, as in many others, the singer expressed the common feeling of the people, singing the words of others in the first person, as the spokesperson representing the people to the nahuales. In this role, the singers belong to the group of people destined to procure the well-being of the Tzutuhiles by representing the old customs. The other members of this group are the shamans, the confreres, and other ritual specialists.

6. Musicological analysis

The following diagram shows the order of combination and the number of repetitions are indicated in parentheses.

Introduction

4 introductory bars

B.
 ad
 a(2) d
 ab (2) c (2) b c (3)
 comments
 ab c(2)
 comments
 a(2) d
 a d (2 bars) b
 a b c
 a b cl(2) b c(2) b c(2) b c(3) b c(4) b c(2)
 a(2) b c(2) b
 ab cl(2) b
 a b c(2) b c(2) b e(2)
 abc idl(3) b(2) c(2) b
 a(2)

The first interlude

e1 b(2) c(2) b c(2) b c(2) b c(2) b c(2) b c(2) c(2) be (2) a b c(2) b c(2) b c(2) bc b a
 e2

The second interlude

e1 ba b c[3] b c(4) ba

Postlude

e2 b(2) c(3) b(2) c(4) b c(2) b c(2) bc Cadenza (6 bars)

The chordal vocabulary of the guitar solos of this piece consists of the tonic, supertonic, and dominant strings in D major. The strings used in each of the phrases from A to E are as follows:

The irregular combination and repetition of these asymmetrical units drag attention while giving a variety of phrases and harmonic rhythms to a melody and achieving harmony. The same variety in its combinations that would otherwise be very limited.

Vocal parts: lyrics and music

The singer uses the elevated and poetic language used in Atitlan in ritual discourse: prayers, greetings and ritual sermons and songs. Images in the form of metaphor and similes are frequent:

For in your hands is my father
 all borne gently within your grasp like a sacred basin.

I was born, a sprout upon the Face of the Earth.

The alliteration is given by the grammatical construction *tzutuhil*, in which the person and the tense are prefixes of the word, as for example:

xtaquy kil. you will forgive our sins
xtacuy kma'c you will forgive our faults

The text is interrupted by the two guitar interludes, in three sections, each of a different duration and feeling. The first one mainly approaches the spirits, the second and longer one asks for their help and the third one briefly summarizes the feelings of joy of the singer when performing his duty of carrying out the ancient customs, by singing the songs of his ancestors.

The text is sung in a spoken style, where the Tzutujil stress pattern and the emotional content of the words influence the extended duration of certain syllables. There are no single syllables in the text.

Certain melodic formulas seem to govern the vocal line. A descending major fourth bases the lines 1, 5, 7-8, 18-19 and others,

Notes on the translation, by Enrique Anleu Díaz

1. The Nahuas (C.L.B.) who control lightning, thunder, rain, and earthquakes, have powers of the Shamaness or sorcerers, and their hex on earth are natural disasters; floods, earthquakes, etc. Only they can bring comfort, "Untying" the world or breaking the hex."
2. "Songs of the Face of the Earth", from verbal information in Atitlán, it also means "Old songs of this land."
3. "The twelve apostles?" Around the Atitlan Lake, there are twelve villages named after the Apostles.
4. "Mam" means grandfather. In Atitlan, among the many personalities of Maximón is that of Mam, the old Mayan god; Michael Mendelson refers in his work "The Scandals of Maximón" (Guatemalan Social Integration Seminar —National Typography— 1965) that when someone refers to the image as "Don Pedro", he is generally called *rilaj atcha*, the old man. According to the historical information about Mam, there is great uncertainty; Thompson (p. 137-*idem*) has suggested that the man gods of the Guatemalan mountain have no relation to the Mam of the end or the beginning of the year as described in the ancient texts—Stresser Peán (p. 137-*idem*) has collected the complete myth linking the magical world in Atitlan. In this myth, the young Mam people, as gods of rain, wind, and lightning, unite in the depths of the caves with their women. They are punished by this sexual union as old and degenerate gods who eventually die and resurrect as young gods, and the cycle begins again.

According to Mendelson, it is not difficult to show, sometimes in detail, that young Mams are similar to the ""angels"" of San Martín of Atitlán, while degenerate Mams are similar in many respects to Maximón.

5. The influence of indigenous aesthetics is responsible for the modification of the 'Underling', Western style rules governing the use of tone, harmony and rhythm.
6. Undoubtedly it refers to tuning since Western musical notation is capable of fixing any sound with different tones, semitones, and even microtones.
7. **Ctar**. From several visits to Panajachel, Atitlan, San Lucas, San Pedro and several other places in the region, we have heard the word, **remove and quote** when referring to the guitar, so it is undoubted that the word ctar, has been misheard, as evidenced in the same work.
8. The fact that metrical irregularities exist does not imply that they cannot be analyzed in their structural form; precisely one of the characteristics of the music performed by the Indigenous people is the variability that they present in their rhythmic form, sometimes at the expense of melody.
9. One of the most interesting examples of the survival of songs through tradition, and of the purpose that music pursues—which is not merely to showcase skill, exhibitionism, or singing for pleasure, but to fulfill a primary function in the religious or social world—is found in the following reference to the "Songs of the Face of the Earth", collected by Linda O'Brien in the town of Santiago Atitlán."

Referring to the **"Song of the Men under the Water"** (p. 70-71-72-73).

"The Atitecos defend themselves from being scared by the drowned using one of the "secrets", traditional techniques of action used in specific situations which are supposed to be very effective. One of these secrets consists of singing and playing the "Song of the Men under the Water".

If you are smoking and taking guaro, the protection turns out to be even more effective. The sound of their music and the pleasant smell of tobacco soothes the drowned, who start to sing and dance instead of scaring.

Those who can play the guitar can call the drowned by singing or playing their song.*An excerpt from an interview with a musician can best demonstrate the feelings of such a situation:

Diego: Gaspar: (musician) Is it true that this song can protect you? It can save you. This is what I did once with a friend. Do you know him? -They call him Nicolás and he also has a nickname, "varacaminante", which the boys call him. One time he told me "go now and bring the guitar from your house". - I asked him, for what?

- To play on the street for a while. I'll buy you an eighth of guaro.

- Why should you buy me an eighth just to hear the guitar? But he said:

- Go and get it now, even if we smoke only one cigar, - Okay, I said and went to bring my guitar.

We left together and sat for a while on the street up the hill, towards the cemetery. When we finished drinking, he said:

- Let's go for a walk. The lights went out (8) and I said, - Let's go to our houses. - No, let's go for a walk, he said. So we went down to the Xechivoy, to Dona Carmen's bar (b). He had half a liter of guaro, plus two beers. So I asked him where we were going

- We're going out to drink on the street, he replied.

As I was still young, I went with him. But I was afraid and I had doubts. When he saw that I was afraid he told me:

- Don't be afraid. You have a guitar. If someone approaches us or we find someone, the guitar will defend us.

- Then you need someone with a little experience, I replied.

- No, it's not necessary, he told me.

I wasn't paying much attention then, but I noticed that the moon was shining a lot, like daylight.

- Play as usual, he told me. Play something on the guitar clin, clin, clin. Play the "Song of the Face of the Earth", play the "Song for the streets" or the "Song for the roadside". Play the "Song for inside your house".

- What could I do? Then he told me:

- Let's sit over there and have a drink.

- Okay, I told him.

We sat down and when I finished playing those songs the drowned people came, they were crying. We saw them from down there, near the administration (c) and they looked like normal people for All Saints' Day. They came walking down (d). So they were coming close and we were just watching.

They resembled the Baile de los Negritos (e) while dancing. But then we saw them only as shadows, as the shadows of people, nothing more. When we saw them from afar, they were like normal people. But closely they no longer looked like that. How can they talk and say hello, Nicholas told me:

- Don't give them your right hand, give them your left

- Okay, I said.

But they scared him and gave them chills, even before they approached them. He got the chills and started to throw up. He almost didn't make it. Then he said to me, "Sit on top of me."

— At first, I didn't know what to do, but then I said to myself, I'm going to sit on top of this young man and so did I. He gave me an eighth of guaro but almost wouldn't let go of the guitar. So the dead almost made the guitar go silent. But I had an idea, I remembered the secret, grabbed the half-eighth of guaro, and poured it into the guitar. And the guitar started playing again.

Notes: To the dialogue:

a) This bar is located near the road that leads to the cemetery.

- b) Building that previously stood at the foot of the hill, in the direction of the cemetery.
- c) The image of hundreds of people walking down the cemetery road and returning to the village on the evening of All Saints' Day.
- d) The baile de los negritos is a group dance, that wears grotesque masks during the annual Corpus Christi celebration.

BIX RXIN RAJAW MUND
Song of the Lord of the World
Diego Cuá Simáj

Guitar:



Voice:

Guitar:

(1) REY JYU' MUND (2) REY JYU' RUCH'-LEW
golpeado

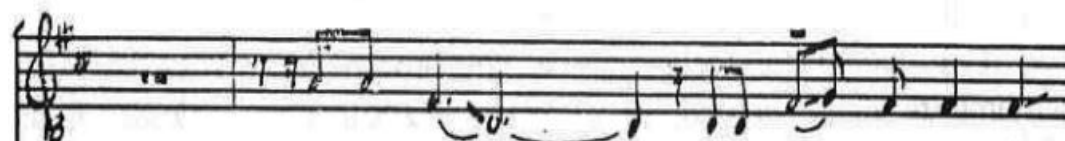
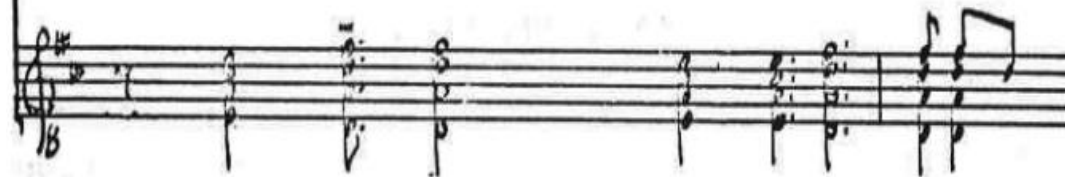
N-KO. BYE' NA C'A NA-WC'A-XAT (4) N-K. PAL-BEJ N-KO. BI-NACHAWACH

RUCH'LEW DIOS. (5) DIOS LAM. BRE MAR-NA. DI. NO (6) AT-CO E

CIGL AT-CO P. GLOR. (7) MUND RUCH'-LEW NO-K'AWC'A-XATIE -RRA



(9) ML DOS-CIEN-TAS TRESCIE-N-TAS PAS NKA - YA' CHA-XE' CHA-WIKA A.



AY- A DIOS

(11) AY-A MUND NKA'-JA CHE'



CHA-WIT EN-TONS NA-WC'A-XA DIOS (13) DIOS —



(14) NA-WC'AXA RUCK'-LEW

(15) POR VOLUN-TAD DE DIOS CI-



THE CUSTOM OF THE EASTERN POCOMAMES IN GUATEMALA

Azzo Ghidinelli

Pierleone Massajoli

Photograph by: Costanzo Allione

The Eastern pocomames are in Guatemala, predominantly in San Luis Jilotepeque and San Pedro Pinula.

Studied deeply by John Gillin, between the years 1942 and 1948, stand later again in 1971, when we carried out fieldwork to investigate the acculturation process and relations with the Ladino group.

This report aims to describe the current situation of the Eastern Pocomames' costume from the perspective of the acculturation process.

It is not known exactly what the costume of this ethnic group were like in pre-Columbian times. It probably followed the patterns of the other Mayan populations, so they can be reconstructed based on archaeological sources and reports from chroniclers.

In the Colonial period began the process of acculturation that lasts even today. At that time, the imposition of the European costume was aimed at integrating the indigenous people into the Spanish culture and "moralizing" them according to the Catholic viewpoint of the time. The Bishop Cortés y Larraz, in the year 1770, regretted the nudity of the Pocomames women and asked that they should be covered "From the neck to the ankles". Considering the fact that this is the statement of an ecclesiastic of the XVIII century, we do not know what the actual degree of nudity was: surely it must not have been total, but probably it was limited to the bust.

The same opinion seems to be held by Gillin, who extends the nudity to a decree by Barrios in 1885. That year, approximately, the "Moderna" period of the Pocomam costume began, by which the pre-Columbian practice of knitting was prohibited.

According to other sources, the most recent ban from the times of Jorge Ubico (1937-1944). This decision was taken in the exclusive interest of the Ladinos, who in this way could sell their fabrics to the Indigenous, becoming completely dependent to be able to dress. If we add the teachings of the Catholic Church, which wanted to see the pocomames dressed "Christianly" so as not to sin, it can be understood the pressure to which the natives were subjected in this sector.

***NOTE:**

This is the abstract in Spanish of an article that 10 authors have published in L'universe. Bimonthly Journal of the Italian Military Geographical Institute (LVII year, No. 5, Sept-Oct. 1977, pp. 961-980), in Florence, with the title| "/ POKOMAN ORIENTALI, ABBIGLIAMENTO". This publication is based on the fieldwork of Azzo Ghidinelli, in San Luis Jilotepeque, carried out during the second half of the year 1974.

Let's look at the elements that constitute today's costume:

In the village, children go around naked until they are 2-3 years old; in the smaller rural centers, until they are 5-6 years old. Then the children dress up with a shirt and later the boys wear little shorts: the more money the family has, the more the children dress up.

The elements of the male costume are:

- 1) THE SHIRT: which is rustic and made of cotton, made by Ladinos. The color varies from white to blue, with a strong prevalence of the latter color.
- 2) The UNDERPANTS: that reach up to the knee or a little lower. The cut is very rustic.
- 3) TRADITIONAL SANDALS: Worn by 80% of the Pocomam men, these are rustic sandals whose soles are made from pieces of used tires, and they are fastened to the feet with leather straps or, in some cases, with rope. The remaining 20% go barefoot or wear Ladino shoes. Also available in finer quality and different colors, which are made and sold by the Ladinos; the pocomames buy them and their women limit themselves to mending them. They are tied with a leather belt or, in case of extreme poverty, with a piece of rope.
- 4) TRADITIONAL SANDALS: Worn by 80% of the Pocomam men, these are rustic sandals whose soles are made from pieces of used tires, and they are fastened to the feet with leather straps or, in some cases, with rope. The remaining 20% go barefoot or wear Ladino shoes. .

Pocomames men do not wear underwear, because of the weather it is not necessary to wear a jacket or sweater, garments that are used only by the oldest.

Gillin, in 1942, discovered that there was a flourishing Pocomam craft dedicated to the production of vegetable fiber hats. Today this craft almost does not exist anymore: it has been destroyed by the competition of plastic hats produced in El Salvador, which cost half as much, are washable and last longer. These hats are freely introduced in Guatemala, thanks to the Central American Common Market. In this way, there is no economic reason for the corresponding indigenous handicrafts to survive.

The elements of the female costume are:

- 1) The TOCOYAL: It is a woven cotton ribbon that married women wear on their heads. It is an element that also characterizes other Mayan groups. On the head, when they go out, they also wear the TAPADO. This garment consists of a white blanket or any other cloth.
- 2) THE PLEGADA: a dress, which derives from the ones that Ladino women used two generations ago. In middle-aged women, the plegada can reach up to the ankles, while among younger women it can reach up to the knees.
- 3) THE BLOUSE: with embellishments on the sleeves. Its style recalls that of the blouses of the Spanish women of the XVIII century. The color is usually white, but it can also be pink or light blue. To make the blouses, the women buy the fabric from the Ladinos and then make them at home.

- 4) The REFAJO: it is an element that characterizes almost the entire Mayan area. Men prefer that their women wear the refajo and not the plegada, because it follows the traditional patterns, is more robust and satisfies them aesthetically. Meanwhile younger women begin to refuse the refajo, which they find very tedious.
- 5) FOOTWEAR: Pocomames women usually walk barefoot. Some of them can buy plastic shoes made by the Ladinos of Guatemala City, but they are considered a luxury, reserved for holidays.
- 6) The APRON: It is used only to protect the refajo, which is quite expensive.
- 7) UNDERWEAR: The pocomam woman usually does not wear underwear.
- 8) NECKLACES: Never missing. They are such distinctive elements of the pocomames, but the rural ladinas never wear them. The necklaces can be made of glass beads or plastic material. Formerly coin necklaces were used, but today they have become very rare. Before the bead necklace was used only with the plegada, while the coin necklace was associated with the blouse and with the refajo. Nowadays, the beaded necklace combines with everything. Other ornaments such as rings, bracelets, etc., are not worn by the pocomames.

Now let's look at the costume in the acculturation process:

After crystallizing through three centuries of Spanish and Ladino influence, the Pocomam attire has re-entered a dynamic phase due to increasing cultural and economic pressures from the Ladinos, bearers of a Euro-North Americanizing civilization. In this process we can distinguish different phases that give us a parameter to better study the acculturation process.

There are three distinct phases among men:

- 1) **In the traditional phase**, the underpants and the white rustic cotton shirt were always worn. Meanwhile, the current normal phase is characterized by a differentiation between work attire and clothing for leisure or festive occasions. The work attire corresponds to the traditional one (underpants and shirt), while the second to the more rustic rural ladino suit: trousers, usually blue, and shirt tending to the blue.

There is probably a mythic-religious reason that explains the use of traditional clothing only for work, given that the milpa is still considered as something sacred that requires elements institutionalized by custom, such as the underpants that, although of Spanish origin, are, for the pocomames, garments used by their ancestors. The conservation of this tradition is also facilitated by the fact that the traditional costume is the least expensive and the most practical.

As we have stated, the colors of the common costume, outside of working hours, are blue for the pants and light blue for the shirt (there are also other colors, but these are the ones that prevail.) They have likely been adopted since these garments belonged to the cheapest lots chosen by the Indigenous and therefore rejected even

by the poorest Ladinos. In this way, because of discrimination, a new tradition was created, a costume that can be considered ethnically distinctive.

- 2) **The New Phase:** It is still presented as a minority, the Indigenous costume considered traditional (underpants and white shirt) is abandoned, and the combination of blue trousers and light blue shirt, is used as a work suit, while the rest of the clothing for leisure is the current of the rural ladinos: that is, always consisting of trousers and shirt, but of finer fabric and workmanship and of more varied colors, This third phase, which is a consequence of the acquisition of Ladino patterns, depends on the economic possibility of the pocomames men. As for the footwear, its process is analogous. In the first phase, the bare feet are worn for work and the shoes for rest and partying; in the second phase the shoes are worn all day and the shoes at parties. The third phase is missing, because shoes are expensive for the pocomames man, although it turns out to be very important in the acculturative process: according to many of our pocomames interviewees, "A person is civilized when he wears shoes". It is more complex the picture of the use of the feminine garments described above. There is no distinction between a work attire and a clothing for leisure. Probably this is due to the fact that work in the house is not considered sacred, like that of the milpa.

In the process of acculturation of the pocomam woman six phases can be distinguished:

- a) **THE TRADITIONAL PHASE:** it is represented by the following formula: Tocoyal + White tapado + Necklace + Blouse + Refajo. This combination is more common among women over the age of forty.
- b) **SECOND PHASE:** the blouse can be pink, light blue or yellow.
- c) **THIRD PHASE:** the blouse and the refajo are left aside and replaced by a long plegada used by poor rural ladinas, two generations ago: the combination of the elements is as follows: Long plegada + White tapado + Necklaces + Tocoyal. This formula is used predominantly by women between the ages of 25 and 40.
- d) **FOURTH PHASE:** the Tocoyal is left aside and the formula is reduced to: Long plegada + White tapado + necklace.
- e) **FIFTH PHASE:** the plegada is shorter and the tapado can have other colors.
- f) **SIXTH AND LAST PHASE:** the plegada reaches the knees and the plastic shoes are paired. The combination is as follows: Short plegada + Color tapado + necklace + Plastic shoes.

This is how the youngest girls dress, who never wear the mini-skirt, which already characterizes the young rural ladinas.

With what we have said we can already draw some conclusions about the acculturation process of the pocomames as far as the costume is concerned. The way of dressing fluctuates between the ethno-persistent tendency to preserve traditional attire,

which characterizes the older age groups, and the tendency to imitate the cultural patterns of the upper caste, that is, the Ladinos.

This trend is caused by the disdainful attitude of the Ladinos towards the traditional pocomam costume. Feeling despised, the young indigenous people try to imitate the Ladinos, dressing like them. But at this point, the Ladinos try to change their own way of dressing, to distinguish themselves from the lower caste. This opportunity is offered by the Euro-American fashion, which the rural Ladinos try to follow, following in turn the patterns of the Ladinos of Guatemala City.

An example of this process is the use of the mini-skirt among the young rural ladinas who adopted this garment to:

- Follow the fashion.
- Spend less money.
- Stand out from the young pocomames women who do not dare to wear it.

The attitude of the Ladinos, in the clothing sector, consists of maintaining the economic dependence of the few, they will indirectly force them to buy clothes made by Ladinos. This attitude entails the risk of identifying themselves, even if only formally, with indigenous people.

The whole sector, therefore, is on the move: the constant tendency of the Ladinos to follow Euro-American patterns is followed by an analogous tendency of the Eastern Pocomames to follow Ladino patterns.



Indigenous individual of San Luis Jilotepeque with their traditional costume.

INFORMATION FOR THE HISTORY OF HOLY WEEK IN GUATEMALA CITY

Jorge Luján Muñoz

I. Introduction

During my research at the General Archive of the Indies in Seville, I came across some data that could be considered "curious" regarding processions during the colonial era. I would like to take advantage of the tricentennial of the Papal Brief mentioned in the first case to share this information.

In those times, processions held an importance that far exceeded what these commemorations still have today. Normal life was interrupted, and devotion from all social classes poured into the processions and other religious ceremonies that took place. Spaniards and criollos, Indigenous people and mestizos—all participated, though not in equality before God, but rather maintaining the social divisions that existed in this world. Organized into brotherhoods, they carried in procession the images of their devotion.

The first case refers to the Indigenous people of the Candelaria neighborhood, who, from time immemorial, had held a procession on Holy Thursday at the second hour of the night—that is, at two in the morning, as is still customary in Spain. They had the right of precedence, but the Spaniards of a new brotherhood, the Nazareno de la Merced, sought to prevent them from exercising this right.

The second case highlights the intervention of the city's council to enhance the solemnity of the Good Friday procession by requiring the city's guilds to dress, at their own expense, 22 children as angels. The skilled workers and craftsmen later appealed to the Royal Audience to be exempted from this obligation.

The final case presents a conflict between popular and enlightened mentalities. The Royal Audience deemed inappropriate the way in which the common people expressed their penance or their joy.

II. The Brotherhood of Indigenous of Jesus Nazarene of Candelaria

The neighborhood of Candelaria, as described by Fuentes y Guzmán in his *Recordación Florida*, "adjacent to Santo Domingo", connected in the lower part with the rest of the elegant and unique construction of the main body of the city, was inhabited by Spaniards, like the other neighborhoods. However, in this one, there was some interspersion of other Ladino people, mestizos, mulattos, and Black people. Additionally, an extended population to the north stretched and climbed up the steep ascent and slope of a hill, resembling a new Toledo. Since its founding (of the city of Guatemala), it has been populated by Indigenous, not in small or insignificant numbers, as they have proven to be skilled and proficient craftsmen in the trades of masonry, carpentry, and the casting of exquisite pieces.

This population of Indigenous, which Don Francisco Antonio saw as giving the city such an advantage and convenience (actually to the Spanish and Creole population that he served), had founded a confraternity of Jesus the Nazarene, which according to the document that we will now comment on, "from immemorial time to this part, took out his Christ in procession on Holy Thursday, at two o'clock at night" ".2

According to the Papal Brief that we are now quoting, the brotherhood of Spaniards built in the church of Nuestra Señora de Las Mercedes, had made them annoy, disturb and embarrass them (.....) in the said second hour of the evening of the day of the supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ (.....) leaving, against all reason and right, at the same time"; Such a situation had forced the indigenous confreres of Jesus the Nazarene from the Church of Candelaria (probably through the advice of their priest), to appeal to the Pope, asking for protection and justice.

As a result of his request, a brief was issued, dated in Rome on June 19, 1677 (three hundred years ago), signed by Pope Innocent XI. In it, it is admonished and required 'to said confraternity and confreres of Spaniards under the name of Jesus (.....) that within six days (.....) under penalty of ex-communication and other ecclesiastical judgments, censures, and penalties (.....) they desist, cease, and abstain from all kinds of harassment, vexations, disturbances, and impediments that they may have caused, made, or threatened to make against the confraternity of Jesus the Nazarene from the Church of Candelaria, and that henceforth they shall not go out in procession at the second hour of the night on Holy Thursday, leaving the petitioners in the quiet and peaceful possession of going out at said hour (.....) maintaining and preserving them in it (.....).'

We are unaware of how the Brief was applied and how the life of these two brotherhoods evolved over time. We understand that they are the same ones that still exist today in the churches bearing those names in our city. In any case, it is evident that the indigenous people of the city were relatively integrated into the religious life of Catholicism and also enjoyed a degree of prosperity. Thanks to their trades, as cited by Fuentes and Guzmán, they were able to organize this confraternity, pay for the crafting of their image, and, when the situation arose, not accept, as had happened so many other times, dispossession and abuse. Instead, they turned to the Supreme Pontiff, undoubtedly advised and assisted by their priest, to maintain their procession schedule and ensure that the Spaniards, at least this time, yielded to their rights.

III. The 22 Angels Dressed by Craftsmen for Good Friday

This document reveals that the city of Guatemala, through its municipal council, required skilled workers and craftsmen to dress and adorn 22 children as angels, who would then participate in the Good Friday procession. In 1758, these craftsmen petitioned the Royal Audience, which ruled in their favor, declaring them exempt from this obligation due to the financial burden it placed on them, given their poverty.

The issue resurfaced when the Council of the Indies, on November 28, 1766, issued a ruling in favor of the Municipal Council of Guatemala, accepting a challenge the latter had presented against the Royal Audience in the well-known lawsuit concerning the appointment of the Alcalde Mayor of Chimaltenango. The municipal council interpreted this ruling as proof

that the Royal Audience had no authority to prohibit the requirement for craftsmen to dress the angelic children, and thus attempted to reinstate the obligation. The craftsmen once again appealed to the Royal Audience, which then addressed His Majesty, requesting a review of the previous ruling. The Council of the Indies partially granted this request, clarifying that its decision in favor of the municipal council—by accepting the challenge—did not, under any circumstances, permit the revocation of final and reviewed judgments.

What makes this case particularly interesting is that it illustrates the stance of the municipal council members—who belonged to the city's oligarchy—seeking to maintain the grandeur and pomp they so admired in the Holy Week processions, especially on Good Friday, at the expense of the less privileged.

IV. Prohibition of tapados, impaled, and penitents.

The third "curious" case occurs already at the end of the XVI century! and it shows us the popular and festive taste that some sectors of the population gave to the Easter processions.

"According to the file processed by the Royal Audience, initiated on March 20, 1797, it was observed in the procession that departed from the Church of San Francisco on the 17th—organized by the Brotherhood of San Benito—a "large number of Nazarenes with their faces completely covered, using expensive scarves, petticoats, and other vain feminine adornments." Furthermore, this corruption was noted in the subsequent Lenten processions and the Good Friday procession, with penitents impaled and flagellants. These abuses were contrary to the Laws and Royal Decrees of His Majesty, which strictly prohibited such practices. They recognized, on one hand, the excesses, disorders, and boldness easily facilitated by having covered faces and wandering in this manner through public streets, especially in remote neighborhoods. On the other hand, such penances, far from fostering an edifying sense of compunction, led to irreverence and disorder, often serving as a source of scorn for the prudent, amusement and mockery for the youth, and fear, confusion, and immorality for women and children. Those who are genuinely moved by a spirit of penance should choose other more rational, discreet, and less exposed practices, under the advice and guidance of their confessor. (.....)"

Because of these excesses, the Audiencia prohibited the departure in any procession of "tapados, impaled, and penitents without disguising the slightest contravention (....)"* 5

Thus, the first prohibition against the "cucuruchos" (tapados) was not established by the liberal regime of Don Justo Rufino Barrios, as has been believed, but by the colonial Audience, which undoubtedly consisted of "erudite" representatives, considered, as the document says, that "more rational" ways of manifesting piety and penance should be sought.

Let these forgotten events of our past serve to bring to our memory little-known aspects of times that are often distorted by simplification and idealization.

NOTES:

1. Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán, Recordación Florida Discurso historial y demostración natural, material y política del Reino de Guatemala. (Goathemala Library 6-8; Guatemala Society of Geography and History. 1932-3) l.p, 137,
2. General Archive of the Indies (Seville), hereinafter cited AGI. Guatemala 179, Brief of His Holiness, Innocent XII, June 19, 1677, on the procession of Jesus Nazarene of Candelaria of Guatemala City, 6 pages.
3. It is interesting to notice that both the image of Jesus Nazarene of Candelaria and that of La Merced have been attributed, without basis, to a sculptor who did not exist: Evaristo Zúñiga. The attribution seems to come from Francisco de Paula García Peláez (**Memoirs for the History of the Ancient Kingdom of Guatemala**. 3 volumes (2nd, ed. Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1943-44), II, p. 219; which only speaks of the "famous Zúñiga" without citing a source, as the author of both images. On the other hand, Víctor Miguel Díaz (**The Fine Arts in Guatemala, Guatemala**: Tipografía Nacional, 1934), without giving a foundation for his assertion, weaves a legend about Juan de Aguirre (second half of the sixteenth century) and attributes to the Nazarene of Candelaria (p. 112 ff.) and Evaristo, who makes a descendant of Mateo de Zúñiga (p. 225), el de la Merced, at the beginning of the fifteenth century!!!!. The most acceptable conclusion is that the name of the author or authors of both images is, in fact, unknown. It can be attributed, although without basis, by the time he lived, to Mateo de Zúñiga (second half of the seventeenth century), at least that of la Merced. What can be affirmed, is that this brotherhood comes from the seventeenth century, and that, therefore, it cannot be the sculpture of the supposed Evaristo Zúñiga, who was invented to have lived at the beginning of the eighteenth century.
4. **AGI, Guatemala 549**, File from the Audiencia of Guatemala regarding the request that the handcrafted and mechanics of that city be exempted from the obligation to wear angel costumes for the Good Friday procession (1770). The letter from the Audiencia citing all the precedents is dated February 28, 1769.
5. **UGH. Guatemala 618**. File of the Royal Audiencia of Guatemala giving an account of having forbidden them to go out in the processions of Holy Week covered up, impaled and disciplinantes and of the lack of compliance, "The year of 1801. Testimony of the File instructed by virtue of the agreement on not leaving in the processions covered, impaled and disciplinarians", 16. fols, the quote corresponds to the f. 1. (the highlighted one is ours).

THE MORERÍAS FROM TOTONICAPAN

1. Introduction

Carlos René García Escobar

To realize the traditional dances in Guatemala during the main festivities of the towns, there is a complicated process of social, economic, and cultural phenomena that usually go unnoticed, not only by the common sector but also by the researchers and scholars of our popular culture themselves.

Anthropologists constantly concern themselves with investigating the backgrounds and meanings behind every cultural manifestation of our community, since most of the time, inquisitive approaches collide against barriers of silence, mutual misunderstanding between researchers or subjects of investigation, and lack of time as material mediums to move to the field of inquiry through adequate techniques and methods, obtain the essential scientific knowledge for the expanded and precise understanding of the aforementioned phenomena.

To date, there haven't been formal studies about this category of popular tradition, since the moreras have been semi-hidden from the eyes of the researchers, and because the moreros themselves have tried to dodge the interest parties from the abundant profits they obtain from the high prices they charge for the rent of their products to their consumers.

Those concerned about the study of dances in Guatemala have always focused on, on one hand, the recompilation of the number of existing dances ¹ through brief descriptions of their dances and customs as the recompilation of their originals.

That's why there is also a lack of in-depth analysis of the content of the dances, their structures, and function; therefore, we also lack the consequent theoretical and methodological analysis and interpretations.

The need to investigate the morerías methodologically appeared in this framework of cognitive insufficiencies about the dance of moros, usually called that. This dance has been studied by many whose results have been published in specialized media, however, there are only brief comments about them, without having reached so far to deepen their study.

The morerías usually go unnoticed, almost always inaccessible. Yet, they constitute an essential element for the smooth running and execution of traditional dances, which, with them, make up a binomial that nourishes each other, and at the same time, is closely related to the history and traditions of those who with their human and material consortium make the Guatemalan folk tradition authentically survive.

The obligatory question about the morerías started when about three years ago, we were copying data about the dance of moros and Christians "El Español" in the small town called Lo de Bran, in the municipality of Mixco, department of Guatemala. By the end of 1983, on the occasion of starting the preparations for the dance of toritos to be held in May 1984 in that small town, we joined as participating members of the moros dance group in charge of its execution. (Its structure and functionality are part of another report prepared for this academic unit. We will only cover its relations with the morería.) In that way, we immediately noticed the capital participation and importance of this economic-social institution, and the importance of its systematized study.

2. The morería

Its origin dates back to the early times of the colony, but there are nothing more than peripheral references in the chronicler's studies, not worrying about deepening into their existence, it can, however, be inferred that they did indeed take place.

The morerías appeared for the first time in the capital of Guatemala². They stayed hidden there for three centuries since there were directions that some dances were forbidden and at the same time the rental for their equipment³. It is from here that we can start to study the substantial aspects of the morería. It is from the colonial historical process that the morería comes from as an artisan and mercantile workshop for renting costumes and masks for the execution of traditional dances, but for the reasons indicated they remained hidden and veiled from the eyes of the colonial authorities, although always with full validity for the indigenous user groups. It was not until the last century that, due to the socio-economic changes caused by the liberal reform, they disappeared geographically from the urban context, so that the already existing ones in the altiplano became more and better established their validity for the entire country. Ramon A. Salazar mentions them for the first time in 1896,⁴ and in 1897 Jesus E. Carranza defines them in Quetzaltenango.⁵ They were mentioned again in 1942 by Efrén Castillo⁶ and it was not until 1955 that a more ethnographic study began with Franz Termer's notes ⁷, which Mario Alfonso Guzmán Anleu continued and corroborated in 1965.⁸

From here on the studies of Guatemalan dances do not stop referring to the morerías, although in a short and concise way. Systematic and thorough research was necessary to comprehend in a better way the social phenomena of dances, specifically of the morerías, as an essential object of study. For this, we became members of the group of the dance of moros of the small town Lo de Bran, intending to know from within the structure and function of such a human group. It was thus how we went with them to visit the morerías to arrange the deal on the rental of the costumes that would serve for the dance of toritos, choose the costumes and masks, order the new ones, go to bring them, and go to leave the to the estimated place. These visits were used to know the other morerías in San Cristobal Totonicapán, which is the place where the best morerías of the country are located, therefore, the more visited.

2 DIAZ, Victor Miguel. El Viejo Repórter en el Diario de Centroamérica, tomo 8, No. 32 del 2 de agosto de 1933.

3 TOVILLA, Martín' Alfonso. Relación Histórica Descriptiva de las Provincias de la Verapaz y de la del Manché. Paleografía de France V. Schotes y Eleanor B, Adams, la. ed. Vol. 35, Edit, Univ. Guatemala, 1960, p. 154.

4 SALAZAR, Ramón A. Old Time, 2nd, ed. Vol. 14, E.M.E.P. Guatemala 618. p. 38,

5 CARRANZA, Jesús E. Un pueblo de los Altos Libro IV, Cap. V. Quetzaltenango, 1897, Pág. 231.

6 CASTILLO, Efrén. Monografía del departamento de Totonicapán. Quetzaltenango, Guatemala, 1942, Pág. 54.

7 TERMER, Franz. Etnología y Etnografía de Guatemala. S.1.S.G. Guatemala 618. p. 202,

8 GUZMAN ANLEU, Mario Alfonso, Véase cita No. 1,

3. Research methodology

As we have stated, the first step was to be part of a group of the dance of moros. The first visit to the morería was made on February 26, 1984. From here we had the bases to systematize our study and the procedure was developed as follows:

3.1 Bibliographic research

Data about the morerías were collected, with the added drawback that only five authors talk concretely about them, although only indirect references can be found in the rest of them.

3.2 Field research

Five visits were made to the morerías; four of them to San Cristóbal Totonicapán, and one to Chichicastenango.

1st. Visit: for observation, photographic, and phonographic documentation, on February 26, 1984.

2nd. Visit: for observation and phonographic documentation to the moreria of Miguel Ignacio in Santo Tomás Chichicastenango, on March 4, 1984.

3rd. Visit: to deliver a message and conduct interviews with other moreros of San Cristóbal Totonicapán, on March 18, 1984.

4th. Visit: to pick up the costumes in the company of the representatives of the dance of the moros of Lo de Brán, on May 20, 1984.

5th. Visit: to deliver the costumes to Mrs. Chaclan's morería, on August 26, 1984.

3.3 Techniques

3.3.1 spontaneous and directed interview

3.3.2 on-site observation and participant

3.3.3 Notebook

3.4 Research instruments

3.4.1 camera and accessories

3.4.2 recorder with built-in microphone

3.4.3 Interurban transportation

4. Research methodology

The research was developed as we visited the morerías, since the visits were guided by the representatives of the dance, according to the traditional process of their rehearsals, and they couldn't be postponed. Below we present the progress of the data ordered during the visits made during this year, 1984.

First visit

The morería with which the representatives of the dance of toritos in the small town Lo de Bran have contact is owned by Ms. María Josefa Chaclán viuda de Arango. This morería was the center of the specific and general investigation. During this visit, it was established that in addition to being an observation visit, the opportunity was taken to document it phonographically and photographically, which was fully achieved. Ms. Chaclán and her children were so kind and attentive, both with the dance representatives and with us the researchers. In this opportunity, we interviewed Ms. Chaclán, the owner of the morería, who provided us with abundant historical and biographic information about the structure and function of her business. Together with the ongoing bibliographic research, the data is organized as follows:

4.1 Brief history and biographic synthesis.

Few families can abrogate the right to be ascendants of the current moreros in San Cristóbal Totonicapán. They are the ones who have surnames like: Chuc, Tistoj Mazariegos, Juárez, and Arango. The first mentions of the Chuc and Marroquín come from the year 1897. Ms. Josefa's morería is descendant of the ancient Chuc. Those of the Tistoj Mazariegos brothers probably emerged at the end of the last century or the beginning of the present. There is not record of them being older. Ms. Josefa's morería belonged five years to her husband José Antonio Chuc, who ran and administrated it since the late 1950s, having inherited it from his maternal uncles with the last name Chuc. (Even though he died five

years ago, José Antonio Arango Chuc is the reason for a new investigation, because according to the data collected. he was one of the biggest moreros of the country in the 20th century.) She has administrated it since 1979, with the help of her four adult children: Lucas, the eldest; Bernarda, Catarina, Bartalomé, and María Victoria, all surnames Arango Chaclán. As for the Tistoj Mazariegos, they are a family of brothers who have two morerías. That of Alejandro, the eldest, who has the largest morerías of the country, and that of his brother's Jerónimo Teodoroa and Ladislao, whose morería is just as large as that of their eldest brother.

There are no descendants who are prepared to direct and continue administering the morerías, although their continuity essentially depends on the fate of the dances in the interior of the country.

4.2 Structure

Any of the three morerías from San Cristobal has the following structure: administratively: a) one owner or administrator; b) employees in a hierarchical order, from the relative to the eldest employee. The highest hierarchy is in the relatives. Employees must be tailors and know a sewing machine very well. We could see twelve sewing machines at the morería of Alejandro Tistoj, of which eight or nine were of his brothers, and five of them were of Josefa. They work only about eight months per year. During the rest of the time the quota of employees is reduced in each morería. The owners, in Quetzaltenango and Guatemala City, obtain the working material. It consists of ornaments of the suits, such as sequins, corduroy, polyester, and many other things that are used as accessories for the making of the suits. Las máscaras son elaboradas por talladores propios de la morería como en el caso de Bartolomé, hijo de doña Josefa, aunque según los hallazgos, ya no hay talladores de máscaras en Totonicapán, razón por la cual ya no las venden sino sólo las alquilan. They start by making the trousers and the front of the shirt, both puffed in the style of Spanish costumes from the 15th and 18th centuries, combining mainly yellow with other colors. Then the layers are made, which is what takes the most time, since they take more embellishment and more work. Then the wigs are prepared, and also the masks. Finally, the hats, crowns and caps, as well as the preparation of the feathers, which are peacock and poultry feathers. To make everything economical, old and/or used suits are used so that they are discarded to use their still good parts. After two or three months, the costumes that were ordered by the representatives of the dances are ready to be picked up and start the dance for which they were made.

4.3 Function

Several aspects can be mentioned in this regard, the most concrete is its status as a Moros costume rental workshop. However, in this regard, some cultural elements need to be studied at a deeper level:

- a) In its development, inter-ethnic, intra-ethnic, and poly-ethnic relationships emerge, according to Rafael Cabarrús's proposal. — Inter-ethnic because they are located in

a Quiché region, and according to the data, representatives of other ethnic groups such as the Mames of Huehuetenango and the Cackchiqueles of the central highlands come to them. Intra-ethnic because representatives of the same town with Quiche influence come to them in the same way. The poly-ethnic aspect occurs in relation to the mestizos, the Tistoj brothers, for example, or the presence of costumes in the dances of the great traditional festivals to which a wide spectrum of ethno-physical and ethno-cultural varieties come.

- b) Therefore, the morerías are factors of agglutination and ethnic-social cohesion.
- c) In addition, by virtue of the economic movement that occurs inside with the purchase of materials, payment of salaries and receipt of rent of the suits, they are primarily factors of economic mobilization and commercial or mercantile transaction.

Second Visit

This visit was made in order to check comparatively the data collected about the morerpias in Totonicapán. The morería of Miguel Ignacio is located in the town of Chichicastenango, and supplies costumes and mask to both, the dancers of the region and tourists. The structure of his morería works in the same way as the Totonicapanecas, so in this sense, there were no differences, other than being located in what is an enclave of external and internal tourism, which makes it a much more lucrative business in every sense.

Third Visit

This visit was used for two things, mainly we carried a message from Eduviges Boche, representative of the dance, for Ms. Chaclan, by which she was requested exactly the amount of costumes that were required, and which we transcribe here. Secondly, we would check the data found bibliographically as much as possible and visit the other two morerías. Both objectives were fully achieved:

Transcription of the message:

"List of clothes for the torito dance from: Lo de Bran.

- 2 pairs of long red pants for the mayordomos
- 2 large coats for the mayordomos. Please, the 2 coats must be large
- 2 pairs of long black pants for the black characters
- 2 masks for the black characters
- 4 peak crowns for mayordomos and black characters
- 4 swords with their scabbards
- 2 chest plates for princesses
- 2 small capes for princesses
- 2 skirts for princesses
- 2 crowns and 2 masks for princesses
- 10 chest plates for cowboys. 10 large, and 2 small

- 10 capes for cowboys. 10 large, and 2 small
- 12 masks for cowboys
- 10 puffed short pairs of pants for cowboys and toros. 16 large, and 2 small.
- 6 plain chest plates for toros.
- 6 long capes with chest plates for toros.
- 6 capes for toros.
- 18 wigs. 16 blonde and 2 black
- 24 belts or shash, and 4 laces for mayoromos and black characters.

Please Doña Chepa, my list. And I send my cordial greetings to you and your family.
Hedwig Boche Yoc."

Fourth visit

This visit was made in the company of three of the representatives of the dance of the moros of the aforementioned small town, to bring the costumes, or "the clothes" as they say. They are: Eduviges Boche, Brígido and Isidro. We arrived on Saturday, May 19th, and returned on Sunday, May 20th to Guatemala.

After talking with Ms. Chaclán and having dinner with her family, we proceeded to receive the costumes. The person in charge of the delivery was Desiderio Lucas Arango Chaclán, her eldest son, who had placed several sleeping mates in the large living room of the house, on which he was putting the entire complex of costumes in the most exact order. He handed over in our presence, first the pants, then the chest plates, and then the capes. Together with him we were all counting one by one the pieces, belts, wigs, hats, masks and swords. This delivery ended at about eleven o'clock at night, then we proceeded to store it in two nets, protected by large plastics so as not to stain the clothes and avoid getting them wet on the way. In turn, Eduviges marked each piece with a number to ensure that each character in the dance—whom he knew well physically—had and wore the correct clothing during the dance performances. As it was the dance of toritos, the cowboy costumes were marked from 1 to 10, the patterns from 1 to 4, the blacks and princesses from 1 to 2, and the toros from 1 to 6. The same was done with the masks. Each complete costume was folded upside down together with its mask and then covered with its respective cape; tied the package was placed with the others and inside the said nets. The activity ended at half past one in the morning. Very early the next day, Ms. Chanclán made the last delivered to us. It were the feathers for the hats and caps. Later, Eduviges made the final payment in private, and then Brígido and Isidro carried their respective bundles with a mecapal to the crossroads, located about a kilometer away from the morería. The extra-urban transport took us back to Guatemala City.

Fifth Visit

This was held on August 25th and 26, 1894. The rest of the clothes were delivered that day, since, arbitrarily, Ms. Chanclán had brought the capes of the toros the previous

Sunday, the day in which the dance was made according to the custom, If that hadn't been the case, there was still one Sunday left when the dance could have been performed again, and the agreement was valid until August 31.

So, the visit was too brief. It was commanded by Pérez-Pirir, another representative of the group, who, disgusted with Ms. Chanclán, only fulfilled his mission and the return that was made the next day at dawn. No piece was missing.

5. Achievements

5.1 To have opened the way for new research on the morerías of the country.

5.2 To have managed to penetrate the previously inaccessible for the ladinos, morerías in Totonicapán, systematically through their anthropological study.

5.3 To have strengthened ties with the moreros, with the representatives of the dances, and with the dancers themselves.

5.4 To have obtained information about the ancient and present moreros, especially the finding of José Antonio Arango Chuc.

5.5 To have verified that the morerías are an essential sector for the cultural history of Guatemala and that according to the bibliography —scarce by the way— collected for their study, which had remained forbidden for over 300 years.

6. Preliminary conclusions

6.1 The morerías are, from the depths of the colonial process, an essential bastion of the Guatemalan dance tradition.

6.2 The experienced obtained in the research allowed is to know in a deeper was the social, economic and mental processes that the execution of a traditional dance involves.

6.2.1 Social

Relations that develop annually with the execution of the dances reach all the possible aspects of religion, administrative aspects (municipalities, brotherhoods, and morerías,) and social coexistence between the executors themselves, which, apart from globally building an efficient way of social cohesion overall, also do not cease to present personal differences typical of a group of human beings, nevertheless, the authority of the elders (by old age or authority) is always generally respected. Liquor, in this sense, functions as a sacred drink that solidifies the whole group in companionship.

6.2.2 Economic

The expenses required to perform a dance are many and of great amount. Each member of the group contributes to the governing group, in our case, it is composed of four kings, who administrate the money with the help of a treasurer and also face those expenses with a higher amount of fee from their purse. That is, the representatives. The

biggest expense is the rent of the costumes, which has lately risen from the usual Q 300.00 up to Q, 600.00 and Q.700.00.

Also, the rehearsals of the dances require food expenses of the participants, in which up to Q70.00 are spent for each rehearsal; an expense that the kings of the dance face. After the party, whoever requests their rehearsal at their home knows they will spend similar amounts on drinks and food expenses. Aside from that payment, the execution also must be paid, and the music, either marimba, whistle, or drum, as required by the dance.

The above means that for each annual performance of a dance, each group of dancers spends around Q1,500.00, which explains why they charge Q200.00 for each performance they do out of context, to help their general expenses.

6.2.3 Mental

This is where culture comes into play in its religious, spiritual and psychological aspects properly. The dance is magical and sacred. This explains the use of choreography, music, oral and written literature, costumes, and masks, all of which, along with the use of intoxicating beverages and the chicha, previously blessed by the ancient priest, help create a hallucinate drowsiness that strengths them to dance for several hours, and serve as a channel for releasing ancestral and daily psychological tensions, as well as a means of group identification, recognized by shared tastes, customs, language, and world-view.

An important observation is that while the dance is being performed, there is a feeling of separation from the external world (or escape) from the outside world and the surrounding environment, caused by the heaviness of the custom, and face covering behind the mask, which only allows a reduced visibility through two small holes made between the eyebrows and eyes. This combined with the intermittent sound of gourd rattles or cymbals, the movement of the dance, musical accompaniment of a repetitive nature, intoxicating beverages like the chicha and white liquor, and the duration of the dance, which is the case of the dance of toritos, during 4 hours.

"From all of this to hypnotization, also caused by the feeling of the sacred in the subconscious of the performer, there is only one step."

7. Informants

- 7.1** María Josefa Chaclán vda. de Arango Born on August 2, 1943, 40 years old. Seamstress. Owner and manage of the morería that inherited by her husband José Antonio Arango Chuc, 6 years ago (1979).
Ethnicity: Quiché
Address: Barrio de San Sebastián, San Cristóbal Totónica- - pán, Km. 186 of the Pan-American Highway 7.2
Date of interview: February 26, 1984

- 7.2** Desiderio Lucas Arango Chaclán Eldest son of Ms. Josefa. Born on February 11, 1962 in San Cristóbal Totonicapán
 Age: 22 years old Ethnicity: quiché Studies: The primary at the school "Rafael Rosales" of San Cristóbal Totonicapán, at the Institute "Dr. Martín Lutero" of the same municipality and, graduated as a Teacher of Urban Primary Education in 1981 the Instituto Nacional para Varones de Occidente in Quetzaltenango
 Address: the same
 Date of interview: June 9, 1984
- 7.3** Jerónimo Teodoro Tistoj Mazariegos
 Age: 58
 Occupation: Morero
 Ethnicity: Ladino/Mestizo
 Address: Morería de los Hnos, Tistoj Mazariegos
 Date of interview: March 18, 1984
- 7.4** Jerónimo Teodoro Tistoj Mazariegos
 Age: 58
 Occupation: Morero
 Ethnicity: Ladino/Mestizo
 Address: Morería de los Hnos, Tistoj Mazariegos
 Date of interview: March 18, 1984
- 7.5** Eduviges Boche Age: 38 años. Born in 1946 Occupation: Bricklayer. Representative of the dance of the moros group of the small-town Lo de Bran, municipality of Mixco
 Ethnicity: Cakchiquel
 Address: Aldea Lo de Bran, municipality of Mixco, Depto. Guatemala
 Date of interview: There is a relationship of friendship and participation in his dance group, with the researcher, since 1981
- 7.6** Pedro Boche Age: 69 years. Born in 1915 and father of Eduviges Boche
 Senior representative of the dance of the moros group of Lo de Bran
 Ethnicity: Cakchiquel
 Address: the same
 Date of interview: There is the same relationship with him as with Hedwig, since 1981
- 7.7** Isidoro Pérez Pirir,
 Age: 47 years.
 Born in 1937
 Representative of the dance of the moros group Lo de Bran.
 Ethnicity: Cakchiquel

Address: Colonia La Brigada, municipality of Mixco, Depto. Guatemala.
Date of interview: Friendship and mutual collaboration was established since November 1983.

THE WOODEN FRUITS OF JOCOTENANGO, ANTIGUA, GUATEMALA: APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF A HANDICRAFT *

*Ligia Archila Serrano
Arturo Matas Oria*

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research has been developed to focus on the elaboration of wooden fruits as popular handicrafts and the socioeconomic description of the artisans.

"Wooden fruits are made of sare, jacaranda, and Elephant Ear Tree. Some of them are painted and others are just covered with varnish, after being cut. (Mr. Marco Tulio Gómez, artisan).

The artisan, in this case the carpenter, is affected by the socioeconomic relations within a capitalist society. This research also includes the production factors and techniques of the painted fruits and the market and consumption relations involved in this production.

This activity typical of the Municipality of Jocotenango is developed in familiar workshops, and in some cases, performed by a small group of salaried workers. The carpentry tools are simple, as well as the lathe used in the making of the fruits. In this manufacture, artisans-carpenters have the opportunity to develop their creativity, as well as to have a means for their livelihood. This activity does not imply something additional to the person's income —typical for artisans—, but constitutes the primary source of income for those who make handicrafts.

To carry out this research, we constantly visited on Saturdays, during September, October, and November 1982, the places where handicrafts were made and several carpenters and workers were interviewed. The research constitutes an approach for a deeper investigation of the subject, including the relations of production and marketing. In the following paperwork, due to the lack of bibliographical background, the technical folklore method will be used.

*Paperwork presented in the course of Theory of Folklore (1983), directed by Celso A. Lara Figueroa, in the area of Anthropology, School of History, University of San Carlos of Guatemala.

Necessary concepts

Folklore constitutes the culture of the subaltern class. Its aim is the study of the folkloric fact, which arises from the popular class as an individual fact and, then, by the same process of folklorization, tends to socialize and become collective. This fact is a living, dynamic, never static phenomenon, and it becomes as such, following slow or fast processes, according to the socio-economic, political and cultural engines that drive it. (Lara, síntesis 1977).

Folklore can manifest itself in spiritual (short stories, legends music): social (ceremonies, gatherings, etc.): and material (work-related cultural studies) shapes. (Traditional handicrafts and industries) (Lara, síntesis 1977).

Handicrafts are part of popular culture, historically integrated, collective in nature, and help define the historical and social identity of a small town. Aesthetic and utilitarian handicrafts are produced in a manually organized workshop, with a gender-based organization. The tools are simple, and the market is national. The Popular industry, on the other hand, uses mass-produced handicrafts in mechanized workshops, with an export-oriented market (Lara, síntesis 1977).

The handicraft industry is a historical category of particular validity, whose peculiarities are determined by the character of the production relations that are its own and not so much by the type of products to which it gives rise.

In production relations, the master or owner of the workshop is the owner of the material and work tools: the finished product is destined for a particular buyer, who places orders for production in advance. Three levels of workers can be established: the master, who masters the technique and leads the creativity of the elaborated product; the operators, usually salaried or partially workers and the apprentices. Everyone gravitates around the owner of the producing unit (workshop). The destination of the production of the type of industry is the market. (Erazo Fuentes, síntesis).

INTRODUCTION

The paperwork is important since is the first study that's made about the history, production, and selling of the wooden fruits, and we hope it can serve as a basis for future work on this craft.

This handicraft arises in the department of Sacatepéquez, which has a geographical extension of 465 km.2, and its main city is Antigua Guatemala. The department borders those of Guatemala, Chimaltenango and Escuintla.

The city of Antigua Guatemala is located in the Panchoy Valley at 1500 m. above sea level, on the Altiplano. The surroundings mountains and volcanoes shorten the period of sunlight, making the environment humid; the climate is temperate and in the heights it is cold.

Jocotenango is a municipality of Sacatepéquez, located to the west in the departmental main city of Antigua Guatemala, with a territorial extension of approximately 4,440 acres. Its main farms are in Filadelfia, El portal, San Isidro, La Foliée, La Ajotea, Las Victorias, El Recuerdo. It has two farmhouses: La Rinconada

and Bella Vista. The municipality has 405 families and 3382 inhabitants, Its elevation above sea level is 1534 m. Its agricultural production consists of coffee , corn, beans, legumes, etc.

Most of the workshops that produce the wooden fruits are located in this place. (Revista El Maestro No, 25)

Historical background

The handicraft of the wooden fruit arises in the city of Antigua Guatemala, which was the capital of the Kingdom of Guatemala, with the name of the City of Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala, founded in 1543, destroyed in 1773 by the Santa Marta earthquakes and moved to the Valle de la Ermita, where the Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción arises.

This handicraft spreads from Antigua to the municipality of Jocotenango, where are currently the majority of artisanal workshops of wooden fruits.

Nuestra Señora de la Asunción Jocotenango

Don Pedro de Alvarado founded the town of Santiago Utateca which is located next to Jocotenango, because this was his farm asking for a certain number of families from the main lords of the towns he had in charge declaring them free and making a donation of the land they inhabited. Since the first indigenous who came to this farm were from Uatlán, the small town was called Utateca. After the first city of Guatemala was ruined in 1541, the Spaniards moved to the Valle de Panchoy, the kakchiqueles indigenous who lived in Tzacualpa said that if the Spaniards moved to land, they wanted to follow them, and as the authorities granted permission, they moved to the place that used to be a Real de Minas de Don Pedro de Alvarado and founded the town of Jocotonengo, in 1542. The Yucatecos were included, although they always remained with a partial separation. Most of the inhabitants served as pawns in the construction works of the city and many other ministries. (Juarros, 1977).

Jocotenango is connected to Antigua Guatemala by the Ancha de los Herreros Street, and its limits are in El Copante. On August, 15th 1629 the feast was authorized by the city's Bishop, Fray Juan Zapata y Sandoval. (Revista El Maestro No, 25)

Objectives

1. **General:** to study the beginning, development, and current state of the wooden fruits in Sacatepéquez.
2. **Specific:**
 - To study the introduction and history of wooden fruit
 - To study the production of wooden fruits
 - To study the structure of workshops dedicated to making wooden fruit

- To study the extent of the wooden fruit market:
- Places where such wooden fruits are sold
- Selling prices of the artisan and resellers
- Existence of intermediaries in this business

HYPOTHESIS

For this research we couldn't pose any initial hypothesis, since the only thing we knew about wooden fruits are manufactured in Antigua Guatemala, probably in San Felipe de Jesús o Jocotenango. In addition, when researching in the existing bibliography on folklore in Guatemala, we didn't find any information about wooden fruits that allow us to establish any initial hypothesis.

The only initial approach we could make was: that the wooden fruits handicrafts are in Antigua Guatemala and its surroundings small town, specifically San Felipe de Jesús and Jocotenango, and it's from here where the exploratory research should begin.

METHOD

Explanatory method

There is no bibliographic background, that's why we used the technical method. We used the scientific approach of folklorology as a social science, and take folklore as the culture of the lower classes of society, which must be studied in its three aspects: the historical. economic and the social.

Techniques to be used in this research

The following research techniques were used in this research:

1. Observation
2. Interviews in its two variants
 - open interviews
 - directed interviews
3. Field notebooks
4. Field journal
5. Use of cards
6. Bibliographic type research for theoretical support of the research
7. Photographic techniques

HISTORY OF THE HANDICRAFTS OF THE WOODEN FRUITS OF JOCOTENANGO

To reconstruct the history of the origin of these handicrafts and their dissemination, we interviewed several carpenters, whose workshops are located in Antigua Guatemala and Jocotenango.

These informants are:

- Mr. Victor Manuel Marroquin

San Felipe de Jesús

Sold in the market

— Mr. Francisco García Barrios

Street to San Felipe No, 75

Jocotenango

— Mr. Marco Tulio Gómez

Street to San Felipe No, 75

Jocotenango

— Mr. Marco Tulio Gómez

Calle Real de Jocotenango

— Mrs. María Victoria Arzú

Calle Real de Jocotenango

—Mrs. Clara Ester Castellanos

7th. calle Poniente No, 27

Antigua Guatemala

— Mr. Hugo Arriola

7th. calle Poniente No, 27

Antigua Guatemala

— Mrs. Luz Martínez de Osorio

Carpenter's shop of Alejo Osorio Vissony

Jocotenango

- Mr. Benjamin Garcia Lopez

Office of the INGUAT

Antigua Guatemala

- Mr. Florencio Ruiz

Ba. av. Norte No, 554

Antigua Guatemala

The interviews are transcribed below. Ultimately, we'll try to reconstruct the history of these handicrafts.

We started the investigation by researching Antigua where the wooden fruits were produced. On an initial trip to San Felipe we interviewed Mr. Víctor Manuel Marroquín,

who informed us that wooden fruits are made in Jocotenango. In San Felipe, these handicrafts are only available for sale. This man says that he makes them at home, and that he has sales stands in San Felipe. Mr. Marroquín informs that the wooden fruits are made from the jacaranda tree. The sales stand of this person is a booth located in the square, in front of the church. He sells different types of wooden and ceramic handicrafts. His workshop is in Jocotenango.

Exploratory visit to some carpentry shops.

While interviewing some saleswomen in the San Felipe de Jesus market, they pointed out a carpentry shop where they believed that wooden fruits were made.

Carpentry shop of San Felipe

We went to the carpentry shop that the women had told us about. The carpenter informed us that he worked on pyrography and that the cut wooden handicrafts are from Jocotenango and are in the carpentry shops on the way to that small village, which is two blocks from the municipality.

The artisans of San Felipe work with wood in the following scope: pyrography, furniture, boxes, hostesses, pallets, etc.

We visited the carpentry shop "El Cedro" in Antigua Guatemala, to investigate the wooden fruits. A carpenter informed us that the painted fruits are made in Jocotenango. He brought them to Guatemala around 20 years ago with the help of an **gringowho** set up a carpentry shop in San Felipe, and from the people from Jocotenango learned.

Informant: Mr. Francisco García Barrios, carpenter of Jocotenango

Mr. Francisco says that this handicraft was brought by an American around 20 years ago; he has been working on it for a while. The men who work with him don't know how this handicraft appeared, and say that they don't use ovens to create them. The men are too young and probably that's why they don't know the history behind these handicrafts.

Mr. Francisco informs that **El Gordo** is his brother, and that both of them are cousins of Marco Tulio. Mr. Francisco sells turned pieces to his other 4 brothers, who live on the other side of the village, so that they can produce fruits.

There are around 8-9 carpentry shops dedicated to working the fruits in that place, and that their payment is too little.

Informant: Marco Tulio Gómez Barrios, Jocotenango

Mr. Marco Tulio Gómez Barrios, has worked on the painted wood fruits for 14 years (sare, jacaranda and conaste). He's the son of a cook at the nursing home. He had nothing and started to work on the wooden fruits. He thanks God for his work.

Marco Tulio says that he doesn't remember the name of the **gringo** who brought the fruits, but when he left, Mr. Roberto Dartón, from the Filadelfia farm (according to him, the owner), set up a carpentry shop to work the fruits and hired 10 men, to whom he paid Q2.00 per fruit.

Roberto Dartón closed the carpentry shop, and the carpenters who worked with him dedicated themselves to setting up shops and working on furniture and various other things. They abandoned the fruit work; Mr. Alejo Osorio was the only one doing that job.

Mr. Alejandro Pacheco worked with the **gringo** who brought them, who lives in the neighborhood Los Llanos, of Jocotenango.

Apparently, Roberto Dartón, because of the friendship he had with the **gringo**, he realized that the fruits had a market abroad and this was the reason for setting up the carpentry shop. Alejo Osorio learned how to make wooden fruits with Mr. Roberto Dartón.

Marco Tulio says that Alejo Osorio gave some work to the children, and paid them 5 cents per sanded fruit. Marco Tulio says that he learned with Alejo Osorio to make basket trays and then managed to make the fruits.

Marco Tulio says that after the **gringo** left and he already knew how to work wooden fruits, another gringo came and bought him fruits, only apples and other types of woodworking. Then this man rented a house in front of the San Sebastián Park and set up a carpentry shop. The same man hired Marco Tulio to supervise the work and exploited him by dressing him as an indigenous woman and making him carry chests in the ruins of the Colegio de San Jerónimo for advertising photos.

Eventually, this man left Guatemala and closed his carpentry shop. The fruits were made by the **gringo** with wood scraps left over from the furniture. It was too hard to talk and understand the **gringo**, since he hardly spoke Spanish, and he had to do his best to understand him.

Marco Tulio says that he lived in the rooms in the front of his house, but he moved to the back to use those rooms as storage of wood and his carpentry workshop. When he was working with the **gringo**, he used to pay him Q.5.00 a day, but now he earns more, because four brothers work with him in the workshop. He says that he paid Q.200.00 for the lathe he has and that with that he started producing fruits. (Note: Marco Tulio currently has two lathes.)

Marco Tulio reports that he taught his cousins Francisco and El Gordo. Francisco worked in telares and El Gordo is a bricklayer in Chimaltenango.

A young man who worked with the first **gringo** also taught them the trade, but he "*hit the booze hard*", so he was kicked out.

Informants: Mr. Enrique Arriola, Mrs. María Victoria Arzú (Jocotenango)

These people have a workshop in the Ancha Street de Jocotenango and gave us the following information. Enrique Arriola says that this handicraft was brought by a **gringo**, the Dr. Chamber, like 40 years ago, and that he was a turner. According to him, the Barrios brothers did not work for the **gringo**. The **gringo** had a carpentry shop

in Antigua. Enrique Arriola's workshop also manufactures **yoyos** and cup-and-ball toys. These men made yoyos of the advertising of the company that manufactures the Nesbitt's brand of soft drink.

* He drank liquor excessively.

Mr. Enrique lives in Antigua, on the 7th, street No. 14. His brother Luis Arriola makes wooden painted fruits.

Mrs. María Victoria says that she makes the fruits glued to small fruit bowls. She makes flat wicker basket, also small ones, that are to hang on the wall.

The fruit made by Arriola and Mrs. Arzú is more rustic than the ones made by the Barrios family. The same goes for the finishing touch of the fruit.

Informant: Clara Ester Castellanos, Antigua Guatemala

Mr. Julio Arriola lives at 7a. calle Poniente No. 27. This is a house that is destroyed and its walls are made with sheets and wood. They have a carpentry workshop with an antique lathe and in the courtyard there are flowers planted by Don Julio Arriola, including a white nun. The woman has, at the entrance of her house, a small shop.

We are greeted by Hugo Alfredo Arriola Castellanos, who introduces us to his mother, Clara Ester Castellanos. They tell us that they do not produce wooden fruit at the moment, but that they did in the past; now they are dedicated to manufacturing **yoyos***, wooden toys, and small water jugs. These sets are sold for Q.1.75 each.

They make small wooden objects, because they are cheaper, since the cost of wood is very expensive. This leaves more profit than the fruit, because it is very expensive, since the production takes a lot of wood.

They cannot keep stock because they work on a per-order basis. They lack the funds to produce large batches, so they manufacture an order, deliver it, recover the money, and use it to prepare the next one. The woman says that her husband, Oscar Arriola Borja, died 20 years ago and that she was left with all the small children, but that thanks to God she managed to get them all through. She has three daughters, one of whom is about to become a social worker, another studies auditing, both at the University of San Carlos in Guatemala, and the other works.

She tells us that the work of fruits was started in La Antigua about 25 years ago by Dr. Chambel, who they say, was a **gringo**. This man ordered only turned fruits from Oscar Arriola Borja, because the **gringo** he was carving them and they think he was painting them.

These sets of fruits were sold to the gringo for Q.10.00 a dozen, only turned, without cutting or painting. Mr. Oscar Arriola Borja died and then his son Julio continued with this work; they did not want to make the fruit on their own and compete against the gringo, because it was a sin. When the gringo died 10 years ago, Julio began to make wooden fruits to sell them. They then paint it with watercolor (tempera), then because of the high price of it aniline is used instead, which is cheaper. They say that when they

started making the grapes, they used palm fiber from the ones located in the Plaza del Parque de La Unión to bind them together.

The woman said that Julio Arriola now makes yoyos and other handicrafts for a living. He doesn't make wooden fruits, but studies arts and teaches us some paintings he had done, painted with oil painting.

*type of toys for children.

Informant: Hugo Arriola, Antigua Guatemala

This man tells us that Enrique is their half-brother and that he started working with the gringo as a turner, but he used to drink a lot. By the time the gringo died, he started making wooden fruits in Jocotenango, and he taught other carpenters, Los Barrios, who then started to make fruits. They then lowered the prices and Julio Arriola stopped manufacturing them because the profit was smaller and there was a lot of rivalry.

Informant: Mrs. Luz de Martínez de Osorio, Carpentry of Alejo Osorio Vissony (Jocotenango)

We couldn't interview Mr. Alejo Osorio Vissony, because he wasn't home, and his wife told us that he doesn't grant interviews, so that's why she was the one who provided us with the data that we transcribed below and that has something of public interest, such as the case of the prices. We arrived at his carpentry shop, which is a well-built business with employees. We interview Mr. Osorio's wife, who told us that "He took the wooden fruits to Sacatepéquez", because when she married her husband he made fruits. Saturday is the day of payment and purchase of wood, and her husband usually doesn't provide any information due to lack of time. They manufacture salad bowls and fruits by orders, because the other carpenters raised the price of the fruits; they were sold by Q.4.00 each and now they sell them by Q.8.00 a dozen.

The fruit is not useful now because the wood needs time to dry, but these craftsmen turn it as soon as they cut it, so in about six months, the fruits crack.

Informant: Benjamín García López, INGUAT Office*, Antigua Guatemala

Benjamín García López, from INGUAT, tells us that Mr. Florencio Ruiz manufactures wooden fruits, and that Mr. Roberto Dartón owns the Filadelfia farm.

Informant: Don Florencio Ruiz, Antigua

According to Florencio Ruiz, the traditional items in Antigua were the clay fruits, and these years ago were simple, since they would only make mangos, bananas, and two or more other types of fruits. When wooden fruits emerged and competed with lay, the variety of clay fruits increased.

Dr. Chambel, who brought the ideas to Guatemala, was German but left Guatemala because his wife had cancer.

Dr. Chambel did not have authorization to work and had his workshop inside his house, which was located on the 7th. street, where the "Casa Música" is today. Dr. Chambel made colonial-style furniture, in addition to the wooden fruits.

* Guatemalan Institute of Tourism

Dr. Chambel had 5 people working with him, and didn't allow any more people in his group. José Alejandro Pacheco worked among them; the others are dead. Don Florencio says that Dr. Chamber was a very demanding man.

The German would sell to the tourists, and take them to his house, where they could buy his products. With Mr. Chamber, only five types of fruits were made, among which were included: apples, jocotes and limes; today about 18 different types of fruits are made. Artisans created the bouquets of grapes.

Dr. Chamble's production process

Manufacture of the fruits: In the past they'd cut the piece of wood and would give it a rounded shape. They were polished with five types of sandpaper. They paint was bought in the Cosmos pharmacy. The varnish used was **boat varnish**. This was applied with a camel's hair brush. A small twig was placed to finish it, and from there, it was used to complete the varnishing. Lastly, powder wax was applied to the fruit, which served as a polish.

Dr. Chambel used the ruined fruits (the ones damaged during the manufacturing process) to create walls, making them with wooden panels to place the ruined fruits as decoration. He also fabricated yo-yos and flat wicker basket.

When the German left, Emilio Castillo and Mr. Roberto Dartón founded a society and created in "La Filadelfia" farm a workshop with 25 carpenters, to make fruits, which were sold in the supermarkets. They worked a year and a half and then split up. Dartón kept taking advantage of the workshop for another year but left this work since coffee was more affordable back then. Alejo Osorio Vissony lived in "La Filadelfia" farm and since he was close with Mr. Dartón he was given the position of the manager of the workshop, even though he didn't have too much experience. Mr. Florencio Ruiz and Mr. Alejandro Pacheco were the persons in charge of, according to the one first mentioned, training the carpenters who were hired by Dartón in his workshop.

After Dartón closed his workshop, the carpenters started taking other jobs, and only Alejo Osorio and Ruiz kept making fruits. Ruiz in his workshop in Antigua, where tried to keep the same price.

Alejo Osorio set up his workshop in Jocotenango, started making wooden fruits, and hired 30 apprentices, who later learned to make the fruits and were paid per task. He was the one who managed to proliferate this handicraft in Jocotenango.

Then carpenters in Jocotenango started to make wooden fruits and made them cheaper; they can sell them for Q1 now, while Dr. Chamber used to sell them for Q4-5 quetzals each.

Don Florencio says that he used to produce furniture and articles for foreigners. Now he manufactures fruits and also flat wicker baskets for the fruits, what he does not manufacture are the cup fruit bowls, because in these the fruit does not look so interesting and they are not in much demand.

He manufactures napkin holders that have a fruit on top; in addition, he produces all kinds of furniture and mainly relies on local furniture repair work, since wood is very expensive.

The fine wood they used to make the fruits is hardly found, since they have to travel far to get it.

The man has a creative spirit, since he enjoys doing this job. He feels happy when people tells him that his work is worth it. He's the only one in his family doing this job; his adult children help them but don't like the trade.

Attempt to reconstruct the history of the wooden fruit handicraft of Jocotenango.

This handicraft was brought to Guatemala by a foreigner, who some informants said he was "gringo" (carpenters call "gringo" to any foreigner we interview) that according to Mr. Florencio, was German. The name of this man is unknown, people only remember he was a "doctor" and was called Chambel or Chamber. Approximately 20 years ago, this man set up a carpentry workshop in the city of Antigua, Guatemala, which wasn't reported, and started to make furniture; among the fruits he also made were wooden fruits. We still don't know if the idea of wooden fruits was brought from abroad. His production was sold to tourists and customers he had abroad.

Five carpenters worked with him in Antigua, among them was Florencia Ruiz, Oscar Arriola Borja, Enrique Arriola (Oscar Arriola's son) and Alejandro Pacheco.

When this foreigner left Guatemala (which is highly possible) or died, Mr. Arrila Borja and his son Enrique kept making wooden fruits on their own. But apparently, Mr. Roberto Dartón, owner of the farm "La Filadelfia," was friends with Dr. Chamber and knew all the customers he had, so then he associated Mr. Emilio Castillo and set up a carpentry shop on that farm to make use of the wooden items that Dr. Chamber produced. They hired about 25 carpenters, so the workshop looked more like an artisanal industry to make the best out of the artistic elements of a popular type.

Florencio Ruiz and Alejandro Pacheco worked in this workshop, who taught the other carpenters Mr. Chamber's work. The workshop was managed by Mr. Alejo, who lived on the farm and was an acquaintance of Mr. Dartón, so he trusted him. Dartón worked in partnership with Castillo for a year and produced wooden fruits for one year alone. Then he closed the workshop because the coffee production and other businesses were more profitable.

When Dartón closed his workshop, Mr. Florencio Ruiz kept producing furniture and wooden fruits on his own, and Mr. Alejo Osorio set up a workshop in Jocotenango, where he produced furniture and wooden fruits too. Wooden fruits were produced by paying others carpenters and other people in the town who wanted to produce them per task, ; in this way he spread the handicraft in the village.

Marco Tulio Gómez learned with Mr. Alejo Osorio, who set up a workshop with his brothers and taught the manufacture process to his cousins.

Another person who spread the wooden fruit production in Jocotenango was Mr. Enrique Arriola, who taught Mr. Francisco Barrios to produce wooden fruits.

When the carpenters in Jocotenango started to produce the wooden fruits, they'd sold them cheaper than Alejo Osorio and Florencio Ruiz, who then lower the price. By that time a second foreigner, an American, set up a carpenter in Antigua Guatemala, and started to produce wooden-made furniture, and, with the residues, wooden fruits. This man hired Marco Tulio Gómez to manage the workshop and paid him Q5.00 every day. This man profited one of the items he produced and took photos of Marco Tulio dressed as an Indigenous person in the ruins of San Jerónimo, carrying chests and furniture for advertising purposes. After profiting from this business for a while, the North American left Guatemala, and Marco Tulio Gómez, along with his brothers, started producing wooden fruits in his workshop.

Nowadays, wooden fruits are produced in Jocotenango by 9 workshops; three of them belong to the Barrios family, another to Enrique Arruila, another to Mr. Gerardo López and about four more are all over the town. Mr. Alejo Osorio only produces on request.

In Antigua, wooden fruits are produced by Florencio Ruiz's workshop, which sells its production to Sombol, S.A., in Guatemala, and Utatlán store, which produced huge amounts in its workshops with export purposes, the latter being a popular type of industry work.

3. PRODUCTION OF WOODEN FRUITS

The economy of artisanal workshops is immersed within the national capitalist system, in which it survives and establishes its social relations of production.

This type of workshop shows the mercantile characteristics, for the owner or master is the proprietor of the means of production and the goods. Besides, the labor force sometimes corresponds to the master and his family, which is called the artisanal family industry. When the master hires employees, in addition to his labor force, we are dealing with an artisanal industry.

The profit from the products comes from people who request their elaboration by order and are in charge of commercialization. Only a few artisans go out to sell their wooden fruits directly from their sales stalls. This type of workshops only work by pre-order requests, since no one of them would storage finished merchandise.

To summarize, the two characteristics of the labor forces in workshops are:

Familiar mercantile industry: where the labor force is constituted by the master's family.

Artisanal industry: there is a group of small paid workers (officers and workers) and apprentices who stay around the owner. These people get paid, generally for finished tasks.

The social relations of production are established in the wages of the workers, who can obtain on the market the consumer products for their survival.

In addition, there are the merchants who negotiate the orders with the masters of the artisanal workshop.

The workshops investigated are presented below: first, the workshop of Don Marco Tulio Gómez Barrios, in a familiar way, is considered, and then those corresponding to the craft industry.

Production process in the workshop of Marco Tulio Gómez Barrios, Jocotenango.

The workshop of Marco Tulio Gómez Barrios is of a family type. Marco Tulio is single, but his brothers are married and live with their partners in the same house; they don't hire workers, like their neighbors. All of them are soccer fans, and one of them plays systematically. Each brother has a work speciality. Marco Tulio says he has worked on fruits for 18 years.

His brothers specialize in cutting wood, they request it from a person who is in charge of making the order.

Techniques of making wooden fruits.

First, the piece of wood is cut thinking about what fruit is going to be made. Then, the fruit is turned and carved. They put it on the sheet to dry because it is hot and they calculate when the wood is dry so that it can be painted. The painting is done by putting the fruit in the basin containing aniline, the part that has another color is painted with the little finger. To even out the faded color they use water. The fruits get dried on the sheets again. They varnish them to give it shine and seal the pore. The emptying of the flat wicker basket is done with gouge. The carving is done with chisel.

In rainy weather they dry the fruit by putting it around a tin can and surrounding it with the fruit covered with sawdust. They make a sawdust fire inside the jar so that the heat emitted through the tinplate dries the fruit.

The brother tells us that, once the fruits are painted, they put sealant on it, which they thin with thinner. After the sealant is dry, they give it a rub with fine sandpaper so that it does not get rough; this they do occasionally up to four times, finally, they apply varnish to it.

The grapes are dried on a board where they are put in small pieces. To carve the bananas they use a tool that they call "cachito", which has a curved base and a straight one, with this tool they shape the bananas. The 'cachito' is a brush: the curved side is used for indoors and the straight one for outdoors. The holes of the fruits are made with an electric drill; a piece of wand is inserted into these holes.

Marco Tulio has two wood lathes with a motor driven by a pulley, with a single headstock, faceplate, tail stock, and rustic tool rest.

During one visit to the workshop, we noticed that three of the brothers were working and also five children. Marco Tulio was cutting a log into small pieces with a saw to get the sculpting of the fruits. Besides, with the machete they cut the corners, so these don't wobble when being turned. The leftover wood from this process is used to make balls for dress belts and for the production of grapes and small fruit. The cutting is done by measuring the piece of wood to be cut. It is then given a round shape and turned on the lathe

Among the normal-sized fruits they make granadillas, watermelons, bananas. Marco Tulio says that vegetables are more expensive than fruit because of the work involved in their preparation.

He informs us that they do not manufacture other products besides fruits and glasses, for example, furniture, as it is not profitable for them. The success of the workshop — they reaffirm — consists of manufacturing various wooden items different from those made by their neighbors.

They turn the fruits in summer to take advantage of the sun and paint them in winter. In the summer they turn more to have work in the winter.

Among the artisanal industry workshops investigated are: the production of Dr. Chambel (information by Florencio Ruiz); the workshop of Francisco García Barrios (Jocotenango); the workshop neighboring to Don Francisco García Barrios and belonging to Tomás Cárdenas Barrios (Jocotenango); a workshop of Mr. Florencio Ruiz; production process of the Uatlán store (Antigua).

Production process of the Dr, Chamber (informant, Florencio Ruiz)

The fruits were squared by hand and carved into shape; then they were polished with five different kinds of sandpaper. The color was given by hand, with cotton, and a dye was used that was sold by Cosmos laboratories and that was not aniline, as it is now. Once the above was done, it was covered with a boat varnish, using a camel hair brush.

Then the fruit was taken from the little trunk and a hand of fine powdered wax was passed to it, which served as polishing and finishing.

Production process in the workshop of Francisco García Barrios (Jocotenango)

Sir Francisco dedicates to the elaboration of wooden fruits. Most of his production takes it to a point where it is completely finished and a part is only carved, without painting or varnishing it, the completely finished fruit is the one he sells to the merchants of Guatemala. Don Francisco agrees to grant us an interview, The wood used in this elaboration, according to him, comes from the jacaranda and the conacaste. The finished fruit, that is, freshly painted, is dried in wooden ovens.

Don Francisco's carpentry workshop is quite poor, it only has two workbenches and in one of them there is a rustic wooden lathe, which is used to make the (carved) fruits. We could observe that in addition to Don Francisco, two more operators work. These

people look, by the way they dress and their personal arrangement, of the popular class.

Don Francisco had two sacks full of carved fruits, ready for painting. One of his workers had finished carving an apple using a chisel. The state of the workshop wasn't very neat and was quite sloppy.

Techniques of Don Francisco

To paint the fruits he uses aniline. He says he also sells only varnished fruits. He makes the fruits from conacaste, which they consider better wood, since the sap is not thick. He makes the trays on a lathe, while the neighbor makes some by hand. The rain does affect his work, because paint and wood do not dry the same.

He says that a lot of wooden fruit is sold. He uses alcohol to fade the color. There is a division of labor, because in the workshop some people are turners and others are fruit carvers. When painting, the workers do not wear gloves, so their fingers get stained; they say that it is difficult for the paint to come out. Each operator has a different specialty in the carving of fruits. They do not wear masks for turning, so they are affected by the dust from the sawdust. Don Francisco also produces vegetables. Several people bring him the fruits to be turned; afterward, they carve them back for him to paint and sell. In other words, they work by the task.

He also produces lathes, table legs and pieces for bed backs that customers ask for.

According to Don Francisco, there are three more carpenters in Jocotenango who work the grooved pineapples. Don Francisco says that the small fruit bowls with stuck fruits are made by Gerardo López, who is behind the Municipality, and Enrique Arriola, on Calle Real. The fruits are glued with Ega brand glues.

Workshop next to that of Don Francisco Barrios, belonging to his brother, Tomás Cárdenas Barrios.

In this one, we could observe that children work. This workshop belongs to one of Don Francisco's brothers, whose name is Tomás Cárdenas Barrios, nicknamed "El Gordo".

A group of children were observed shining a few apples. They said that they varnished them by applying the varnish with a cotton ball to close the pore and get shine out of it. There were several children, and stated they weren't relatives. The apples they were making were part of an order. Apparently the owner of the carpentry shop was not very pleased that we talked to them. The fact that when we passed in front of the carpentry shop again there were only two children working, instead of the four that were there at the beginning caught our attention.

Don Enrique Arriola's Workshop - Calle Real de Jocotenango

In addition to the owner, two other people work in Enrique Arriola's workshop: an elderly man and another in his 30s, looking like an alcoholic. They only have one lathe placed on a small bench, and a lot of poverty is noticeable. Mrs. María Victoria Arzú also works.

Production process of wooden fruits in the workshop of Mr. Florencio Ruiz.

This workshop is located on the 6th. Av. Norte No, 55 A. The workshop of the lord is poor, although it is better than the workshops of Jocotenango. Jorge Martínez tells us that they take the fruit to be turned elsewhere and in the workshop, they carve and paint them. Mr. Florencio Ruiz works the fruits by hand; he does not have a lathe, although he does other types of work.

Don Florencio tells us that they do not use varnish, but a sealant with which they smear the fruits, because the varnish leaves them very shiny. Ruiz says that the carpentry benches are very old and that he is fond of them, that all the holes they have, serve him to accommodate the fruits when working them.

Production process in the workshop of the Uatlán store (Antigua Guatemala)

In this store they sell traditional clothes and items at a very high price. It's in front of Don Rodrigo's Inn. There is a carpentry shop where they make traditional antique furniture. These people were commissioned to make 2,000 fruits for the United States of America, and upon the customer's advice, and seeing that the fruits sold well, they copied the item for regular production and sale. They make them from conacaste, from the leftover wood of the furniture. First they dry the wood in the oven, make the fruits, paint them and dry them in the oven for a while longer. They cover them with varnish to seal and give shine using a piece of cotton wool. The prices are Q.1.75 per fruit; Q.3.50 for grapes. A flat wicker basket costs Q.15.00, according to the employee, they have another carpentry shop in San Felipe, behind the church. They place the already painted fruits in the heat of the oven so that they dry and the paint penetrates the wood.

Social relations of production

In the beginning, the elaboration of the wooden fruit was carried out in an artisanal-industrial way; the price of the fruit was quoted very well. But the diffusion of the technique, as the production became popular, caused the carpenters to "undercut" the price, leading to the flourishing of many workshops. On the other hand, Dartón and Castillo turned the production of wooden fruits into a full capitalist industry, taking it to the point of exportation, but over time, it seems they became more interested in the coffee cultivation business. They had set up a factory with 25 workers and maintained production for 3 and a half years. Now the social relations of production are established by means of foreigners who come to buy the fruit for export and for which they hire the production of the popular carpenters. In addition to these relationships, others are established with the intermediaries and owners of the sales in the markets of San

Felipe, Antigua Guatemala, 18th Street market in the capital and some craft stores dedicated especially to trade with tourists, Within the investigated trade sites are the following:

San Felipe Market

We started our journey in the San Felipe market, visiting the sales stands. We interviewed several saleswomen who had fruits for sale and they informed us the following; one saleswoman tells us that she sells the loose fruits at Q.0.60 each and the group with a fruit bowl at Q.16.00. She reports that the fruits are made in San Felipe, in a carpentry shop that is located on the way to Jocotenango, half a block from the square.

Another seller asked us for Q.0.75 for each loose fruit and also informs us that they are made in San Felipe and in La Antigua, that they sell them in San Felipe and in the central market of Guatemala.

One of the saleswomen reported that the fruits are painted and that other times they are only varnished. We were able to observe that there are several varieties of wooden fruits: grapes joined with wire covered in wrapping, pineapples with painted leather leaves, jocotes and cashews using their natural seeds, sugarcane, bananas, apples, pears, jocotes, passion fruits, oranges, and sapotes. Other prices in this market are: large fruit bowls range between Q12.00 and Q18.00 Small fruit bowl Q.5.00; loose fruits Q.7.50 a dozen.

Carpentry of Don Francisco Barrios Gómez (Jocotenango)

Don Francisco informs that the period of greatest sale is at Christmas, then follows the holy week and another is in August, related to the local fair. He sells the fruits in Guatemala and has no intermediary. Sometimes people place orders and never come back for them, which causes him problems because he doesn't have enough money to finance many orders. He sells directly to the stores. He also explains that the most important market for him is with tourism, and that most fruits are sold in Guatemala, mainly in the Central Market and very little in Antigua.

Don Francisco indicates that he was invited to the fair in November 1981, but he did not have the money to finance a production in order to sell fruits. In addition to the danger it represents, if you do not sell the fruit - having a quantity made and not being able to produce more due to lack of money.

He comments that the fruit sold by other carpenters - the ones who make the ribbed pineapple - is sold cheaper to stores. This affects him because he cannot give the cheapest fruit, since the other is of inferior quality.

Carpentry of Marco Tulio Gómez Barrios (Jocotenango)

Marco Tulio says that the fruits are requested by people who resell them. The orders are usually from Americans, such as one who lives in Zone 7. He has an order

from an important politician, who ordered him 80 sets of cup holders; he has also worked on fruits for this client. He says that from the Sears store they asked him for samples to sell.

He sells fruits at Q.7.00 a dozen (fruits are of all kinds). Flat wicker basket at Q.3.50 and 10" at Q.4.50. When he has no money he goes out to sell fruits to the stores and they are bought soon at a good price. He also makes vegetables and sells them at a more expensive price. They cost between seven and eight quetzals a dozen. Among the vegetables they make are: carrots, turnips, onions, guisquiles, tomatoes, sweet potatoes; they also make avocados. He mentions that other people produce fruits in Jocotenango, but he doesn't think they make them in Guatemala. In San Felipe — he says— the saleswomen assemble the fruit sets with fruits from different manufacturers.

Market of Antigua

When we visited the Antigua Guatemala market, we found that wooden fruits are sold in two stalls of that market.

At a craft stall located in the market, they told us that wooden fruits are not made much, that they make more of clay. They are painted with varnish to protect them so they don't stain. They are very old crafts that come from Jocotenango. They buy them and resell them; the price is one quetzal per fruit. A saleswoman says that fewer are made in winter, because the wood is wet and it costs a lot to get dry wood. Another seller reports that they buy the fruits for decoration.

Antigua Guatemala

When we visited some shops in the center of La Antigua, we found that the fruits are sold in the shops dedicated to tourist sales. Let's see:

Alex Store, 4a. street between fourth and third avenues. This tourist shop sells small fruits at Q.4.50 the set with everything and fruit bowl,. Normal fruits at Q.1.00 and the flat wicker basket, depending on the size, from Q.6.00 to Q.4.50. It is the only place where the fruits have been seen only varnished, without paint.

The Utatlan Store. They sell wooden fruits, but they are manufactured in their own workshop and what they have for sale are the leftovers of a production that was made for abroad.

Handicraft market. The handicraft market has currently ceased to exist and in its place is installed, at the moment, a club called "Manhattan". When walking through the little market in the atrium of the San Francisco El Grande church, we found that painted fruits are sold there, with everything and a fruit bowl, at Q.10.00 and there are also small fruit bowls. Normal-sized fruits are sold at Q.1.25 each. This market holds sales stalls every day, but they increase on weekends and holidays.

18th Street Market, Guatemala. We toured the temporary facilities of the Central Market, in the plazuela del ferrocarril, 18th street between 9a. and 10th. avenues, in order to know if they sell fruit in this place and we find the following panorama: there are 43 establishments where they sell fruits and fruit bowls, in small and large size. An informant indicated that there is also the manufacture of vegetables made of wood, which are carried by a "fat lady" of Antigua, and that this kind of handicraft is not made by conventional carpenters. The vegetables are made in small size; among them are: onion, corn, tomato, beet, squash, turnip, and carrot. The vendors at the 18th Street market say that the colored fruits are in higher demand than the ones made of sare, that is, in the natural color of the wood. Among the existing fruits there are: pears, watermelons, avocados, zapotes, oranges, grapes, pears, apples, reed, cashew nut, pomegranate.

In some stores they offer all the fruits at prices set by them, minus the grapes and pineapple, both of which they give at Q.3.50 each. This is seen in markets and in shops with commercial establishments.

The shop assistant Ana Lucrecia Marroquín, from the Variedades Típicas store, located in the market, reports that they make fruits here in Guatemala. Two people come to sell him fruit every week: a man comes 3 times a week: Monday, Wednesday and Saturday. He talked about a little old man who was selling fruits, but he thinks he died because he didn't come anymore. The fruit, which is supposed to be made in Guatemala, has a coarser appearance in the carving, manifesting the difference of ribbed carving of the pineapple with the traditional carving of the eyes of the pineapple made in Jocotenango. As for the nuances, the fruit has characteristics of thick lines and the nuance is not given with the perfection of the traditional fruit. It seems that the people who introduce this fruit to the market already have an established sales line, which only covers the last street, that is, the street where the leather goods are.

The market prices range between Q0.75, Q.0.95, Q.1.25 Q.0.90 and Q.0.60. Small fruit bowls, Q.7.00; medium, Q.7.00; large, Q.15.00, La Regional store Fruit bowl, Q.30.00.

Guatemala City sales

When visiting several shops where they sell wooden fruits in the city we found the following: the wooden fruits in these shops have a higher price than the one established in the markets. La Regional gives each fruit to Q.1.25, and the fruit bowls with everything and fruit to Q.30.00, This store has another branch located in zone 1. La Rojas store offers small fruit at Q.4.50; the fruit bowl is small. In the El Quetzal store, 4a. street between 4a. and 5th. avenues, they sell the wooden fruits at Q.1,00. There are painted and varnished fruits. The flat wicker basket are Q4.50 In the Paiz store in Aguilar Batres, we found wooden fruits: pineapples priced at Q.3.99 and other fruits at Q.1.29. The person in charge of the display says they are made in Antigua Guatemala.

There are also fruits in the handicrafts market of the Gemini building, in zone 10, where prices are higher.

Enrique Arriola's Carpentry - Calle Real de Jocotenango

The person who sells the fruit of this workshop is Doña María Victoria Arzú, who seems to be the lady indicated by the saleswomen of the 18th Street market, who comes to sell the fruit bowls to them. Doña María reports that she sells fruits and fruit bowls at the 18th Street market and that she carries them personally.

Carpentry of Don Florencio Ruiz - Antigua Guatemala

While interviewing Don Florencio Ruiz and his son Jorge Martínez about their sales, they told us the following: Jorge Martínez Ruiz indicates that the fruit does not produce as before, because they sell them for Q.1.00. They produce only on request and work for Sombol. Don Florencio Ruiz says that, indeed, they sell to Sombol and that in this store they are very strict, that they check all the fruit, they also count the grapes, which must be 29 per bunch. They return what they consider that is damaged.

4. ANALYSIS

Origin and Formation of the Folkloric Fact

The wooden fruit handicraft from Jocotenango and Antigua Guatemala was introduced by a foreigner, probably German, who produced them in Guatemala along with colonial-style furniture. He marketed or sold them to both foreign and national tourists as a supposed element of traditional Guatemalan culture. This individual's work could be classified as a artisanal industry.

This phenomenon is imposed by the ruling classes on the popular classes, since in a social structure divided into classes, such as the Guatemalan one, the phenomenon is introduced by a foreigner who exploits the artisanal technique and then a landowner and an industrial entrepreneur continue with it. Subsequently, they abandon the work of handicrafts, and it spreads among the artisans of the population of Jocotenango, becoming fully folklorized. Therefore, these artisans fully assimilate the manufacture of wooden fruits, then producing them in their family-type workshops.

Folkloric fact as an expression of the lower classes

Wooden handicrafts are worked as an artisanal industry, by workers who belong to the proletarian classes and who do not possess

another alternative is to sell their labor to employers or masters who only own, in their workshops, the tools of production as property, but have no capital at all. Therefore, they are also located in the proletarian extracts of Guatemalan society.

Not being part of any particular ethnic group, these artisans, both the owners of the workshops and their operators, belong to the subaltern class of a class society, as is

the proletarian class of the Guatemalan capitalist society in which these groups are immersed.

Characteristics of the Folkloric phenomenon

To consider whether the wooden handicraft fruits are a folkloric phenomenon, we are going to try to analyze it following the characteristics that Augusto Raúl Cortázar proposes must have a folkloric phenomenon.

1. Product of a process that, although slow is dynamic

This stage is evidenced by the fact that the phenomenon has undergone a series of changes, from its beginnings as a craft industry in the hands of entrepreneurs from the dominant classes who introduced it, to the current stage in which it has become folklorized and the fruits are processed by small craft workshops belonging to the popular classes. Therefore, there has been a dynamic development, which is still ongoing.

2. Collective, socialized and current

The wooden fruits are produced by a large number of Jocotenango workers who work them by task to the owners of the craft workshops, who are the ones who establish the sales, so it is a collective phenomenon.

3. Folkloric phenomena are popular

This phenomenon is popular, because in the town of Jocotenango many people carve and polish fruits in order to earn a little extra money and then sell them to the owners of workshops, who finish making it.

4. Folkloric facts are empirical and not institutionalized

The handicraft of the wooden fruit is taught directly and through the example of the artisans who teach it by making it.

5. The Folkloric phenomena are oral.

The teaching of this craft, in addition to the above, is transmitted orally, because there is nothing written in its teaching.

6. Folkloric phenomena are functional.

The handicraft of wooden fruits belongs to the decorative ergo-logical folklore. These are goods acquired mostly by tourists and exported abroad. Their main function is to represent the livelihood of a large group of artisans from the population of Jocotenango, who produce them because they are items that are in demand and allow them to subsist with their workshops.

7. Folkloric phenomena are traditional

This is the only feature that does not cover the handicraft of wooden fruits because it has only been around for about 20 years. Therefore, it has spread, but it has not yet been fully transmitted from one generation to another. For the short time of his existence, Mr. Florencio Ruiz has taught his children, who help him; but none of them has any interest in continuing with this work. Sr. Marco Tulio Gómez has spread it among his brothers and cousins, but it has not yet been transmitted to the descendants. The same cases are found with other craftsmen. So far, this craft has spread in one geographical sector, but it has not been transmitted from one generation to another, except in the case of masters who have taught young workers to exploit them. Thus, this phenomenon begins its first transmission processes and cannot be considered as a fully traditional fact.

8. Folkloric phenomena are anonymous

The person who developed this handicraft in Guatemala is almost unknown. He was a German "doctor", of whom we barely know his last name. There remains doubt whether this gentleman was not a carrier who spread such handicrafts in our country. It would be necessary to find out if it is of European origin.

Currently, only the bearers of this folkloric fact are known and most operators who manufacture wooden fruits do not know the origin of this fact. This is only known by a small group of people who worked at the beginning of the handicraft in Antigua Guatemala. This is due to the fact that the introduction of the phenomenon was about 20 years old and some people who started producing them are still alive.

9. Folkloric phenomena are geographically localized

This phenomenon is located in the town of Jocotenango, municipality of the Department of Sacatepéquez.

5. CONCLUSIONS

1. The handicraft of wooden fruits was introduced to Guatemala by a foreigner and has gone through a process of folklorization, being now a phenomenon belonging to the popular classes.

2. This folkloric phenomenon is dynamic, collective, empirical and its teaching is oral. It is functional because a good number of Jocotenango artisans live from this craft.

3. It is folklore, although it is not traditional, because it is a very recent phenomenon that has not yet been fully transmitted from one generation to another.

4. This handicraft is developed in workshops that, due to their production relationships, can be family, mercantile in some cases and artisanal in others, according to the definition of Erazo Fuentes.

Future perspective

The wood fruit handicraft faces some problems for its development, which are:

1. The increasing cost of wood. Because large pieces of the fruit are used, the profit margin it yields is reduced, which has led some artisans to stop making it.
2. The market where this product is sold is mostly of tourist origin because Guatemalans buy these fruits poorly. It is a market that, due to the national and international crisis that tourism is going through, has reduced considerably.

These two problems: a reduction in utility due to a higher production cost and another in the market, will affect the development of this craft in the future probably reducing the number of people who are dedicated to producing them.

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