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MANUSCRIPT NO. 31

ITEM A

#31 a

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THE HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF THE MIDDLE AMERICAN
"WIND-DISEASE" CONCEPT.

by

Malcolm Carr

Paper submitted in fulfillment of the re-
quirements for candidacy for the degree of
Master of Arts at the University of Chicago.

December, 1937

This essay is an inquiry into the problem of the historical origin of the concept of the association of winds with disease as it is known in Middle America today. Such an inquiry is a study of culture change which began four hundred years ago and must be based on a knowledge of native Middle American cultures and of European, especially Spanish culture of the 16th and 17th centuries. If an element of culture is known from Europe and is not reported for ancient Middle America and is not characteristic of American Indian cultures in general, it can with some safety be assigned a European origin. An element reported for ancient Middle America and not characteristic of 16th and 17th century Europe can with the same certainty be considered native. There are also the possibilities that an element in present-day Middle American culture is the result of a fusion of European and Indian influences or was characteristic of both aboriginal America and 16th century Europe.

Because of the difficulties involved in assigning the place of origin for any element and because European and Indian cultures have been interacting for the past four hundred years, it is usually impossible to say that an element is "pure Indian" or "pure European"

I. Redfield, Robert, Chan Kom, Appendix E.
Culture Change in Yucatan
Material Culture of Spanish-Indian Mexico

and it should rather be said that it is the result of tendencies which were characteristic of native Middle American or of European culture of the 16th and 17th centuries. In no case can conclusions be considered final and the most that can be hoped for is a multiplication of evidence to increase the possibility that the solution reached is correct. Conclusions which may appear valid in the light of slight evidence may with further information prove to be wrong and revisions are continually necessary.

An application of historical analysis in the Middle American field is already seen in the work of Boas, Redfield, Parsons, Thompson and others. Boas wrote first on Mexican folk-lore.¹ Briefly stated, his method is that of comparing certain tales from different parts of Mexico, from Indian groups in North America and from American negroes to determine the elements characteristic of each group and those characteristic of two or more groups. These in turn are compared with European, Asiatic and African tales and finally, as control material, with tales from other parts of the world which had come under strong Spanish influence. Reference has been made above to Redfield's application of this approach. Dr. Parsons in the chapter "Indian or Spanish?" in her recent publication Mitla is perhaps more hopeful of the results to be obtained from such an

I. Boas, Franz, Notes on Mexican Folk-Lore

analysis and makes extensive comparisons of contemporary Mitla culture with other American Indian groups, with Spanish folk culture and with documentary evidence of ancient Mitla life.

It seems apparent that there are at least three possible approaches toward an answer to the question, is the wind-disease concept Spanish or Indian in origin, or both. First: an examination of the pre-Conquest and immediately post-Conquest documents from Middle America to obtain evidence for the existence of this concept in pre-Columbian times. Second: an examination of the character of the concept in 16th and 17th century Spain, and of evidence of its existence today in Spanish-influenced countries other than Middle America i.e. Cuba, the Philippines, parts of North America and in such Spanish-influenced sections of Middle America as the ladino communities of Guatemala. Third: the association of this concept in Middle America today with other elements of known Spanish and known Indian origin. These three approaches involve different sets of data but the establishment of any conclusion will rest on a correlation of evidence from all three. A review of the contemporary ethnological material from Middle America will be made first to indicate the extent of occurrence of the wind-disease concept and the variety of its characteristics, the material from the three lines of approach to the problem of its origin will then be considered along with the advantages and limitations of each.

One of the most extensive and detailed accounts of the "wind-disease" concept is that reported for the Maya village of Chan Kom. In native thought vientos maleficos are considered the most frequent cause of sickness. They may be thought of in terms of wind in general or of specific winds such as those that blow before it rains, or those that blow from the water whether it is the sea, the cenotes or the rain. Winds which blow between two hillocks are also dangerous.¹ Winds, aside from being associated with actual movements of the air, may also be more or less specifically personified. Cures used for diseases caused by the winds treat them as persons, urging them to leave the body, and the winds may be thought of as having^{the} form of little children and moving about.²

Although considered a general, ever-present danger, different winds may be distinguished either on the basis of the source from which they come or the sickness they bring. There are for example, the "asthma wind" and the "vertigo wind" and it is the duty of the hemen, the priest and shaman, to determine which wind is causing the trouble.² There are also the winds which are present wherever the zip are found. The zip, supernatural protectors of the deer, must be magically shot for successful hunting and at the death of the zip the hunter must run to escape the evil winds.³ There are special

1. Redfield, Robert, and Villa, Alfonso, Chan Kom, p.164

2. Ibid., p.165

3. Ibid., p.118

protectors for man, his cattle and his fields - the balams are the pagan deities who guard the village and milpa from evil winds,^{1.} and X-Juan*Thul keeps the winds from the cattle and the corral.^{2.} Besides the deities, the alux which are like small goblins, protect the milpa.^{3.} There is also one wind which is definitely favorable, it is the "fiery whirlwind" which is entreated to sweep the flame across the milpa when it is being burned.^{4.}

Because it is thought that disease is sent by the gods as a punishment for neglect of agricultural duties, for lack of piety and for breach of moral rule and because it is also thought that most diseases are caused by winds, winds assume an important place as the instrument of the gods for enforcing piety and moral conduct.^{5.} For this reason the treatment of disease is not only a practical matter of bleeding and cupping and the application of herbs by the h-men^{6.} but also involves the performance of ceremonies some of which are entirely therapeutic and another which also includes propitiation. The santiguar and kex ceremonies represent the first type, the loh represents the second.

The santiguar is performed as a cure for sickness resulting from an accidental encounter with the winds or at special occasions such as the performance of the dza akab ritual when the dancers

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1. Ibid., p. 112
 2. Ibid., p. 118
 3. Ibid., p. 120
 4. Ibid., p. 119
 5. Ibid., p. 167
 6. Ibid., p. 173

are heated and tired and consequently more susceptible to the evil winds.¹ No offerings are made but the patient is rubbed with zipche and rum is sprinkled about. The herbs are then thrown out and with them, supposedly, the winds.² In a case of serious illness the h-men may promise to perform the kex ceremony if the patient recovers. First a dish of zaca, a ceremonial corn preparation, is made and the probable outcome of the sickness is foretold by the arrangement of the kernels. The ceremony involves the preparation of certain foods, parts of fowl, fruit, zaca and rum which are given to the winds in exchange for the recovery of the patient. The h-men applies various herbs and recites an offertory and finally the food is carried out of the house and thrown away - the winds have had their dinner and will now leave.³

The loh ceremony, on the other hand, is a community rather than an individual affair and may be performed when the bees are not producing or the cattle are sick or when some epidemic has infected the village. It is a propitiation of the balams to keep the winds away and an exorcism of the evil winds themselves. Ritual food is prepared and placed on two altars as an offering to the balams and the alux. By consulting his zastun, sacred divining stone, the h-men determines the place from which the evil is coming and

1. Ibid., p. 159

2. Ibid., p. 173

3. Ibid., p. 174

offerings are carried there whether it is a mound where the alux are hiding¹ or the four entrances to the village through which the winds are coming². The loh ceremony is the only one performed by the h-men in which Catholic prayers and an image of the xanto are used.²

Besides these cures and ceremonies, amulets are worn as a protection against disease in general and against the winds which bring disease. This is especially important for children since they do not know how to protect themselves from evil influences.² Such amulets are collections of small seeds, bones and shell. If they change color it is because they have absorbed the winds which otherwise would have injured the owner of the amulet.³

The "wind-disease" concept also involves the notion of varying degrees of susceptibility to the winds. The danger to the vaqueros from being overheated and tired after dancing has been mentioned above. Other times of crisis, of emotional and physical excitement such as child-birth,⁴ sexual intercourse or after any unusual exertion are considered dangerous and special precaution must be taken to avoid the winds.⁵ It is also necessary to perform a ceremony to drive the winds from a new house before the occupants move in otherwise they will become sick.⁶

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1. Ibid., p. I75
 2. Ibid., p. I76
 3. Ibid., p. I77
 4. Ibid., p. I82
 5. Ibid., p. I68
 6. Ibid., p. I46

Finally, sickness is thought of as coming not only from natural winds and from winds sent by the deities but also from those over which the sorcerers have control. This is but one way in which the sorcerer may act and by reciting a formula he may send the winds into his victim.¹

Confirmation of the presence of this concept among the Maya of Yucatan is found in articles² by G.M. Rejon and Santiago Mendez.³ The latter stresses the importance of the alux in sending disease and describes them as having many of the characteristics shared by the evil winds and the alux in Chan Kom - they appear as little boys and live in ruins and on hills. Alfonso Villa reports⁴ occurrences of the "wind-Disease" concept for towns near Chan Kom. Here disease is caused by winds passing over the earth although their form is not described because they are phantoms. They may be cured by kex and baths. The winds are thought of as having two forms - they may have personalities of their own and be under the control of God or they may be the medium through which anyone knowing the proper formula can work harm.

Regarding the Maya of Quintana Roo at least three reports contain descriptions of the "wind-Disease" concept. Villa describes the loh ceremony in Tusik.⁴ He also tells of a man who fell ill

1. Ibid., p. 178

2. Rejon, G.M. Supersticiones y Leyendas Mayas

3. Mendez, Santiago, The Maya Indians of Yucatan in 1861

4. Villa, Alfonso Unpublished Field Notes

because he had failed to offer "dinner" to the "winds" of his gun. An offering must be made after every seventh deer is killed and after the thirteenth has been brought down a complete loh must be performed. Villa does not state whether this is as a protection from the evil winds of the zip mentioned above in Chan Kom or not. The Kex and loh in Quintana Roo are also described by Pacheco Cruz.¹ Carlos Basauri in a report from the same region states that evil winds are considered the chief cause of sickness² and that offerings are made before the preparation of the milpa in order to drive off the evil winds.³

For the Maya of Southern Yucatan and Northern British Honduras, Gann makes no mention of a specific "evil wind concept" but says:

"Indians who are extremely superstitious, believe that the air is full of pishon, or souls of the dead ---- at liberty at all times to return to earth and as certain times compelled to do so!" (These same spirits infest caves and burial chambers.) Further: "A belief in Xtabai or spirits, and Ikoob or Wind Gods, seems common alike to Santa Cruz, Lacandonos and Indians of Yucatan".⁴

Tozzer also describes the Maya invocation of the wind spirits⁵ in the milpa ceremony. For the closely related Lacandonos there is no mention of wind but only a statement that the gods send sickness as a punishment.⁶

1. Cruz, Pacheco Estudio etnografico de los Mayas del ex Territorio Quintana Roo p. 64-66

2. Basauri, Carlos Los Indios Mayas de Quintana Roo p. 24

3. Ibid., p. 27

4. Gann, Thomas W. The Maya Indians of Southern Yucatan and Northern British Honduras p. 48

5. Tozzer, Alfred M. A Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandone. p. 18

6. Ibid., p. 99

A fuller account of the evil winds among the Maya of southern and central British Honduras refers to a prayer used in connection with treating a sick child at San Antonio (inhabited by descendants of immigrants from the Peten p.36):

"This prayer reveals the attitude of the Maya toward illness. It is caused either by an enemy or the evil winds. The Maya themselves are somewhat vague as to these winds. Some say they are spirits, or rather winds with a mentality capable of thought, who wander over the face of the land in search of someone whose body they can enter. Others are incapable of action themselves, but are sent into a man's body either by the Tabai or by a sorcerer. They are quite unconnected with the four big winds (iq) from which they are distinguished by being called Iqal".

Regarding the religion of the people of Socotz (probably immigrants from Yucatan p.37):

"The wind gods are said to be either three or four in number. They are known as Iqol (The Winds) and are associated with the four directions ----. They are strong and often cause sickness. For example I was questioning a man in Socotz as to a certain neighbor of his, whom I had heard was a H-men. The man replied that this man, Juan Ocom, was not a real H-men. He didn't know all the prayers and often prayed like a Christian. For example, he knew how to summon the lords of the milpa and their accompanying winds but did not know how to send them away again with the result that often the winds hang around Socotz causing much sickness which in many cases is fatal".

In the volume Tribes and Temples, Blom and LaBarge make no specific mention of a "wind-disease" concept but, speaking of the

1. Thompson, J. Eric The Maya of Southern and Central British Honduras p.74
2. Ibid., p.108

II

medicine men of San Fernando, Chiapas, say that in curing disease he calls only on Christian gods, making an offering on the household altar with the following prayer:

"Jesus, Jesus in the name of the God of the Holy Ghost if it be a wind from the magicians, if it be a wind from the sorcerers, I am going to drive off fires that he has in his head".¹

And in laying curses there is an offering of aguardiente and a prayer to the gods for help including the invocation to :

"Great Woman of the Southwest Wind, the great man of the southeast wind, now we call ye, we call ye ---- great magician spirits of the southwest wind etc.etc."²

A report of the Quiches states that:

"The guardians who go about in the cold wind and the Lord of the Wind and Tempest are associated with sickness."³

From the Cakchiquel village of Panajachel Tax writes:

"---- this ~~an~~ the wind is San Lorenzo, the man who is swift and knows every part of the world. San Lorenzo is the messenger of God, His only means of ~~meid~~ communication between sky and earth!"

San Lorenzo runs errands for God and checks the reports of the devil. In performing the latter duty, he may carry away spirits of babies to prove to God that the reports are false. The children die because of loss of spirit, of pneumonia etc. For this reason parents are careful not to let their children be exposed to the wind.

Wind and lightning punish men for their sins by bringing coughs, colds, smallpox, measles. If people work on Sunday the wind destroys the crops thereby bringing punishment to the whole community.

If one speaks ill of the wind, it may twist one's eyes or mouth.

Wind also does good, blowing away the clouds when it has rained too much.⁴

1. Blom, Franz and LaFarge, Oliver Tribes and Temples vol. I p. 143

2. Ibid., p. 145

3. Bunzel, Ruth Quiche MS. quoted in Mitla p. 215 note 59

4. Tax, Sol Unpublished notes.

Wisdom, describing the wind gods of the Chorti of Guatemala, says:

"They are also bearers of such sickness as is magically sent from a distance by a sorcerer or other malicious person upon an enemy, but they also carry sickness away after the curer has extracted it from the body of his patient."

"Most of the forms of sickness are caused by two phenomena, air and frights ----- The air (Sp. aigre; Chorti, ika'r; mauh ika'r) is said to be merely felt and invisible like air but able to cause great harm to the body into which it seeps. It is associated with the wind gods, since the latter are the messengers who carry sickness, in the form of sorcery and airs, from the person who causes them to the victim --. Magical airs like magical frights, are of two kinds: those caused by contact with a ritual object and those caused deliberately by either a sorcerer or an enemy. Any of these ritual or unclean objects is said to produce a sufficiently terrifying fright as to result in a wind in the body. -- The magical air is not localized but general, and exists all over the body it can be successfully diagnosed only by a professional diviner." The sickness is named for either the object which causes the air to enter the body, or for the part of the body affected. Also, "magical ailments caused by the malediction of an enemy are said to be brought to the victim by the wind gods and may take any form ranging from a slight sickness to death."¹

I find no evidence of a "wind-disease" concept mentioned in The Year Bearer's People which covers an area north of Huehuetenango in northern Guatemala, although sickness and its causes are discussed.²

Concerning the concept of wind and disease in Oaxaca, Dr. Parsons has given an extended account in Mitla and a few notes in her article Curanderos in Oaxaca. This Zapotecan belief, as compared for instance

1. Wisdom, Charles, Unpublished notes.

2. Beyers, Douglas and LaFarge Oliver The Year Bearer's People.

with that of the Maya of Chan Kom, is a more individual and practical concept involving no ceremonies and being treated by a curandera. Aire as a cause of sickness is thought of in naturalistic terms and also as if it were a spirit of the air.¹ If one is very angry² or if one is overheated one is more apt to be hit by aire.³ Certain ailments such as rheumatism, headache, swollen glands, and digestive disturbances are attributed to aire.⁴ After an earthquake the winds are dangerous.⁵ The cures used by the Zapotecs include the temazcal, steam bath,⁵ paste, made of copal, pes gum, animal grease,⁶ mala mujer, a poisonous cactus, also tobacco, urine and the gratings of a blackbird's bill.⁶ Aire may be removed from a twitching eyelid by blowing smoke in it.⁷ Sucking is also a cure for aire.⁸ The Zapotecs associate the devil with the whirlwind⁹ and believe also in a healing wind which blows away sickness.⁴ The fact that aire as a cause of sickness is associated by the Zapotecs with spirits - Wind, Water and Earth, rather than with witches suggests to Dr. Parsons that the notion is Indian. "As Wind, Water and even La Tierra have little or no recognized place in the pantheon today, the operation of their influences is expressed very vaguely in the reference to aire."¹⁰

1. Parons, Elsie Clews Mitla p.60

2. Ibid., p.63

3. Ibid., p.II8

4. Ibid., p.I20

5. Ibid., p.78

6. Ibid., p.II9

7. Ibid., p.377

8. Ibid., p.494

9. Ibid., p.2I5

10. Ibid., p.494

In regard to present-day Aztec notions of disease Frances Toor makes the following statement:

"There is a general belief among the Indians that illness comes to them either through the evil eye or special incantations and processes of witches or through the bad spirits of the air, in Aztec called aguaique. I myself according to an Aztec medicine woman -- was a victim of aguaique -- I had been 'hit by air'. The treatment was a vigorous rubbing with oils and herbs. On the second day the cure was completed by a bath -- at the same time she prayed to the virgin, that the air spirits leave me. When I left the sweathouse I had to take a twig -- which I threw into the stream as we crossed (around the streams and hills the aguaique are thickest). Sometimes to cure a patient who has been 'hit by the air' it is necessary to propitiate the spirits with gifts. The patient orders a quantity of little toys made of dough and clay in the form of tiny dolls, toads, snakes and reptiles. Along with these go a pair of candles, 'tamales', 'mole de pepita', eggs -- and other good things --- taken to a spot where the patient thinks he has been 'hit' by the aguaique."

The existence of a belief in the effect of evil winds on the part of the inhabitants of the Valley of Teotihuacan is indicated by Carlos Basauri:

"Creo que la mayoría de los enfermedades provienen de un susto de haber recibido aire maligne, mal de ojo etc" ^{2.}

This same aire maligne is mentioned by Gamio as one of the supernatural causes to which these people attribute sickness. ^{3.}

From another Nahuatl-speaking community, Tepoztlan, there is further report of the "wind-disease" concept. Los aires, the evil

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1. Toor, Frances Cures and Medicine Women p. 19
 2. Basauri, Carlos Principales supersticiones entre los habitantes del Valle de Teotihuacan p. 18
 3. Gamio, Manuel La Poblacion del Valle de Teotihuacan vol 2, p.412

spirits of the air are the most common single explanation of sickness. They are found wherever there is water and may be thought of as little people. They are responsible for causing spots, pimples, sores, plasy and paralysis. As a preventative amulets are worn and one keeps away from places where water collects. Certain herbs are used as a cure and powdered woodpecker's head may be taken internally. The herbs are applied to the patient at a street intersection, they are thrown away and everyone rushed from the spot immediately. Fumigation with cigarette smoke may accompany the use of the herbs.¹ There is also a belief that the spirits must be re-nourished with gifts. A doll is always made and tamales and cigarettes are offered.²

Writing of the medical practises of the Otomi, Basauri makes no mention of wind.

For the Tarascans, Cora and Tarahumara, each of whom was observed by Lumholtz, I find no mention of a "wind-disease" concept not did Nicolas Leon mention any for the former in his numerous reports. The only suggestion of such a concept among the Tarascans is an observation made to me by a Taracsan woman of Paracho that her uncle had once gone out into the fields early in the morning and returned with a swollen face because "the wind hit him".

1. Redfield, Robert Tepoztlan p. 164

2. Ibid., p. 164

Regarding the Huichol, Lumholtz makes the following statement:

"Throat trouble, bronchitis, is designated as moyaeli (plumes). Splinters of deer-antlers, or deer-hair have to be removed, as they are supposed to cause the tickling in the throat, and the cough indicates to the Indian that the illness is caused by the God of the Wind and of Hikuli."

Zingg comments further on the Huichol winds:

"Sacred also is the whirlwind man hortiman -- personification of dreaded whirlwinds, hortiman is so sacred that this condition attaches not only to his burro but even to the money he passes instead of manure."

Huichol treatment of wind is unusually sacred because of the association with breath of life and the soul.

Among the Tarahumara, according to Lumholtz, the shaman say that

"Illness is caused by wind or sorcery. From the former nobody dies although the heart, liver or head may be affected - the other kind is serious."

Bennett comments further:

"The regular wind (ikaka) is considered a person but not an evil one. However, the whirlwinds (dipibili) are dangerous. They are said to originate in the whirlpools of the river. The whirlwind people are evil beings, fat and piglike. They come stirring up the dust and ashes and leave a man all scratched and tattered. It is a lingering death. A sweat bath of cedar boughs will alleviate the disease if applied soon enough. In the attempt to catch the evil whirlwind, a shaman once made a trap of cloth high in the mountain where the wind blew strongly."

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1. Lumholtz, Carl Unknown Mexico vol. 2. p. 241
 2. Zingg, Robert Unpublished Ms.
 3. Lumholtz, Carl Op. cit. vol 2. p. 315
 4. Bennett, Wendell and Zingg, Robert The Tarahumara p. 325

We may now summarize the extent and characteristics of the "wind-disease" concept of the present-day Middle American groups from which we have information.

By a number of groups wind in some form is considered to be the most or one of the most frequent causes of sickness. This is true of the Maya, Zapotecans, Aztec, and Tarahumara. Among the Quiches, Tarascans and Huichol wind is considered as a source of disease but I know of no statement as to the frequency with which it is given as the cause.

Wind as the cause of sickness may be thought of as being the air itself (Zapotecans), or as having form and being either personified (Maya, Chiapas, Huichol, Tarahumara, Cakchiquel), or associated with gods (Maya), with spirits (Zapotecans), or with sorcerers (Maya, Chiapas, Chorti). The winds are also associated with natural phenomena: with water by the Maya, Aztec, Tarahumara; with the earthquake by the Zapotecans and with whirlwinds by the Zapotecans, Huichol and Tarahumara.

A further distinction between individual winds which bring sickness is characteristic of the Maya of Chan Kom and of Quinatana Roo and of Chiapas.

Winds which are favorable are reported from Chan Kom, Mitla and Panajachel.

Spirits protecting man, cattle and the fields against the winds are reported for Chan Kom.

Sickness resulting from winds may be thought of as due to an accidental encounter: Maya of Chan Kom, Zapotecans, Aztec, Tarascans, Tarahumara, or may be sent as a punishment, Maya, in which case the winds are the implement of the gods and act as a moral force or they are the implement of a sorcerer wishing to do some harm.

There is considerable variety of specific diseases which are thought to result from an encounter with wind: Zapotecans - rheumatism, headache, digestive troubles, twitching eyelids; Aztec - paralysis, headache, sores; Huichol - bronchitis; Tarahumara - heart, liver and kidney troubles.

An extensive and important belief in varying susceptibility to winds is reported for Chan Kom where times of crisis are times of danger from winds. According to Zapotecan belief anger and overheating make one susceptible.

Amulets are sometimes worn as a preventative against disease in general and against evil winds in particular.

The nature of the cures for "wind-diseases" varies from relatively simple medical treatment such as that of the h'men in Chan Kom and the curandera of the Zapotec and Aztecs to the performance of elaborate ceremonies. Medical treatment consists in cupping, bleeding, bathing and the application or consumption of herbs. The fact that the herbs may be thrown away and that the sickness is thought to go with them is of course, more than pure medical treatment. Blowing smoke is also exorcistic rather than medical. and the offering of dolls and small images constitutes a small ceremony in connection with medical treatment.

In ceremonies performed either as a preventative or as a cure divination is used, food is offered as a dinner for the winds or in exchange for the patient's recovery; prayers, pagan and Catholic are recited for the patient's recovery; santos are displayed. These features are also characteristic of the "new House" ceremony.

From this material it appears that the most extensive and formalized notions of wind are found among the Maya of Yucatan, Quintana Roo and British Honduras. For the Quiche, Chorti and Chontal of Chiapas wind is associated with disease but apparently the concept is not sufficiently important to have aroused much interest

among the investigators there. From the material on the Zapotec it would seem that the "wind-disease" concept is a very common one- as much so as with the Maya but it lacks the ceremonial formalization of the Maya belief. Reports for the present-day Aztec are less extensive but their concept would seem to be similar to that of the Zapotecs in extent and formalization. The concept among the Huichol is perhaps less extensive and is associated with the wind god. Among the Tarahumara the whirlwind is especially important.

Evidence of the existence of the "wind-disease" concept in pre-Columbian Middle America

The pre-Conquest and immediately post-Conquest material from Middle America is not very extensive but the attempt to locate in it information regarding wind and disease has occupied the greater part of the time spent on this essay. The material is, of course, greatly varied as to type of content and reliability and the comments necessary to establish the validity of the documents quoted will be made in connection with each reference. One or two general statements might be made here with regard to the usefulness of these documents for this study. Their contents is obviously weighted on the side of religious material, and common medical lore and matters of daily life receive much less attention. This tends to throw the material into a perspective which underestimates evidence regarding the particular concept in which we are interested, and details are very rare. These documents are also quite concentrated as to their place of origin or composition, the Maya and Aztec being practically the only groups described, and they do not therefore, represent the total area represented by the present concept. In the presentation of this material documents from the Maya area will be considered first followed by those from Nahua-speaking groups, each being taken up according to its known or estimated age.

Of the three extant, pre-Conquest Maya codices only the Dresden offered any material and although it is not a direct "wind-disease" reference, it suggests the background against which the Maya referred their more explicit notions of wind and vitality. The Dresden Codex belongs to the Maya New Empire with a possible date of circa 1000¹. It comes probably from the Palenque area rather than further north and is related to the Codex Perez.² Pages 4a-10a are a "normal tonalamatl" or book of augury and soothsaying and regarding the Day - I9 - Ik the commentator makes the following statement:

"Ik; Aztec Ehecatl, wind, air, breath. The deity pictured is B, the god who is found most frequently and with the most varied attributes of all gods in our manuscript. He is the god proper of breathing and living."³

Additional description of this god is given by Schellhas:

"B the God with the Large Nose and Lolling Tongue.
 --- all these pictures are meant to typify his abode in the air, above rain, storm and death-bringing clouds
 --- He appears as ruler of all points of the compass
 --- as well as air, fire, water and earth are subject to him. --- He is clearly a deity of life and creation in contrast to the powers of death and destruction. His day seems to be Ik (aspiration, breath, life)."⁴

Coming from a different part of the Maya area and constituting a different type of document is the Popol Vuh of the Quiches.

Although of definitely post-Conquest date (circa 1530)⁵, it reaches

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1. Gann, Thomas W. and Thompson, J. Eric History of the Maya p.15
 2. Gates, Wm. E. Commentary upon the Maya-Tzental Perez Codex. p.28
 3. Foerstemann, E.W. Commentary on the Maya MS. in the Royal Public library of Dresden p. 63
 4. Schellhas, Paul Representations of Deities of the Maya MSS. pp.16, 33-34
 5. Gann, Thomas W. and Thompson, J. Eric Op. Cit. p. 156

far back into Maya history by recording myths and traditions which the Quiches had handed down for many generations and recorded here in European transcription of their native language. Brasseur de Boubourg precedes his translation with the comment:

"Iq, on Mexicain Ehecatl, l'un et l'autre signifie également le souffle, le vent ou l'esprit". And in the fourth epoch of nature "au 4ieme soleil et au jour Nahui Ehecatl, IV Vent, eut lieu l'enlevement par le vent et la metamorphse (des hommes) en singes."²

Regarding the neighboring Cakchiquels, Brinton says in his introduction to his translation of their Annals -- a record of ancient traditions of the tribe:

"Before weeding a patch, incense was burned at each of the four corners of the field to the four gods of the wind and rain."³

And, according to Sanchez y Leon:

"The most usual sacrifice (agricultural), was a child -- the blood was sprinkled toward the four points as an act of adoration of the four winds."⁴

The place of Kukulcan and the importance of the winds in Maya religion is somewhat ambiguous since the place of origin of Kukulcan and the extent of his attributes are not entirely clear. But it does seem clear that he is associated with wind and life-giving forces and rules over the day Ik.

1. Brasseur de Boubourg Popol Vuh p. LXXIII

2. Ibid., p. LXXX

3. Brinton, Daniel G. Annals of the Cakchiquels p. 14

4. Ibid., p. 26

Of a more northern origin and later date of origin than the documents mentioned above, are the Books of Chilam Balam containing chronicles and ceremonial and medical texts. The Chilam Balam de Chumayel dates from 1782 and contains more information regarding wind than the earlier sources. It is probable that the books were originally in the form of hieroglyphic codices and were reduced to Maya written with European characters shortly after the Conquest. However, many parts contain Spanish references. They are especially numerous in the medical sections and the language in these sections is also inferior to that of the rest and many of the recipes are taken over from Spanish sources.¹ In the section of mythology the use and meaning of Ik occurs again:

"On day I2 "Ik the breath of life was created called ik because there was no death in it."²

A reference to Kin-ich Kak-moo (literally "sun-eyed fiery macaw") as a "sort of sun-god --- a protector against disease"³ is of interest because of reference in the Chilam Balam de Kaua to "tzitz mo wind (purple macaw wind)"⁴ and its association with disease which will be quoted below.

A recent study made by Elizabeth C. Stewart as a doctor's dissertation (Johns Hopkins 1936), has been a fertile source of

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1. Tozzer, Alfred M. The Chilam Balam Book and the possibility of its translation p. 182
 2. Roys, Ralph The Booksoof Chilam Balam p. II7
 3. Ibid., p. I41
 4. Stewart, Elizabeth C. Maya Medical MSS. p.36

information on the medical sections of Maya manuscripts. Dr. Stewart has gathered and translated prescriptions from eleven post-Conquest manuscripts. In the introduction she states:

"A glance through any one of the major medicine manuscripts will reveal a very large proportion of ailments named either 'wind', purely and simply, or named for some special wind; in all cases the ailments are considered as brought on by wind in general or, more often, some wind in particular."

Under the thirty-six titles of prescriptions of ailments resulting from cold or resulting in cold, fourteen contain the word ik or yk. This word occurs frequently under the prescriptions of ailments of the throat as well. The question ~~are~~, whether these titles refer to a plain draft and its universal characteristic of causing a cold or to a conceptualized wind, and whether the material is Spanish or Indian.

In attempting to answer the first question, it seems clear that many of these references indicate observation of natural phenomena. Thus in the Chilam Balam de Nah "U tza-acal u hatz'ik; tamcas. The remedy for a sickness resulting from a blast of wind." And from the Peabody Manuscript "Chibol bac y hatz ik. Pain in the bones from being in a blast of wind: cold."² Dr. Stewart points out³ that most of the texts containing the word ik are perfectly matter of

1. Stewart, Elizabeth C. Maya Medical MSS. p.9

2. Ibid., p.30a.

3. Correspondence with Dr. Stewart.

fact medical conception. The use of the word ik in connection with these two types of sickness, colds and throats, would suggest a completely naturalistic conception of wind.

Without relying too much on subjective judgment it does seem possible to say that ^amore abstract notion of wind is at least suggested by such a text as the following, from the Peabody Manuscript:

"The remedy for a sickness resulting from a blast of wind -- for not pasmo but a blast of air has struck him and may turn death his way in a moment."¹

It is in connection with this concept of pasmo (Maya tamcas), that ^{an}abridging of the natural and conceptual notions of wind might be found. As Dr. Stewart points out:

"The word tamcas had, however, applications both spiritual as well as physical. It is associated with the idea of 'spiritual' itself. Furthermore we find an interesting reference to it in the Chilam Balam de Kaua, in a portion of the manuscript dealing with European astrology. In the introduction --- there is a page with the following inscription 'this is the portrait of amcan mo Wind which is tamcas; the tzitz mo Wind (purple macaw wind) is tamcas. Three cords it bears, amcan wind is its name. Its portrait is the portrait of Cancer in its position over the earth on the 12th of June.' -- The Kaua extract demonstrates the association of the word tamcas with the ikoob or winds some of which were deified. These same winds often brought illness in their wake and we find in the medicinal texts that the word tamcas is extended to apply to such afflictions."²

1. Stewart, Elizabeth C. Op. Cit., p. 39

2. Ibid., p. 36-7

3. ~~Ibid., p. 140-1~~

Of the sources cited above the Chilam Balam de Kaua is a late 18th and the Chilam Balam de Nah and the Sotuta Manuscripts are 19th century copies of ^{an} earlier, unknown document.¹ The Peabody Medical Manuscript, also known as the Libro del Judio, is according to Roys, a 16th century document.² From this medical material there is indication of a "wind-disease" concept although the assignment of a definitely Spanish or Indian origin on the basis of this material does not seem possible now. The Kaua material is an 18th century copy of an earlier source and the passages dealing with wind show considerable Spanish influence.

An examination of early Spanish reports and histories resulted in finding only the most meagre reference to wind and none to an "out and out" "wind-disease" association. The first reference is from Las Casa who came to the New World ten years after the Conquest. According to him, Cocolcan is called by the Yucatecans "dios de las fiebras o calenturas."³ Landa refers to a hurricane of the four winds:

"Que una noche por invierno vino un ayr como a las seis de la tarde y fue creciendo haciendose huracan de quatro vientos."⁴

To which the editor, J. Genet, adds⁴ the footnote:

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1. Stewart, Elizabeth C. Op. Cit., p. 140-1
 2. Roys, Ralph Ethnobotany of the Maya p. 356
 3. Las Casas, Bartolome de Apologetica Historia de las Indias p. 329
 4. Landa, Diego de Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan vol. I, p. 92

"Tout ce paragraphe est certainement traduit textuellement d'un texte Maya. L'expression huracan de cuatros vientos est purement yucateque."

With regard to sickness Landa speaks also of the conception of sickness as a punishment for wrong-doing and of the practise of confession as a cure.¹

There is then for the ancient Maya no direct evidence of a "wind-disease" concept such as exists today. Their notions regarding wind-and-disease, so far as they may be determined from the material examined may be summarized:

Mythology: In the world creation legends the fourth epoch of the world is brought to an end by wind.

Cosmology: Kukulcan, god of wind, is one of the most important Maya gods. He is associated with air and hence with clouds and rain and life-giving forces as well as with the cardinal directions etc. He is also "dios de las fiebras o calenturas."²

Ritual: Wind or the wind gods are propitiated in agricultural ceremonies.

Medical lore: There exists a naturalistic view of wind as causing sickness. The concept of sickness as a punishment for wrong-doing is also present. It seems possible that through the association of tamcas with akooob an abstract element in wind which causes disease is represented, although the antiquity of this association is uncertain.

1. Landa, Diego de Op. Cit., p. 189

2. Las Casas, Bartolome de Op. Cit., p. 329

Turning to the documents from the Nahua groups we find some interesting material in the Codex Telleriano-Remensis. Of Texcocan origin, it contains, according to the introduction of the edition by E. T. Hamy, comments in Spanish which were added before 1562. The tonalamatl of this codex includes several references to wind.

Thus in the seventh division of thirteen days regarding the day navecatl:

"digo el dia de quatro ayres. Esta quatro ayres tenia por mal dia y asy en viniendo este dia todos los mercadores se encerrava en casa porq sezia que era causa de que se perdiere sus haziedas." 2.

In the fifteenth division:

"Yzpopolotl esta dia de una casa tenia por malo porque dezia que en tal venia los ayres arriba los demonios en figura de mujeres que nos otros dezimos bruxos; y estos dezia comun q andavan en los cruzijodos y encondydos q asy los que era males mugeres y adulteros quando queria ~~ap~~artarse del pecado yvan de noche asolas y desnudas en pelo a los cruzyados de los caminos adonde dezia que andava aquestas bruxes y alli se sacrifican de las anaguas y dando sus navas y ropas que lleva dexava la alli y esto era senal que dexava el pecado." 3.

Another possible association between disease and wind is in the eighteenth division:

"Chantico El que nacia en un ayre seria de nacimiento sano pero si enfermava las causava grandes dolores de costa y cancer porque estas dos enfermedades er aplicados a este dia." 4.

1. Codex Telleriano-Remensis, Hamy, E. T. ed., p. 47

2. Ibid., p. 25

3. Ibid., p. 28

4. Ibid., p. 29

The use of the term por los ayres rather than por el ayre occurs again in the eighteenth division:

"Mochiquecal Este dia de una aguila era aplicado a los hobres de guerra porque dezia que en tal dia venia muchas aguilas por los ayres y despues se trasfigura en figura de ninas."¹

This usage is exceptional and suggests something more than an everyday notion of wind.

The Kinsborough edition of the Telleriano-Remensis has further comments on the day Navihecatl:

"quiere dezir los quatro vientos este tenian por mal dia, y asi en viniendo este dia, todos los mercadores se encenavan en casa, porque dezinnque era causa que se perdiesen sus haciendas. En estos dias no havian de baylar ni hazer cosas de juego, porque en tal dia era cosa muy peligrosa y mal que aconteceria a qualquiera persona, y as aunque fusien de camino paravan, y se encerravan en casa."²

Of uncertain date and authorship but probably either the original or an early copy of a 16th century manuscript is the Vodex Magliabecchi XII or The Book of the Life of the Ancient Mexicans as it is named by Zelia Nuttall. This book contains paintings and commentaries on them in Spanish. Of special interest is one showing a medico casting lots to determine the outcome of a patient's sickness and beside this group of people is a

1. Codex Telleriano-Remensis, E. T. Hamy ed., p. 30

2. Codex Telleriano-Remensis, Kinsborough edition vol. 5, p. 141

representation of Quetzalcoatl. The Spanish comment reads:

"Esta es una manera de medicina diabolica que los indios medicos tenian y es quando alguna estaua enfermo llaman al medico muger o hombre y luego el tal medico para ver que fin avia de aver la enfermedad ponion luego delante el enfermo, al qual ydolo la llamauan quecakcoatl. que quiere decir plumaje de culebra, y el en medio puesto encima de un petate puesta una manta de algodon blanca encima tomava en el mano veinte granos de mahiz que es de lo que ellos hazen pan y echaualos encima de la manta, como quien echa unos dados y si los tales granos hazian en medio vacuo, o mano de camp de manera que los granos estubiesen alrededor era senal que le auian de enterar alli, que quiera dezir que moriria de aquella enfermedad, y si un grano caya sobre otro dezia que se enfermedad la avia venido por sometico, y si los granos de mahiz se apartaua la mitad al una parte y a mitad o otra de manera que se pudiese hazer una raya derecha por medio, sin tocara ninguna grano, es senal que la enfermedad sea de apartar del enfermo y sanar."

The important problem of the identity of the diseases mentioned suggests itself here but actually it is not pertinent to the question of wind and disease. That is, whether sometico (sodomy) was the Spanish commentators recording of a native diagnosis or of a Spanish diagnosis or whether its presence means the painting was done after the conquest rather than before does not detract from the importance of showing the wind god in connection with divining the patient's recovery. There are other instances of paintings showing the casting of lots, but, to my knowledge, none shows Quetzalcoatl.

I. Nuttall, Zelia The Book of the Life of the Ancient Mexicans p.66

The pictorial manuscripts used by early Spanish authors will be mentioned in connection with the separate historians. Of the remaining type of source material - codices which have been interpreted by 19th and 20th century students of Middle America - the Codex Borgia stands out above the rest because of the excellent workmanship. Lehmann describes this and the related codices Vaticanus B, Cospianus, Fejervary-Mayer and Laud, as composed by a Nahuatl-speaking people with some Zapotecan influence and says, "Leur localisation n'est pas sans difficulté, mais on fera bien sans doute de les regarder, avec M. Seler, comme un groupe nettement tranché qui réunit les produits les plus artistiques de génie précortésien."¹ The entire codex is, so to speak, a handbook for sooth-sayers and astrologers and how many variations there were on this type of book it is difficult to say. It is, among other things, a guide for divining the cause and most effective cure for sickness by means of the association between the part of the body affected and its corresponding day-sign - "Der Wahrsager der auch in den meisten Faellen wohl auch zugleich Krankheits beschworer und Krankenheiler was, fand darin ein Mittel die Natur ein Krankheit zu erkennen, oder den Tag zu bestimmen, der fuer die Vornahme einer bestimmten Kur von vorneherein als der guenstigste erscheinen musste."² Seler

¹ I. Lehmann, Walter Les Peintures Mixteco-Zapteco p. 244
² S. Seler, Eduard, Ed. Codex Borgia v. I, p. 280

compares this with a passage from the post-Conquest codex Vaticanus A,

"Das sind die zwanzig Lettern oder Figuren die sie fuer alle Ihre Zaehlungen gebrauchten, die, wie sie sagten, Herrschaft ueber die Menschen hatten --- und in dieser Weise wandten sie sie als Heilmittel an, wenn jemand erkrankte oder ihm in Wahrheit irgend ein Teil des Koerpers weh tat --- und so brauchten auch die Aerzte dieses Bild bei ihrer Heilungen und nach dem Tage und der Stunde, wann einer Krank wurde, sahen sie, ob die Krankheit dem Zeichen das gerade herrschte, gemaess war."¹

In this Vaticanus A representation, the sign for wind (eecatl) is associated with the stomach. In the Borgia Codex eecatl is represented on the end of the loin cloth.² There is apparently no unanimity of association.

In the discussion of eecatl as the day-sign of the second day in the Codex Borgia, Seler brings up the point of the occasional interchangeability in the codices between Tlaloc (Raingod) and Quetzalcoatl (Windgod) - it is the fructifying power in the water and the association between life and breath and between breath and wind which leads to the conception of the wind as the sphere of action of this god.³

Codex Vaticanus B (#3773) indicates additional characteristics of Quetzalcoatl. A version of the tonalamatl in this codex, arranged in columns of five members shows the first tonalamatl quarter ruled by Quetzalcoatl with twenty pictures characterizing the god. Apparently

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1. Ibid., p. 280
 2. Ibid., p. 281
 3. Ibid., p. 84

None of them refers to any "wind-disease" association.¹

If these definitely pre-Conquest documents lack evidence of such an association, there is some indication of its presence in immediately post-conquest material. The Anales de Cuauhtitlan, or Codex Chimalpopoca, dating from 1558, is described by Lehmann as the most complete and valuable interpretation of documents in Indian language and as undoubtedly taken from a codex.² It records the fourth epoch of the world in the same way as did the Maya - it is the epoch of the winds, called the "Sun of the Wind", and at this time men were changed to monkeys "por los torbellinos".³ There is no other mention of evil or destructive winds.

As was mentioned above, except for the Maya area medical manuscripts are almost completely lacking in Middle America. The only native Aztec document is the Badianus Manuscript the title of which reads "A book of Indian Medical Herbs composed by a certain Indian physician of the College of Sanat Cruz, who is not theoretically learned but is taught only by experience. In the year of our Lord Saviour 1552."⁴ Thus it possibly ante-dates the Maya medical material. The text is in Latin but Aztec plant names and Aztec symbols for identification of plants are used. As Dr. Emmart, translator of the manuscript, has pointed out "although it was written

1. Seler, Eduard ed. Codex Vaticanus B pp.19-30

2. Lehmann, Walter Ergebnisse und Aufgaben der Mexicanischen Forschung pp.238-9

3. Ramirez, Eduard ed. Anales de Cuauhtitlan p. 10

4. Emmart, Emily W. Concerning the Badianus MS.p.2

within thirty-one years of the Conquest, the subject matter reaches far back into pre-conquest times." For the purposes of this paper there is but one prescription from this herbology which is of interest:

"A turbine de mal vento vexatus qui curabitur -
How one who has been affected by a whirlwind or bad wind is to be treated.

Let one who has been caught in the whirlwind drink the health giving juices of the herb quauhyayaval, acxoyatl, of pine branches and laurel, ground in water. The juice is to be boiled down. Let him drink it when it has been boiled down, for this drink when inside drives out the bad air entering. Secondly he is to drink the juice of the stones ground in water, red crystal, a white pearl, whiteish earth and the leaves of the herb tlatlanquaye, which you are to boil down with incense. Anoint him with the diligently prepared liquor of the cones of cypress and cedar, and the leaves of the quauhyayaval tree, the leaves also of the herb xiuhecapahltli, ground in water with incense.²

This is of special interest because it contains the first occurrence of the expression mal vento. The fact that this usage, as contrasted with the reference simply to wind in other material of pre- and post-conquest date, appears in a document which is obviously influenced from the Spanish side certainly suggests the possibility that such a conception might have a post-conquest date of origin.

Further material on Aztec medicine is found only in works by Spanish authors. A translation made in 1877 of Monardes's Joyfull

1. Ibid., p.9

2. Emmart, Emily W. Translation from unpublished text.

Nuves out of the Nuve Founde Worlde contains numerous references to windinesse and griefes of windes all of which are apparently simply gaseous disturbances. Hernandez in his letters to Philip II written in the first half of the 17th century, gives an exhaustive report of the plants and other Mexican materia mdica. Here again are references to ventosidades of the same type as those mentioned by Monardes, but nothing else.

From the writings of the early historians, those authors who built up the first connected accounts of the people of Middle America, it is clear that they relied on varying proportions of native documents and native informants and are influenced by varying degrees of personal prejudice and perspicacity. Of those who wrote in the 16th century only Duran and Sahagun give any extensive and valuable comments on wind or disease.

Duran, a Dominican father relied on and copied from the Codex Ramirez to a large extent. Father Acosta and Texozomoc used the same source which is an anonymous manuscript written in Spanish with pictorial atlas. Duran makes the following reference to Quetzalcoatl:

"este idolo Quetzalcoatl tenian por abogado de las bubas y del mal de los ojos y del romadico y tosse donde en los mismos entremeses mesclaban palabras

I. Chavero, Alfredo Explicacion del Codice Geroglifico de M. Aubin p12

deprecatibas a este ydolo pidiendo salud y asi todos los apasionados destos males y enfermedades accedian con sus ofrendas y oraciones a este ydolo y templo!"

There is no comment as to whether this is in respect to Quetzalcoatl's specific capacity as Wind God nor does ~~Chavero~~ Duran give the source of his information. In neither Acosta's nor Tezozomoc's histories nor in the Codex Ramierz itself did I find any similar reference. It is a unique comment on the association between Quetzalcoatl and certain diseases but its uniqueness does not perhaps invalidate its accuracy considering the scarcity of any specific references to disease in the source material.

If this reference from Chavero is not directly paralleled in any other source, the writings of Sahagun, the most extensive and most revered of the 16th century Spanish historians, contain passages which surely indicate a similar though less specific association. Quoting from Mrs. Bandelier's translation of a section of Book I Chapter 21:

"All mountain peaks, especially such around which rain-clouds gather, they imagined to be gods, therefore they made of each an image according to their idea. They also thought that certain diseases which are due to cold or inclement weather came from the mountains and that those mountains had the power to cure them. Therefore all those who became ill of such diseases made a vow to offer a feast and offering to such and such a mountain closest to which they happened to live, or to which they were most

devoted. Similar promises were made by anyone who was in danger of drowning in a river or in the sea. The various diseases for which they made promises to the Tlalocs were the gout (rheumatism) in the hands or feet or any other part of the body; also contraction of tendons in any part of the body (so-called liver spots et al.), or contractions of any member, limbs or arms or for paralysis. All those affected by any of these ailments made a solemn vow to make the images of the following tlalocs: the god or tlaloç of the air, goddess of the water, god of rain, as well as the image of the volcano Popocatepetl, and the one of the Sierra Nevada and of the mountain called Poauhtecatl, or of any other mountain or hill they wanted to worship. They could make a vow to one or more, and the image or images were made of dough called tzalli in human shape; it was not permitted however, to the worshipper himself to fashion them he had to go to the different priests of these deities who were experienced in this sort of work and whose duty it was, besides, to do it. --- who fashioned them according to the image of the tlaloc they represented. Thus they make the god of the wind look like Quetzalcoatl. --- To these figures they offer the paper they make."

This same power of Quetzalcoatl's is evident in Sahagun's report of the Astrologia Judiciaria o Arte de Adivinar que estos mexicanos usaban para saber quales dias eran bien afortunados:

"Del Quinto signo llamado Ceacatl, mal afortunado. Decian que los que nacia en el, especialmente si nacia en la nona casa que llama Chiconavicipactli eran grandes murmuradores, novelleros, malsines, testimoneros etc. Decian ser este el signo de Quetzalcoatl, done la gente noble hacia muchos sacrificios y ofrendas a honra de este Dios.

El quinto signo se llama Ceacatl. De este signo se dice que todo es mal afortunado: la segunda casa se llama Omeccelotl; la tercera casa se llama Eyquauhtli; la

I. Bandelier, Fanny History of Ancient Mexico pp.45-6

cuarta casa Navecozcaquauhtli; la quinta Chicuauteapatl. De todas estas casas decian, que eran mal afortunados, porque eran de Quetzalcoatl el qual era Dios de los Vientos --- Decian que este era el signo de Quetzalcoatl, y decian que los que en el nacia, ora fuesen nobles ora fuesen populares siempre vivian desadventuras y todas sus casas se llevaban en aire. De esta misma manera decian de las mugeres que nacia en este signo; y para remediar el mal de los que nacia en este arte mandaban que fuesen bautizados en la septima casa de este signo que se llama Chicomequiavtl. Bautizandose en este casa decian que se remediaba el mal de dia en que habia nacido.

Del signo llamado Ceactl, y de su desgraciado fortuna El decimoctavo signo se llama Ceecatl. Decian era mal afortunado, porque en el reinaba Quetzalcoatl, que es Dios de los vientos y de los torbellinos. Decian que el que nacia en este signo, si era noble, seria traidor y que se trasfiguraria en muchas formas, y que seria negromatico y hechicero y malefico, y que sabia todos los generos de hechicerias y maleficos y se trasfiguraria en diversos animales ---. Los que eran de este oficio siempre andaban tristes y pobres, ni tenian que comer, ni casa en que morar" 2.

That is, Quetzalcoatl, god of breath and life, is equally the god who promotes and denies life, well-being and good fortune. Quetzalcoatl himself is definitely god of the wind hence the conception that good fortune is brought by a favoring wind and bad fortune by an evil wind would follow easily and logically.

Besides these sections in which Sahagun does refer to wind there are a number which take up closely related subjects but make no reference to anything resembling a "wind-disease" association. The wind is attributed to the god Quetzalcoatl who calls the winds

1. Sahagun, Bernard Historia general de las cosas de Nueva Espana, Kinsborough edition v.VII p.132

2. Ibid., p.148

from the four corners of the world. The actual character of the various winds, which is strong and which is cold etc., is mentioned but all on a completely naturalistic plane. Similarly certain passages deal only with practical cures for actual ailments and there is no mention of any cause or cures which might be called unnatural or superstitious². There is however, a description of the distinction between a good doctor and a bad doctor:

"La que es buena medica saber curar a los enfermos y por el beneficio que les hace casi vuelvos de muerte a vida, haciendoles mejorar o convalecer con las curas que hace: saber sangar, dar las purgas, echar melecina y untar el cuerpo, ablandar palpando lo que parece dura en alguna parte del cuerpo ---. La que es mala medica usa la hechiceria supersticiosa en su oficio, y tiene pacto con el Demonio, y saber dar bebidizos con que mata a los hombres."³.

From this material there is then, more extensive and more luminiferous evidence than from the Maya material. It is still far from giving satisfactory, objective, conclusive proof of the place of origin of the "wind-disease" concept. The character of the material found in these documents might again be summarized:

Mythology: In the world creation legends the fourth epoch of the world is brought to an end by wind.

Cosmology: Quetzalcoatl, the wind god, is second in importance only to his parents the gods of creation. Quetzalcoatl, as god of the air, is associated with certain mountain peaks to which offerings are made at times of sickness.

1. Ibid., p. 188
 2. Ibid., p. 293-303
 3. Ibid., p. 272

Astrology: Misfortune and sickness are predicted for those days over which the wind god in the form of Eecatl rules, there is also a correlation between body parts and ruling gods.

Medical lore: Quetzalcoatl is represented as presiding over a scene depicting the casting of lots to determine the outcome of a patient's sickness. Quetzalcoatl is represented as "abogado de las bubas y del mal de los ojos".

On the other hand, there are a number of occasions where mention of a "wind-disease" concept might be expected but where it is lacking:

Codex Vaticanus B shows twenty representations of Quetzalcoatl none of which indicates a connection with disease.

Neither the early Spanish works on Mexican medicine nor Sahagun's chapter on that subject refers to a "wind-disease" concept.

In view of this material what can now be said regarding the problem set at the beginning of this section - the attempt to determine whether or not there is evidence for the existence of a "wind-disease" concept among the pre-conquest Maya and Aztec. Conclusions from this part of the study can best be made by a statement of the possibilities suggested by the historical material and an elimination of those for which there is the least supporting evidence, the remaining possibilities to be checked with evidence

from the following sections of this essay.

Evidence of a Spanish origin: Lack of a definite statement or at least, failure to find such a statement, regarding the existence of a "wind-disease" concept in pre-Conquest Middle America suggests that the present concept may have been introduced at a later date. However, it must be remembered that because of the nature of the contents of these documents, failure to record such a concept is not unlikely, although the frequency with which it occurs today adds to the expectation that it would have been mentioned had it existed in anything like its present form.

Evidence of an Indian origin: In the absence of a specific statement regarding this concept, there are several points which suggest something bordering on, if not identical with it:

The association of bad luck and disease in the days of the tonalamatl over which the wind god rules.

The presence of Quetzalcoatl in the scene depicting the casting of lots to determine the outcome of a patient's sickness.

The Badianus prescription for diseases caused by a whirlwind or bad wind. The uncertainty here is due not to the nature of the concept, which is identical with the present-Day notion, but to the lack of information as to whether the prescriptions recorded in this manuscript are pure Indian or not.

Since the major gods of the ancient Middle American pantheon no longer form a part of Middle American religion, the present association of wind with such spirits as the alux, ahoyaob, and ikoob might constitute a substitution for the former association of wind with Kukulcan.

The former offering to the winds in agricultural ceremonies would seem to correspond to the present-day

propitiation of wind spirits in the milpa ceremonies.

In ancient times sickness was conceived as sent in punishment for wrong-doing without any specific mention as to how the sickness was sent. Today the evil winds themselves are thought of as bringing punishment for breach of moral rule or pious behaviour.

Evidence for the existence of the "wind-disease concept in 16th and 17th century Spain and in Spanish-influenced countries other than Middle America.

An exhaustive review of the material which would give information on this subject has not been undertaken but the references cited here are perhaps sufficient to suggest the existence and character of the "wind-disease" concept in these countries.

In the "Historia Bibliografico de la Medicina Española", the author makes the following citation from a 14th century medical codex:

"Encargo a los medicos se instruyan en la astronomie, para conocer la situación de los lugares donde ejercitan su practica, la altura del Polo, los aires mas dominantes y su calidades. Hace evidente lo mucho que conduce para salud. La renovacion de los aires en la casa, particularemente en los cuartos donde hay enfermos; que ventanos y puertas han de cerrarse, y cuales deban abrirse, segun la cualidad y especie de aire que reina." 1.

That is, already at this time air is being treated rationally at least some of the time and it is only in the collections of folk-lore that mention of an evil-wind concept is found. I quote several such references:

"En Galicia es peligroso tapar con el entierro de un amigo porque hay la seguridad de que el muerto echara un aire con el fin de atraerse a quien lo tapa. En Galicia aun los dolencias casi siempre de un "mal aire". Y en Asturias aun se dice de quien enferma sin saber porque: 'A esi dio-i un mal aire' " 2.

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1. Morejon, don Antonio Hernandez Historia Bibliografico de la medicina Espanol v.I, p.87
 2. Arivau, L. Giver Biblioteca de tradiciones populares v.I, p.280

"Los Portugeses dicen de este modo de las enfermedades que parecen:

'Son un aire - Un-ar as traz
Y este ar es ar de figuiera, ar do
Cisco ar do postigo.
Y de una enfermedad dicen a veces
-E' o ar do defuncto avo'." ¹

An incantation to be used with a cure is also given:

"Huracan, huracan trae a mi casa el bien y elevate el mal!" ²

From Cuba there is the following report:

"After ironing, a woman cannot go out of the house because le da un aire, or coge un aire, if one feels pain in any part of the body, not knowing of the external cause to which it may be attributed, the probability is que cogio un aire. If while cutting a stick the machete breaks unexpectedly, it is because cogio un aire. IN some cases there may be doubt as to whether it is aire or not, but if one wakes up with a stiff neck, then we may be absolutely sure that cogio un aire." ³

It is of interest that in an article on Voodooism in Cuba no mention is made of aire in a section on disease and curing. ⁴

I find no indication of a "wind-disease" concept in the Philippines and Dr. Cole and Dr. Eggan tell me they found none.

From a number of groups in North America there is evidence of a "wind-disease" concept. From Taos there is the following:

"Wind old woman --- lives in the middle of the world. She is mean and witchlike. A person with rheumatism will offer meal and pollen and a single turkey feather. Wind old man --- is also referred to, also Whirlwind --- of whom some people are afraid. One man told me Whirlwind was not a bad wind. Another said that Wind old man died, otherwise the winds at Taos would be far worse. Kliwa (sweepings, or refuse wind) is the terrible one

1. Ibid., p. 2, p. 280 2. Ibid., p. 2, p. 87

3. Andrade, Manuel Correspondence quoted by Parsons, Elsie Clews, Journal of American Folk Lore v. 45 p. 338

4. Ortiz, Fernando Los Negros Brujos

the 'sickness man' who brings smallpox and other epidemics."¹

Hrdlicka gives this description of a Papago child:

"A little Papago child was met who had on each temple what resembled a plaster. It was explained that this was put on as a remedy for headache. It was made from ordinary flour alone, and is supposed to "stop the air from going through the temple."²

This same use of a plaster is common in many parts of Mexico.

In a discussion in 'Aztec and Pueblo Parallels', of the kachina cult Dr. Parsons finds that the fact that the kachina are called on for curing certain disease is paralleled by part of the Aztec tlaloc cult. She suggests that the passage from Sahagun quoted above might be an explanation for this since in it certain gods and certain diseases are associated with mountain peaks and it is to these gods that one makes offerings for recovery from the diseases.³ It might be said that there is similarity rather than a parallel in this comparison since the kachinas are not associated with specific diseases and are not primarily associated with mountain peaks as are the tlalocs.

For the ladino community of Agua Escondida in the western highlands of Guatemala Dr. Redfield reports of a "wind-disease concept:

"Aire; always in the singular, is frequently referred to

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1. Parsons, Elsie Clews Taos Pueblo p. 110
 2. Hrdlicka, Alex Physiological and Medical Observations p. 242
 3. Parsons, Elsie Clews Some Aztec Pueblo Parallels p. 611

as a source of disease. Apparently no actual wind that blows is always considered; there is no trace of personification. If one goes out into a cool wind, especially when hot, one is likely to take sick. 'Le dio un aire', they will say of one so affected. ---- Palsy and muscular spasms are closely identified with wind as a cause. If a person becomes senseless, and his muscles twitch, especially those of his mouth, this is regarded as a sure proof he has aire. The Spanish word for epilepsy is used for such conditions."¹

It seems possible that certain other evidence might be of significance, namely the existence of a wind-disease concept in other parts of the American continent where there has been less Spanish influence than in Middle America. Karsten makes the following observation on the Indian of eastern Ecuador:

"Once in a house I found not only several of the younger women but also small suckling babes profusely painted red in the face. When I inquired about the reason for this painting I got the answer it was a protection against the malu huaira or huaira ungui, the evil wind, or the illness which is supposed to be carried about by certain winds."

"That tattooing is done by means of soot or ashes is certainly not an accident. From different parts of South America we hear of ashes playing a part in the superstitions of the natives being regarded as a prophylactic against evil spirits. (With the following footnote) Thus for instance, Dobrizhoffer tells that the Abipones used to throw ashes in the path of the whirlwind 'that it might be satisfied with food'). We may rather say that it is done to drive away the spirits of the whirlwind. It is a common belief among the Chaco Indians that whirlwinds are the passing of spirits."²

1. Redfield, Robert Unpublished notes.

2. Karsten, Rafael Studies in South American Anthropology p.221

For the Dakota there is the following reference:

"In whirlwind somehow and somewhere resides the power to produce confusion of mind --- when a man loses his presence of mind he is said to have been overcome by power of the whirlwind."¹

Evidence of the evil spirit of the whirlwind might be multiplied for North America. It is of interest to note that although the Chorti also fear the whirlwind, it is among the northern groups in Middle America, the Huichol and Tarahumara, that this concept becomes more prominent. There is also the following information for the Kiowa:

"The Kiowa associate small whirlwinds with diseases, sorcery, owls and ghosts.---- Whirlwinds may cause all sorts of ailments, but especially facial paralysis and crossed eyes. (The fact that these disabilities are also caused by owls is further evidence of the association between owls and whirlwinds.) When a person is 'bewitched' he usually seeks the aid of a medicine man with owl power, although apparently medicine men without owl power are sometimes effective in such cases."²

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1. Wissler, The Whirlwind and the Elk in the Mythology of the Dakota p. 258
 2. Collier, Donald Unpublished notes.

A comparison of the "wind-disease" concept in Middle America as summarized on pp 17-20, with the evidence of the concept in other regions suggests the following points:

The concept in Spain, Cuba and the ladino community of Agua Escondida appears to be a relatively simple one, involving none of the notions of personification, association with spirits or gods, evil wind as an implement used by ill-wishers or of diseases sent by evil wind as a punishment, which are characteristic of the Middle American concept in Indian communities. The simpler concept is more easily comparable with the generalized "wind-disease" concept as expressed in the more urban, less Indian towns and cities of many parts of Mexico today where the expression "cocio un aire" has practically no meaning but is just a manner of speaking with reference to some ailment.

These points are not evidence for or against the existence in pre-Columbian Middle America, of a "wind-disease" concept. Such a concept may have existed at that time or the present more complex Middle American concept may have developed from the simpler Spanish notion by addition of other pre-Columbian notions of wind and of disease.

The concept as described for Taos and the similarity suggested between kachina and tlaloac cults are closer to the Middle American notion than to any reported from Spain, involving as they do, personification, propitiation and the association of diseases with certain spirits. A few instances of the existence of a "wind-disease" concept in other less Spanish parts of America have been reported here. The fact that this concept is known in other American groups suggests that it may also have been found in aboriginal Middle America. This suggestion is perhaps strengthened by the similarity between the Kachina and tlaloac cults.

A third approach to the question of the place of origin of this concept is an examination of the nature of the associations found in Middle America today with other elements of known Spanish and known Indian origin. In such a study there is always the danger of reaching a false conclusion because of the mis-identification of elements, some which have long been thought to be Spanish may, with further evidence prove to be Indian, as was the case with the identification of the riddles and vice versa. The validity of any identification can be increased only by a multiplication of evidence for its existence in Indian or Spanish culture. In order to determine which of the associations of the "wind-disease" concept as it is known today are Spanish and which Indian, the components of the concept as described at the beginning of this study will be taken up and their respective origins discussed as far as possible.

Types of cures for a patient suffering from "evil winds":

Bleeding and the use of the sweatbath may be Spanish but are almost surely Indian, too. Bleeding is mentioned by Landa¹. The sweatbath was definitely a part of pre-Conquest medical practise. Cupping is practised today but I know of no ancient parallel. Making the sign of the cross in connection with bleeding and cupping (as well as for a contra against evil wind, which will be mentioned below),

1. Landa, Diego de Relaciones de las cosas de Yucatan v. I, p. 194

2. Parsons, *Clare Claws. Riddles and Metaphors among Indian Peoples.*

suggests a Spanish origin. The form of a cross was used in pre-Columbian architecture and among the Aztec was the sign of the personal spirit.^{1.} Cruz describes the h'men's making the sign of the cross on the patient's forehead with aguardiente before taking a ceremonial drink during the performance of the kex in Quintana Roo. From his description the ceremony sounds especially Indian and lacking in Spanish elements.^{2.} Bennett and Zingg list the sign of the cross among the traits of foreign introduction for the Tarahumara and the use of the form of the cross as a trait which is a combination of old and foreign elements.^{3.} This would seem to be true of its use in other parts of Middle America.

Invocations used to drive away the "evil winds":

Among the invocations are some which are clearly Catholic. Thus the people of San Fernando, Chiapas, who are closely allied to the Maya, call on Jesus "in the name of the God of the Holy Ghost"^{4.} A Maya prayer from San Antonio, British Honduras, reads, "Thrice nine times I call upon you in the name of the holy spirits, purgatory, St. Martha, St. Lucy, Our Lady of Carmen"^{5.} An Aztec medicine woman may call on the virgin to break the spell of the "evil winds"^{6.} It is, of course true that some pre-Columbian spirits have become associated with Catholic names. Such is the case described by the h'men of

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1. Parsons, Elsie Clews Mitla p. 495
 2. Cruz, Pacheco Estudio etnográfico de los Mayas del ex-Territorio Quintana Roo p.65
 3. Bennett, Wendell and Zingg Robert The Tarahumara pp.386-7
 4. Blom Frans and LaFarge, Oliver Tribes and Temples p. 143
 5. Thompson, J. Eric Ethnology of the Maya of Southern and Central British Honduras p.73
 6. Toor, Frances Cures and Medicine Women p.19

Valladolid where the gods and spirits were separated into two groups, one Maya and one Catholic.¹ The fact that the head of the Maya group was called San Miguel is explained by the statement that there are two San MIGUELS one of which is Indian. It is also true that in Chan Kom, for example, the exorcism of evil winds falls into the ritual context which centers around Maya prayers² but this is the only case of which I know where a definite allocation is possible. Elsewhere the native and Catholic elements in invocations are obviously combined or the latter have obscured the former.

Offerings and ceremonies for driving out evil winds:

Some of these offerings are individual, a man may offer food to the "winds" of his gun to appease their hunger;³ a woman should put a ~~raw~~ roast chicken on a table in the patio to satisfy the "winds" so they will not eat her other chickens;⁴ the wind god will not help burn the milpa unless copal has been offered to him;⁵ a medicine woman may prescribe an offering of little toys of dough and clay made in the form of dolls and reptiles to be given with other food ~~and of~~ to drive the wind out of a patient.⁶ Similar offerings of food and of images of the gods are described by Sahagun as being aboriginal.⁷

Making offerings is, clearly, a Catholic as well as a native practise but in these instances it seems to be native because of the types of offerings, the occasions on which they are made and because of

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1. Villa, Alfonso Unpublished notes
 2. Redfield Robert and Villa, Alfonso Chan Kom p. 125
 3. Villa, Alfonso Unpublished notes
 4. Hansen, Axel Unpublished notes
 5. Thompson, J. Eric Ethnology of the Maya of Southern and Central British Honduras p. 167
 6. Toom, Frances Cures and Medicine Women p. 19
 7. Bandlerier, Fanny History of Ancient Mexico pp. 45-6

their similarity to those described by Sahagun. The more formalized ceremonies involve some of the elements already mentioned as well as some others. The santiguar, kex and loh as described for Chan Kom by Redfield and, with much less detail, for the Maya of Quintana Roo by Cruz, are performed by the h'men, the maestro cantor having no part in the ceremony. The kex and loh involve offerings rum, zipche, maize, fowl and other food. In the loh ceremony they are an offering to the balams and alpx; in the kex there is also a definite feeling of the return of the patient's health in exchange for the offerings. As has been said above, offerings of various sorts might be either Spanish or native in origin but there is little positive evidence on which to base a statement as to the origin of the notion of exchange of offerings for health. It would seem to be native. In the santiguar, toward the end of the ceremony, certain herbs are thrown away in the belief that the evil winds are thrown out with them. Landa describes a similar practise in a curing ceremony.¹ Landa also mentions offerings of food to drive out evil spirits as being an aboriginal practise among the Maya.² This might include the evil winds. Further protection against evil winds is sought in the loh ceremony when the h'men buries some of the small obsidian fragments/which the balams are

I. Landa, Diego de Relaciones de las cosas de Yucatan v.2, p.52
~~Diego de Relaciones de las cosas de Yucatan~~

2. *Handy 30*

thought to shoot the evil winds, at the four entrances of the village.¹ The question of the origin of beliefs centering around the balams will be discussed in a later section. It seems clear that the practise of protecting the four entrances of the village goes back to the orientation of the village to correspond to the conception of the four world-quarters² and the necessity for soliciting the protection of the gods of each of these entrances.

The milpa ceremony, performed before the milpa is burned, is an individual ceremony but involves the help of the h'men. Its performance has two purposes, to invoke the Help of the wind in burning the milpa, and to appease the winds and prevent them from sending any sickness. Offerings to the winds during the agricultural ceremonies have been described as being aboriginal in Guatemala.³

Contras against "evil winds"

The use of the cross as a contra and the fact that it is probably Indian as well as Spanish in origin, has been discussed above.

Other contras are: wearing the justan wrong side out, for the origin of which I find no evidence; the use of iron rings made on seven successive Fridays,⁴ is surely post-Columbian in form.

1. Redfield Robert and Villa, Alfonso Chan Kom pp. II3-4

2. Landa, Diego de Relaciones de las cosas de Yucatan v.2, p.14 note 232

3. Brinton, Daniel G. Annals of the Cakchiquels p.14

4. Hansen, Axel Unpublished notes.

Types of divination

Divination with grains of maize is mentioned by Cogolludo^{1.} and is represented in the "Book of the Life of the Ancient Mexicans".^{2.} The latter illustration is especially important here since the Wind God is represented as presiding over the divination. The h'men of Chan Kom also uses the xaztun, a stone or piece of glass, for divining. Before using it he "plunges it into a bowl of balche (rum) to cleanse it of evil winds".^{3.} Such crystal-gazing is, of course, known for many parts of the world although I know of no other instance of associating it with "evil winds". I find also no positive evidence for its use by the pre-Columbian Maya but Redfield states that "its use doubtless goes back to aboriginal Maya practises".^{3.}

Medium of operation of evil winds!

The operation of the "evil winds" has, in native thought, two forms: either they are personified and capable of independent action, or they are implements of a god, a spirit, or a human being. The winds themselves may be thought of as spirits or as taking the form of dwarfs or small children, or it may be the gods of the wind themselves who bring sickness. The importance of the wind god in pre-Columbian Middle America is, surely, clear but whether the personification of wind as a spirit or in the form of dwarfs and small children existed at the same time, is less certain. Belief in goblins and

1. Cogolludo, Diego Lopez de Historia de Yucatan p. 296

2. Nuttall, Zelia The Book of the Life of the Ancient Mexicans p. 66

3. Redfield, Robert and Villa, Alfonso Chan Kom p. 373

4. *ibid.*, p. 170

spirits was certainly a part of 16th century Spanish folk lore and whether the present Middle American belief is derived from that source, whether it is a substitution for the former belief in a god of the wind or whether it existed in pre-Conquest Middle America is difficult to say. Dr. Parsons considers "Beliefs about night-wandering spirits, about the dwarfs that frolic by day" all to be part of Indian lore¹ and the "concept of aire as a cause of sickness appears to be Indian embodying a feeling of the evil influences, not of witches, but of spirits - Wind, Water, Earth --- ~~As~~ Wind, Water and even La Tierra have little or no recognized place in the pantheon today, the operation of their influence is expressed very vaguely in the reference to aire."² I know of no pre-Columbian identification of the wind with any spirit other than the wind god and Dr. Parson's conclusion that contemporary belief in spirits of wind etc., as a substitution for ancient belief in gods, seems logical.

The second manner of operation of the "evil winds" is as the implement of a number of different spirits and human beings. For the Maya of Yucatan it is reported as a medium through which the alux, yuntzilob and sorcerers work; for the Maya of British Honduras it is the sorcerers, chacs and lords of the forest; in Quintana Roo

1. Parsons, Elsie Clews Mitla p. 510

2. Ibid., p. 494

the Maya believe that the disease winds are controlled by God and also by the h'men. When associated with the alux the "evil winds" are thought of as "performing any sort of mischief"¹. As for the alux themselves they, again, may be a substitution for ancient spirits either influenced by, or similar to the European goblins etc.

With the discussion of winds as the instrument of the yuntzilob, the whole question of sickness as a punishment for lack of piety or breach of moral rule is raised. It should be noted that the santos as well as the yuntzilob might send sickness as a punishment to a couple whom they saw in the act of sexual intercourse². The concept of sickness as a punishment for wrong-doing is not limited to Middle America but, according to Landa it was known to pre-Columbian Mayas³. Such a statement would seem to indicate sickness as punishment at the hands of the yuntzilob goes back to the native Maya god rather than being an importation along with the santos.

Animals, other than man, which are subject to evil winds:

The extension of the activities of the "evil winds" to include horses, cattle, bees and deer is reported for Chan Kom³ but I find no mention of it elsewhere. The inclusion of alux and horses in this list is obviously post-Columbian in origin. Although it is

1. Redfield, Robert and Villa, Alfonso Chan Kom p. 165

2. Ibid., p. 131 note 1

3. Ibid., p. p. 116-118

4. Landa, Diego de. *Relaciones de las Cosas de Yucatan* v. 2 p. 187

true that other people do not consider animals as subject to "evil winds", it is also true that most primitive people believe in some spirits or gods who protect animals. Since the association of wind with the gods was such a characteristically Mayan belief, it is natural that this should be extended to the gods of animals and also, that it is more characteristic of native Maya thought than of any Spanish belief.

Specific disease attributed to "evil winds":

Even if it were possible to say that the diseases attributed to "evil winds" were, or were not, known to the American continent before the Conquest that would not constitute a proof as to the Indian or Spanish origin of the concept since a post-columbian association of any particular disease with a pre-Columbian wind concept or vice versa is always possible. Since that is the case and since there are very few diseases to which a place of origin can be assigned, the most that can be hoped for is that an examination of this information, added to the results of a similar examination in the other paragraphs of this section, will throw some light on the nature of the "wind-disease" concept.

Tuberculosis, anemia, rheumatism and gastric disturbances are attributed to winds by the Indians of Chan Kom; rheumatism and

I. Villa, Alfonso Unpublished notes

and gastric disturbances are attributed to the same cause in Mitla.¹ Tuberculosis was, according to Hrdlicka, unknown on the American continent before Columbus.² Rheumatism, on the other hand is one of the disease which in pre-Columbian times was cured by making vows to and images of the god of the air and the goddess of water.³ For anemia and gastric disturbances I have not further reference.

The residents of Tepoztlan attribute palsy, paralysis and various pimples and sores to aire⁴ and in Agua Escondida in Guatemala, the ladinos believe that palsy and also twitching are due to the wind.⁵ Of these ailments, paralysis and the appearance of blotches as well as contraction of any tendons or of the limbs were included in the list which Sahagun gave of diseases cured by making vows and images of the god of the air and the goddess of water.

Further disease and afflictions attributed to "evil winds" today are insanity, whooping cough, measles, colds, headache and "nerves".^{6, 7} I find nothing to indicate their existence or supposed cause in pre-Columbian times. Measles and whooping-cough are among those diseases for which there is no report of their first appearance in Middle America.⁷

1. Parsons, Elsie Clews Mitla p. II8

2. Shattuck, George C. The peninsula of Yucatan p. 365

3. Bandelier, Bannie History of Ancient Mexico pp. 45-6

4. Redfield, Robert Tepoztlan p. I63

5. Hansen, Axel Unpublished notes

6. Parsons, Elsie Clews Mitla p. II8

7. Shattuck George C. Op.cit., p. 352

7a. Redfield, Robert Unpublished notes.

Conclusions from the material in this section should answer the questions: which of these associations are only Spanish or only Indian? which are both Spanish and Indian? which are a fusion of the two?

None of the associations appears to be exclusively Spanish.

Some of the associations do seem to be with Indian concepts and not with Spanish concepts: the existence of a wind god; making toy images of the gods; sickness sent as a punishment for lack of piety or breach of moral rule; attribution of paralysis, rheumatism, twitching and blotches to wind; divination by means of grains of maize and by a zastun.

Some of the associations seem to be both Spanish and Indian: bleeding; sweatbath; offering of food; use of contras; driving out the devil.

Some of the associations are apparently a fusion of Spanish and Indian concepts: the use of the cross; the form of invocations; the association of winds with goblins and spirits as substitutes for the former association with wind gods; inclusion of cattle and horses among the animals affected by "evil winds"; use of iron rings as a contra.

It is, of course, not impossible that the "wind-disease" concept was unknown in pre-Columbian Middle America and that the assimilation has been so complete as to make it appear to be an Indian concept. Evidence from this section makes this conclusion seem unlikely and suggests that the concept had an independent origin in Spain and Middle America with either

chance parallels or a fusion of traits from both places because:

None of the associations appears to be exclusively Spanish.

There are associations which appear to be exclusively Indian as well as others which are clearly both Indian and Spanish or a fusion of the two.

As was stated at the beginning of this study, the most that can be hoped for from an enquiry into the problem of the historical origin of one culture trait of doubtful provenience such as this, is a statement of tentative propositions based on various lines of evidence. Such statements have been made on pages 42, 49 and 60 and will be summarized here:

Definite proof of the existence of a "wind-disease" concept in pre-Columbian Middle America was not found in either the pre-Conquest or immediately post-Conquest documents. There are however, two points which suggest that a "Wind-disease" concept may not have been altogether lacking in pre-Columbian times:

The nature of the pre-Conquest and immediately post-Conquest documents from which this information comes is such that they would not necessarily mention a "wind-disease" concept. There were certain notions of wind and of disease known in pre-Columbian times which, although not so extensive as the present concept, still show that some of the characteristics of the present concept are Indian in origin.

The contrast between the simplicity of the Spanish concept and the relative complexity of the Middle American concept, especially as seen in Yucatan and Quintana Roo,

suggest that the pre-Columbian Spanish concept was a simple one and that either:

The pre-Columbian Middle American concept was complex or

The present Middle American concept was developed from a simpler idea introduced from Spain.

The similarity between the concept in present-day urban, more Spanish communities of Middle America would support either of these propositions.

Certain similarities between the concept of the ladino community of Guatemala and both the present -day concept of neighboring Indian communities and ancient Indian notions suggest that the present Indian concept is a continuation of an ancient concept.

The similarity and parallel between the "wind-disease" concept in present-day Middle America and in other American Indian groups is perhaps, evidence for its Indian origin.

The fact that none of the associations of the present Middle American concept seem to be with elements of exclusively Spanish origin but are rather with elements which are either both Spanish and Indian or a fusion of the two is evidence that either:

The concept itself is Indian or

The concept was taken over from the Spaniards and combined with Indian traits.

The large number of Indian traits in these associations and the existence of certain notions of wind and of disease in pre-Columbian times is perhaps, evidence of the first of these propositions.

If any single conclusion is to be drawn from this material it would seem to point to two sources for the present-day

Middle-American "wind-disease" concept, one the simpler Spanish concept, the other, the various pre-Columbian Middle American notions of wind and of disease. In view of the lack of definite proof of a pre-Columbian Middle American concept as complex as the present one the most that can be said is that either:

Such a concept did exist but proof of it is lacking, or

The present concept is a development from the various pre-Columbian notions of wind and of disease due to the introduction of the Spanish "wind-disease" concept.

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THE STEWARDSHIP OF THE SAINT
IN MEXICO AND GUATEMALA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY
EUGENE EDGAR DOLL

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

MARCH, 1940

To
My Father and
The Memory of My Mother

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years a new point of view has emerged in the study of Middle American cultures. For some time the analysis of the cultures of this area into Indian, Spanish, and mixed elements, in the hope of reconstructing the history of cultural change, was a major concern of students working in Middle America. Lately an interest in the present-day functioning of these cultures, as it may be understood from the point of view of social anthropology rather than historical ethnology, has become explicit in the work of such students as Robert Redfield and his associates. In accordance with this line of approach the present paper attempts to give a cross-section rather than a longitudinal section of a Middle American institution. The aim is to present a given set of customs, namely those centering about the communal stewardship of images of saints, as it is followed in several contemporary Middle American communities, and to abstract from these several local practices a common formal and functional pattern characteristic of the region encompassed by the study. The historical development of the stewardship of the santo has been too complex to admit of unravelling except in a highly speculative way, in view of the inadequate documents available. But a comparative study of its occurrence and significance will contribute at least to the coordination of known data on Mexico and Guatemala and perhaps also to our understanding of the workings of society and culture in this region.

Ethnographic monographs have reported for communities in

both Mexico and Guatemala the practice of regarding certain santos as patrons of a particular town or barrio. Typically the attachment of these communities is to local images, named indeed after saints of the Roman Catholic calendar, but regarded as local divinities, distinct from images in other towns bearing the same saint's name. About each of these santos cluster certain personal and communal acts of devotion, the chief of which is the annual fiesta held in honor of the santo. Rather less commonly reported are other practices, less liable to examination by the outside observer, but also giving promise of widespread distribution: certain customs and observances whereby the stewardship of the santo is entrusted to an annually chosen group of laymen, who assume this responsibility on behalf of the community at large.

In 1930 Elsie Clews Parsons, in a brief article in Mexican Folkways,¹ called attention to the institution of the mayordomía in towns and villages in the neighborhood of Mitla, Oaxaca. In this report, and in her subsequent book on the area,² she sketched the main features of this institution as centering about the coordination of the community's offerings to the santos honored by the annual religious fiestas. She found that every year each of the santos is placed in charge of an official known as a mayordomo, who, by specific contributions of his own and by virtue of his administrative functions, honors the santo and presents him with gifts and services due him from the community as a whole in return for his protection and good will.

Robert Redfield had earlier reported on the cerahpa and

¹Elsie Clews Parsons, "The Institution of the Mayordomía," Mexican Folkways, Vol. VI, No. 2 (1930), pp. 72-78.

²Elsie Clews Parsons, Mitla, Town of the Souls (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936).

castiyohpa of Teopostlán, in Morelos,¹ and in his later work in Yucatan in collaboration with Alfonso Villa, he established the existence of comparable practices in connection with the cuch in towns and villages of Yucatan.² Other investigators have noted similar organizations and ceremonies. The investigations of Bennett and Zingg among the Tarahumara,³ Lumholtz among the Huichols,⁴ Zingg among the same people,⁵ Bevan among the Chinantec,⁶ Villa among the Tarascans of Michoacan,⁷ La Farge and Beyers at Jacaltenango,⁸ Blom and La Farge in the highlands of Chiapas,⁹ Schultze-Jena at Chichicastenango,¹⁰ Tax on the Mid-

¹ Robert Redfield, "The Cerahpa and Castiyohpa of Teopostlán," Mexican Folkways, Vol. III, No. 3 (1927), pp. 137-43.

² Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa R., Chan Kom, A Maya Village (Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication No. 448 [August, 1934]).

³ Wendell C. Bennett and Robert M. Zingg, The Tarahumara, An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936).

⁴ Carl Lumholtz, Unknown Mexico (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902).

⁵ Robert M. Zingg, The Huichols: Primitive Artists (University of Denver Contributions to Ethnography, Vol. I [New York, 1938]).

⁶ Bernard Bevan, The Chinantec, Vol. I, The Chinantec and Their Habitat (Instituto Panamericano de geografia e historia publicacion no. 24 [1938]).

⁷ Alfonso Villa R., unpublished excerpts from field notes.

⁸ Oliver La Farge and Douglas Beyers, The Year Bearer's People (Tulane University of Louisiana Middle American Research Series Publication No. 3 [1926-27]). See also Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa R., Notes on the Ethnography of the Tzeltal Communities of Chiapas (Contributions to American Ethnology and History No. 28) (Reprinted from Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication No. 509 [June, 1939]).

⁹ Tulane University of Louisiana Expedition to Middle America, 1st, 1925, Tribes and Temples (New Orleans: Tulane University of Louisiana, 1926).

¹⁰ Leonhard Schultze-Jena, Indiana, Vol. III, Die Quiché von Guatemala (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1933).

western Highlands of Guatemala,¹ and Wisdom among the Chorti² have furnished us with pertinent data covering a wide area. From these several accounts emerge certain common practices which appear basic to an institution which gives evidence of proving itself both sociologically important and geographically widespread in Middle America. The present study is an attempt to define and describe the basic characteristics of this institution in its form and function, in so far as they may be known from the data available. Although these are admittedly scattered and incomplete, they are nevertheless adequate for preliminary analysis and the formulation of problems.

On the basis of elements common to the most fully described instances thus far recorded, the institution under consideration may be briefly characterized as follows. A lay member of the community, usually assisted by several helpers, undertakes as a sacred charge the organization of an annual offering to a patron saint. Securing the help of others by certain recognized means, he renders to the santo certain services and honors due him from the community as a whole in return for his good will and protection. The focal point of this communal offering is the yearly religious fiesta held in honor of the patron saint. On this occasion the man serving is responsible for the organization of specific offerings to the santo and the holding of ritual meetings which are a part of the recurring annual cycle of activities carried out in connection with the stewardship. Although the stewardship of the santo includes practices of both Christian and pagan origin, it is at present an institution to be distinguished

¹Sol Tax, data from private files.

²Charles Wisdom, The Chorti of Guatemala (To be published).

from both the ceremonial observances carried out under the aegis of the Roman Church and the cycle of rituals practiced by the shaman in conformity with the dictates of the indigenous magic-religion. Although it draws upon both of these two great religious traditions for its ceremonies and ideology, it is largely autonomous in its organization. Its officials are not a part of the recognized priesthood of the Roman Church, and they are not necessarily religious functionaries trained in the native shamanistic tradition. The men who assume the burden of the stewardship contribute toward the ceremonies of the Roman Church, but the actual carrying out of these ceremonies is always in the hands of other functionaries. Many of the characteristic rituals appear to stem in large measure from pre-Columbian native practices, but the institution can in no sense be viewed as an integral part of the contemporary round of pagan ceremonies carried out under the domination of the native shaman-priest. For a survey of the mechanisms by which this institution works, and an understanding of its immediate and larger functions in Middle American societies, I first present accounts of specific instances as reported from five different regions in Mexico and Guatemala. These, supplemented by pertinent observations from other sources, serve as the basis for the argument to follow. Several of the accounts here presented are reductions to a regional pattern of descriptions of specific ceremonies in several towns closely related geographically and culturally. I have chosen this method of presentation in preference to offering all of the data in detail, since the latter procedure would only involve both reader and writer in a mass of detail tending rather to obscure than to aid the emergence of a general picture of the common elements which are the concern of this paper. In presenting these accounts I have sought always

to avoid generalizations where only particularizations were justifiable. The reader who wishes to consult the original data has access to them through the footnotes. The five descriptions here given have reference to the following regions and communities:

Locality	Linguistic Classification	Location	Authority
Mitla and vicinity	Zapotecan	Oaxaca	Elsie C. Parsons
Tepostlán and vicinity	Nahuan	Morelos	Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa R.
Panajachel	Mayan	Guatemalan Highlands	Sol Tax
Tarahumara-land	Sonoran	Chihuahua	Wendell C. Bennett and Robert M. Zingg

CHAPTER I

LOCAL INSTANCES

Mitla and Vicinity¹

In Mitla and nearby pueblos each important santo is in charge of a mayordomo, who is largely responsible for rendering him his fiesta. There are twenty-one of these annual celebrations, known as mayordomías, and so important is the resultant ritual cycle that the people frequently reckon time from one or another of these festivals. Because of the heavy expenses involved, the service of the mayordomos lasts for one year only. Each appoints a youth to serve as his deputy.

The mayordomo is concerned primarily with activities associated with personal service to the santo. His most conspicuous duty is purveying the candles of the santo. He also holds in trust much of the paraphernalia of the santo, sometimes even the image itself. He supervises the gathering and arrangement of greens, flowers, and other adornments for the bowers of the mayordomía or for the church. In these pursuits he is aided by friends and relatives, and it is his duty to provide them with food, drink, and tobacco in the course of their labors; this involves the slaughter of an animal and the preparation of specific foods and drinks, notably chocolate, bread, tamales, cake, tepache, and rum. This feasting and communal labor is the occasion for lively social

¹The account herewith presented is a synthesis of numerous descriptions and remarks scattered throughout two publications of Dr. Parsons: Mitla, and "The Institution of the Mayordomía," op. cit.

intercourse. As musicians are always associated with both the festivities at the houses of the mayordomos and the services held in the church, they too are provided with food at these gatherings. The same is usually true of dancers who perform in fulfillment of a vow to the santo, although at the pueblo of Huilá the dancers have no connection with the mayordomo or any other official. In addition to performing these services of labor, the mayordomo is prominent in processions held in connection with the worship of the santo. At Mitla he pays for a mass, if one is said, and sometimes for responsories for his own dead.

The office of mayordomo may be assumed either as a quasi-political obligation or in fulfillment of a vow undertaken in return for some personal favor from the santo. The vow is not prominent at Mitla, where service as a mayordomo is a prerequisite to political preferment, but the sacred objects held in trust by the mayordomo stand as symbols of an obligation which has been assumed. Parsons makes no mention of a perpetual vow on the part of the community to the santo, but she does note that the good will of the santo is in some degree contingent upon the annual discharge of the community's obligation to the santo, and she stresses the disapproval of the townspeople with regard to those who shirk their share in these communal undertakings.

New mayordomos may be selected in any one of several ways at Mitla. Seven of the posts are filled by automatic succession from an office held the previous year in the politico-religious hierarchy of municipal officials. Others may be filled by volunteers who notify the current mayordomo of their wish to assume the burden in the following year. If a post is not filled in either of these ways, the alcaldes nominate a successor. If they are unsuccessful in persuading anyone to serve, the matter is

taken up at the town meeting for general elections, and nominations made at this time may not be declined.

The transfer of obligation from the outgoing to the incoming mayordomo usually takes place two or three days after the celebration of the fiesta.¹ It is normally held in the office of the alcaldes, and consists in handing over the effects from the outgoing to the incoming mayordomo, to the accompaniment of short speeches. The most striking part of this ceremony is the weighing of the candles of the santo, at which time the outgoing mayordomo adds the cakes of wax necessary to make up the required weight. After the ceremony, a procession marches to the house of the incoming mayordomo to deliver the wax, flower vases, candlesticks, picture, and any other effects of the santo. All of these are carefully inventoried.

Various mechanisms provide the mayordomo with assistants. The most important of these is the system of exchange-pledges which operates in Oaxaca with respect to both weddings and mayordomías. In conformity with this custom, friends and relatives who come as guests to either a mayordomía or wedding bring with them gifts of food and money; these are scrupulously recorded by the host, who must return equal value at some later date when the donor is acting as host. Helpers assist in the labor of the mayordomía in return for food. Musicians also receive food for their services, as does the huehmete, an old man versed in tradition who "blesses the food of the feast, and sees to it that the proper ritual before the house altar is observed."²

The structure outlined above finds its expression in a

¹Full accounts of these ceremonies may be found in Parsons, Mitla, pp. 200 ff., 398-400.

²Ibid., p. 187.

round of activities carried out each year under the auspices of the current mayordomo.¹ A few days before the name-day of the santo, the cambia takes place. This is the occasion for making the candles to be burned before the santo, and the wax flowers which adorn the beflowered candles. A typical cambia is that held in connection with the mayordomía of San Esquipula at Mitla.² A group of men make the candles and wax flowers, while women are engaged in the preparation of tamales and other foods.³ A ram is slaughtered for meat, and its blood collected in a basin. Musicians play the drum and the chirimía from time to time and are served cigarettes, chocolate, and bread. Later a band arrives to alternate with the chirimiteros. Meanwhile guests come, bringing such gifts as eggs, onions, cabbages, and turkeys; they are given chocolate and rolls, some of which they eat, taking the rest home with them. At the pueblo of San Baltasar the repartido de tepache, a ritual drinking party of the mayordomos and town officials, takes place in connection with the cambia.⁴

After the candles have been decorated and wrapped in cloths, they are carried in a procession to the church, some of them suspended from a ceremonial pole. Rockets signalize this event. Later the procession, having deposited the candles in the church, returns to the house of the mayordomo, where other workers

¹For a typical running account of a fiesta see ibid., pp. 197-200.

²See p. 9, n. 1, supra.

³For purposes of convenience, the present tense is used in all descriptions of rituals. The accounts are drawn, for the most part, from descriptions of specific ceremonies actually observed by ethnographers. The details of the rituals vary slightly from year to year, but the essential elements are carried out with considerable fidelity.

⁴For an account of this ceremony see Parsons, "The Institution of the Mayordomía," op. cit., pp. 75-77; also Parsons, Mitla, p. 202.

have begun to prepare the flowers used in decorating the chapel. The flowers and greens are brought from the mountains by young men, who are served tortillas, tepache, and cigarettes in return.

On the first day of the fiesta two processions march from the house of the mayordomo to the church. The first of these is composed of musicians, the men bearing a pole decorated with mari-golds, and a man with a basket of leaves and petals. The second is made up of musicians and the bearers of the beflowered candles. Camarazos signalize each procession. In the afternoon the mayor-domo serves a meal with ritual blessings to his guests, while one candle burns on the house altar.¹ A fandango ends the festivities of the day.

On the following day another procession brings the candles back to the house of the mayordomo. The transfer, a simple ceremony already described above, takes place on the following day.²

Tepostlán and Vicinity³

In Tepostlán each barrio is associated with a special patron saint, and the communal labor entailed by the service of the santo does much to maintain the esprit de corps of the barrio. Each of the surrounding villages also has a patron saint whose fiesta provides opportunities both for the expression of local patriotism and for social intercourse with visitors from surrounding towns and villages. Each santo is served by two mayordomos,

¹The food is blessed as at the wedding feasts. "The bride's father now approaches the altar to bless the liquor Three men serve the liquor to the guests, each of whom "holds out his or her glass for a blessing." (Parsons, Mitla, pp. 107-8.)

²See p. 9, supra.

³The sources for this account are the following: Robert Redfield, Tepostlán, A Mexican Village (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930); and Redfield, "The Cerahpa and Castiyohpa in Tepostlán," op. cit.

whose tenures are annual. Outstanding among the duties of these men are their responsibilities for certain offerings made to the santo during the annual fiesta held in his honor. One is concerned with the candles which are burned before the image in the chapel, the other with the tower of fireworks set off in the churchyard.

In the course of discharging these duties, the mayordomo of the candles and the mayordomo of the fireworks hold respectively a cerahpa and a castiyohpa. These are socio-religious occasions for the payment of the offerings made in fulfillment of perpetual vows, which descend by inheritance within the families of the barrio or village. These pledges are recorded by house-sites, but a family which changes its barrio-residence in Tepoztlán will usually continue to fulfill its pledge to the barrio of its forefathers. It must pay the same amount year after year--relatives will assist a man who is poor. In receiving these payments, the mayordomo is assisted by several other functionaries. A secretary checks and records the payment made and also makes out the new record to be used the following year. A huehuechihqui, a man well versed in local ritual and accustomed to officiate at ceremonial occasions, greets and thanks the contributor with the proper ritual speeches. A drummer and flutist furnish appropriate music for the occasion with a drum and chirimia. The mayordomo serves each contributor with tamales, mole verde, and tepache; he also serves liquor to the men who carry the candles or the tower to the house of his successor. In addition to this service at the time of the fiesta, the mayordomo directs the communal labor on the lands of the santo, the proceeds of which go for the upkeep of the image and the chapel. Frequently these men superintend the cleaning and decorating of the chapel at the time of

the fiesta.

The new mayordomos are selected at meetings held by the men of the village. After the fiesta they receive the burned candles or the fireworks-tower, according to their respective duties, as tokens of their obligations.

Three successive Sundays before the fiesta a huehuechihqui goes from house to house notifying the people of the approaching fiesta by means of a formal invitation-prayer. On the day before the fiesta begins, it is again announced by the ringing of the chapel bells and by the music of the flutist and drummer, who play on the roof of the chapel. Early on the name-day of the santo this music is heard again, and rockets are set off. During the day the candles are burned in the chapel, and in the evening the fireworks-tower is set off. After the tower has burned, the men of the community dismantle it, to the strains of the ever-present music. Bearing torches, they form a procession and carry the framework to the house of the incoming mayordomo. There they are served rum, while the musicians play all night. In some fiestas the candles burned before the santo are carried in a similar procession with copal braziers and the chanting of religious hymns. The participants place the candles at a shrine in the house of the new mayordomo and kneel for prayers. A social time with rum, mole verde, and tamales follows.

Yucatan¹

Institutions comparable with the mayordomías of Mitla and Tepoztlán have been described from three communities in the penin-

¹The materials presented here are drawn from three sources: Redfield and Villa, Chan Kom; Redfield and Villa, unpublished material on Yucatan; Redfield, material from private files; Villa, unpublished diary and personal correspondence with Dr. Redfield.

sula of Yucatan: Dzitas, X-Kalakdzonot, and X-Cacal. In the first two the organization for the perpetuation of the offering to the santo is called cuch; the same term is also applied to the perpetual vow to the santo, and the accompanying obligations.¹ In the first sense, the cuch consists of a chief organizer and his assistants. At X-Kalakdzonot it includes a man who takes the title of cargador, assisted by three helpers known as nakulob; at Dzitas it consists of one great cargador and two little cargadores, each of the three assisted by three noox. Upon these men devolves for a single year the preparation of the annual offerings which the community makes to the santo "so that there may be a good harvest."² The cargadores are volunteers, chosen by the men of the town at X-Kalakdzonot, by their predecessors at Dzitas; they select their own nakulob. At various ceremonies the obligation is transferred from the outgoing to the incoming group, by a ceremony at which ritual foods and objects are handed over from the old cuch to the new. Each cargador, keeping a share of these objects for himself, distributes the remainder among his nakulob; all must return double the amount taken, in the following year. By taking these ritual objects, the members of the cuch symbolize their assumption of a vow reinforced by strong religious sanctions.

The members of the cuch supervise and subsidize the preparation of the festal foods used in the ceremonies; at X-Kalakdzonot they also feed the public and guests who have come to join in the fiesta. One of the most important duties of the mayordomos of this region is their responsibility for the jaranas of the fiesta. At X-Kalakdzonot these are held in a leafy shelter erected near

¹The term cuch is not used at X-Cacal, where the obligation is discharged in a somewhat different way, described below.

²Redfield, data from private files.

the house of the mayordomo, and the participants dance before the sante, which is brought from the church to watch. In the more isolated villages, such as X-Kalakdzonot, where the performance of the jarana entails lustration and restoration to normal on the part of the dancers, the cargador acts as host during their night of vigil, although the ceremonies themselves are in the hands of the shamans. At X-Kalakdzonot the festal bullfight is also a concern of the cargador--it is he who supervises the building of the ring and arranges for the fight itself. Typically he also arranges for the musicians and furnishes rockets. At Dzitas he pays for a mass, if one is held.

In the performance of these matters the cargador receives the assistance of the other members of the cuch, and also certain subsidiary contributions of goods and labor. The cargador of X-Kalakdzonot entertains the men of the village with cigarettes and rum and asks them to help him with his fiesta. At Dzitas the noox have helpers who take some of the sacred tokens for themselves and distribute others among such members of the general public as wish to pledge foods for the following year. At the same town some of the townspeople assist in preparing the festal foods. In return for this assistance they receive some of the foods themselves; others they offer to passers-by in return for contributions to the fiesta. The dancers in the jarana include able-bodied young people of the village and, frequently, outside visitors.

In all three towns the transfer of obligations to the incoming cuch involves rituals centering about certain sacred objects: pigs' heads, arepas, dolls, cigarettes, and ramilletes. These last are sacred poles decorated with colored paper and with some of the offerings. At Dzitas and X-Kalakdzonot the vow is

transferred when the outgoing cargador hands over this pole to his successor and gives a traditional speech expressing the sacredness of the charge. There is also a dance in which either the nakulob or substitutes dance with sacred objects to appropriate music. After this the objects are distributed among the members of the cuch and others who wish to accept them. These objects must all be returned in double amount the following year. Data as to the precise manner of transfer followed at X-Cacal are lacking.

The festal organization of Dzitas¹ is carried on in "an endless series of interlocking cycles," each composed of three feasts: chuch-hel, kah-ik, and the fiesta patronal in honor of Santa Inez. The first two of these are meetings of the current and prospective cuch. Chuch-hel, held on Holy Saturday, "brings into being the next cuch"; kah-ik, held on Christmas Eve, confirms the arrangements. On these occasions the current cuch act as hosts, serving their prospective successors cigarettes and rum or balche, to bind them to their obligations. Commonly a jarana is held, at the expense of the current cargador. Any necessary changes in the arrangements are made at the second meeting. Neither of these meetings transfers the service of the santo to the incoming group.

Several days in advance of the fiesta the members of the cuch and their helpers prepare the festal foods; they slaughter the hogs, grind the corn, and prepare x-much, chorriado, arepas, and kol. On Thursday the turkey dancers perform the turkey-strangling dance, in response to a ceremonial request from the

¹These accounts are written from data in the files of Dr. Redfield and an unpublished manuscript which he is preparing in collaboration with Mr. Villa.

cargadores and gifts of balche and cigarettes.

On Saturday the beginning of the fiesta is announced by buffoons and the noise of rockets. On this day and on Sunday take place the jaranas, the bullfight, and the mass. Sunday also sees the transfer of obligation from the outgoing to the incoming cuch in the house of the outgoing cargador, before a table bearing a small wooden cross.

X-Kalakdzonot represents a pattern more common among the backward villages of Yucatan. There the fiesta patronal is held in honor of the Holy Cross.

On the last night of the novenario, at which a maestro cantor officiates, the cargador serves supper at his house. For this event men grind nixtamal and women prepare tortillas and atole. After the supper the men withdraw to the house of the future cargador, who gives them cigarettes and rum and asks their help in the fiesta the following year. Before the final jarana, the present and future cargadores carry the cross from the oratory to a special hut, which has been set up before the dancing platform. Following the jarana, the male dancers keep vigil in the house of the cargador, who serves them in their turn cigarettes and rum. The lustration of both male and female dancers takes place in the house of the mayol, who has direct charge of the dancing. On the following day the celebrants are served turkey seasoned with chile. The musicians receive the choice servings.

The transfer of obligation (delivery of the cuch) is essentially the same as at Dzitas, except that the nakulob dance with the objects themselves. As at the former town, the sacred objects are divided among the nakulob, who must return twice the amount the following year.

From X-Cacal Villa has reported a variant form of the

typical Yucatecan pattern as followed at Dzitas and X-Kalakdzonot. The revolt of the Indians of this region, beginning in the 1840's, brought about a reversion to tribal organization, which is at present based upon sub-tribal groups centering about shrine villages. Among these people the village fiestas, undertaken by families who own the images, appear secondary in importance to the great annual sub-tribal fiestas, in which several villages join at the shrine city. At these celebrations the assigning of specific sacred obligations, the distribution of these under the direction of annually elected officials, the offering of foods and dances to the santo, the renewal of the vow and its transfer to other hands by the dance with the pig's head and other sacred objects are all found, as at Dzitas and X-Kalakdzonot; but a variant distribution of responsibilities parallels the distinctive local social organization of this region.

The Indians who make the sub-tribal fiesta held at X-Cacal are divided into five companies, each headed by a chief. Each company undertakes one of the last five days of the novenario held in honor of the santo.¹ Its activities in this respect are directed by diputados, who direct the preparation of the offering to the santo under the supervision of the principal chiefs of the companies and the religious officials.² These diputados are selected at a meeting of the principal chiefs and secretaries from volunteers who offer to bear the expenses and obligations of the next fiesta. Their duties consist "in overseeing and stimulating

¹This fiesta is held annually, one year in honor of the Virgin of the Conception, the next in honor of the Holy Cross.

²"It should be noted that in the fiesta of X-Cacal the Company of Sulub did not take part because of the pemyry of its members; this excuse was not fully accepted by the rest of the group and later on was brought up to humiliate the Company" (Alfonso Villa, correspondence, August, 1939).

the others in the work of the fiesta," including the preparation of the offerings to the santo.¹ At the same meeting other participants in the fiesta are chosen: the dancers of the jarana, a man who will prepare the pig's head which figures in the transfer of obligation, and volunteers to pay for the masses said by the high priest. All of these obligations are looked upon as sacred.

In connection with its service in the novenario each of the companies must carry out a cycle of ceremonies culminating in the offering of the company's table to the image. The preparation of this is the concern of the diputados, assisted by other members of the company (particularly by their wives) and directed by a religious official known as the kub-mesa. Each diputado contributes for the festal foods a hog, corn, sugar, rice, seasonings, and candles; he may also contribute rockets to be fired. After the table has been presented to the image by the diputados, the food is distributed among all of the companies of the sub-tribe.

Obviously the fiesta of X-Cacal calls into activity many participants not closely bound to the diputados: the chiefs of the companies, the high priest, the kub-mesa, the dancers and the mayoles who direct them, the man who undertakes to deliver the head, and those who pay for the masses. Yet it is the diputados who bear the brunt of the labor of the fiesta. The chief of their company oversees their work in a general way and acts as their head in the delivery of the offerings; but it is they who are responsible for directing the actual co-operative labor in the cause of the fiesta--to disobey their orders constitutes a serious offense at this time.

Each of the companies goes through the same cycle of ceremonies on the day it presents its table of offerings to the santo.

¹Ibid.

The principal festal foods are represented: relleno, tsahbil keken, tortillas, crackers, and chocolate. These are arranged in piles or bundles each of which must contain certain numbers of component parts: three, five, seven, ten, and thirteen. The napkins and vessels in which the offerings are placed must be new. Certain numbers of black wax candles are added. . . . The votaries formally deliver the whole to the kub-mesa, stating that it is the table which they have promised to the santo. They then bring from the temple the most sacred symbols of deity which are allowed to leave the sanctuary. . . . These objects are brought in a solemn procession with music to the cuartel, while the votaries, their wives, the kub-mesa, and the chief of the company involved kneel and pray. The symbols of divinity have now been caused to be present during the acts by which the offering is made to them. When the votaries come out from the cuartel the kub-mesa distributes the offerings among them, giving each something to carry. The procession, bearing the offerings, the cross, and the Holy Seat, enters the temple where the articles are placed on the altar. A High Mass is held, after which the offerings are removed from the altar and distributed to the people. . . .

On the afternoon of the last day of the offerings the kub-mesa prepares a table of foods for the chiefs to eat in seclusion, after they have performed a ceremony of penance and purification in the temple.

The transfer of obligation takes place at a ceremony known as the "dance of the head," which is held by the whole sub-tribe as a unit. The head, decorated with arepas, dolls, cigarettes, and ramilletes, is carried to the altar by the man who has prepared it, accompanied by maestros cantores and secretaries. The recitation of a rosary follows. After this, eleven members of the group which has performed the festal jaranas perform a sacred dance, led by one person who carries the head. At the close of the ceremony the head is placed again upon the altar, and objects similar to those which adorn it are distributed among those present.

¹ Redfield and Villa, unpublished manuscript.

Panajachel¹

In the vicinity of Lake Atitlan each town or village has several outstanding santos which it honors with fiestas. At Panajachel, for instance, there are four of these santos, each in charge of a brotherhood known as a cofradía.² Each cofradía is made up of a cofrade and from two to four assisting mayordomos. Each man holds office jointly with his wife, he being responsible for certain duties, she for others. A fifth santo is cared for by the higher civil officials of the town, headed by the alcalde.

The cofrade, who serves for a year, is entrusted with the symbols of the santo during his tenure; he gives lodging to both the image and the box containing the effects of the santo. At the close of his term he presents a new outfit of clothes to the santo. He and his mayordomos provide candles and incense to be burned before the images in connection with the fiesta on the name-day and at the rituals held by the cofradías in private. They also decorate the santo with flowers and collaborate with the sacristans in decorating the chapel. On the name-day they provide flute- and drum-players for the rituals, and helpers to carry the images in the processions, supplying these men with specific gifts of food and drink, "to bind them to their duty."³ If the priest is brought from Sololá to say mass, the cofradía in charge of the fiesta cares for him. It also undertakes a house-to-house canvas to collect money toward defraying the expenses of

¹The material for this account has been taken from Sol Tax's files of materials collected on the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala.

²The word cofradía is used for both the organization itself and the house or room in which the santos are kept.

³Tax, unpublished data.

the fiesta. Each of the several cofradías, in conjunction with assuming its position and discharging its duties, must hold a number of ritual meetings and must attend others. These rituals, some of which are also attended by the civil officials, entail the presentation of specified gifts of ritual foods and drinks; formerly it was customary for the cofradía to kill a bull for the ceremony at which it received its year of service. For these gatherings the cofradía decorates with leaves and flowers the house set aside for the saints of the cofradía; on some occasions the cofrade hires a marimba band. The women of the cofradía supply the foods for these meetings and do most of the cooking; they also hold meetings of their own at the same time. In addition they make the new clothes which are presented to the santo and burn incense before the images, both in the cofradía and during the processions. In connection with the fiesta of All Saints certain of the cofradías clean the cemetery. In some towns they have specific duties in the ceremonies of burial. The cofradías also participate in the inauguration of civil officials by contributing a bottle of aguardiente.

In addition to the house-to-house canvas, several other customs provide for contributions to the cofradía by other members of the community. The other cofradías present bottles of aguardiente when they are entertained by the officiating cofradía at the celebration it holds for the town officials. The alcalde, in return for foods sent him, sends a monetary contribution to be used for incense and candles for the santo. Friends and relatives assist by giving their labor or by loaning utensils for the ritual entertainments, and any member of the community may send firewood or minor supplies. All of these people receive foods in return.

The service to the santo is, as at Mitla, largely a politi-

cal obligation. Here the cofrades and mayordomos are an integral part of the hierarchy of town officials, which is filled yearly by servicio. The individual, as he passes upward through this hierarchy, passes through a definite succession of posts, alternating between sacred and secular offices; the posts within the cofradía are ranked, and the specific post and santo to which an individual is appointed depends upon the extent of his former service and upon his wealth. In theory the lower officials in the servicio are appointed by the higher, and the higher officials by the principales. The Indian who fulfills his communal duties will be blessed with money for the good things of life, while the slacker will not prosper.

The rituals observed in the service of the cofradía comprise an elaborate round of observances.

When the preliminary insignia of the cofradía is to be handed over to the incoming cofrade, the alcalde sends one of the regidores to notify him, and he awaits the officials and the emblem in his house. The officials come in a procession, in an order determined by their rank, and the alcalde announces that they have come to deliver the emblem and that it is a sin to refuse it. He then announces the names of the incoming mayordomos to those present, and the procession enters the house. The assistants who have carried the emblem place it on a table and all kneel on the ground facing the santo. One of the important officials then gives a speech; the cofrade listens to this carefully and thanks the speaker each time he is mentioned.

On a specified later day the new cofrade receives his mayordomos and their wives. Five or six days in advance he visits them by night to remind them of the reception. On the appointed night they and their wives come to the house of the cofrade, which

has been decorated with leaves and flowers, and take seats in a definite order, according to their rank. When all have assembled, the cofrade serves liquor, and they drink together. Relatives or helpers then distribute the gifts of the cofrade to each mayordomo: pulique, turkey, chicken, and tamales. The cofrade makes a speech; the guests taste the foods; and the mayordomas (wives of the mayordomos) return home, accompanied by relatives or hired helpers, who carry the food. The cofrade then lays before the mayordomos his monetary contribution toward the fiesta, and the other men contribute appropriate amounts; if there is a deficit they pledge the remainder with corn kernels. After counting and incensing the money, they drink again. From time to time the marimba hired by the cofrade for the occasion has been playing, and now the men begin to dance. Helpers go out to find the regidores, who will be found sitting together somewhere in the vicinity, give them drinks, and invite them to the meeting. At the house of the cofrade the regidores kneel before the insignia, cross themselves, sit on benches according to their rank, and join in the drinking. Later they count the money which has just been contributed for the fiesta; this assures the alcalde that each man has made the proper contribution. The rest of the night is spent in dancing, in which the public may join. The participants pay for requested numbers played for them by the marimba band and they purchase their own drinks.

After collecting the public contribution to the fiesta, the incoming cofradia meets again with the alcaldes and principales to count the money and arrange for the spending.

Then follows a series of ritual meetings concerned with the final transfer of the santo from the outgoing to the incoming cofradia. In preparation for this the mayordomas, assisted by

their helpers, grind maize and prepare other ingredients in their own kitchens. The helpers are paid in tortillas cooked at the house of the mayordoma, and in aguardiente, which is sent from the cofradía and drunk in the course of the evening. On the following day the mayordomos carry baskets of foodstuffs to the cofradía, together with loads of firewood and a number of rockets to be fired as signals to the public as the cooking progresses. The mayordomas bring additional ingredients to make up the required weight when the baskets are weighed by the men. At the cofradía the turkeys and the roosters are killed. The helpers are then dismissed with two bottles of aguardiente apiece, which they drink there in the cofradía. The mayordomas and the cofrada then cook the festal foods.

The actual transfer of the service of the santo is accomplished in the course of two ceremonies, at one of which the insignia is handed over, at the other the images of the santo. While the women are cooking the festal foods, the men of the incoming cofradía go to the house of the alcalde to ask him to attend the activities at which they will receive their saints from the old cofradía. The cofrade gives the alcalde a bottle of aguardiente, which he and the regidores drink before attending the meeting. Then the incoming cofrade and his mayordomos call at the house of the outgoing cofrade to ask for the insignia, setting off rockets when they leave their own cofradía and when they arrive at their destination. They present four bottles of aguardiente to the outgoing cofrade, in return for the insignia. The outgoing cofrade gives them a bottle of the same liquor, and, together with the outgoing cofradía, they drink this and one of the bottles which they have presented, each group serving the other. The outgoing officials then turn over the insignia, which they have

adorned for the occasion.

After the incoming group has returned to the cofradía, the first mayordomo divides the fowls which the women have cooked, and these, together with tamales, are sent to the house of the alcalde, where they are divided in equal parts among the regidores. When this has been done, the incoming cofradía calls in turn for the various officials, including the outgoing cofradía, and all proceed to the house of the incoming cofrade for lunch. The men eat in the room which houses those images which have already been turned over, the women in the kitchen; the lowest mayordomo serves the foods which all of the women have cooked in common. Those which each woman has cooked separately are reserved for the subsequent ceremony at which the last images are received. The visiting officials then return home.

At the final ceremony of transfer, the cofrade, accompanied by his mayordomos and the musicians, again calls for the officials in ascending order, beginning with the several cofradías and coming finally to the alcalde and the regidores. The participants in this procession drink one bottle of aguardiente at a house where the religious officials have assembled, and another with the alcalde and the regidores. All of them then proceed to the house of the outgoing cofrade, where, in an order dictated by their rank, they drink more liquor, which is supplied by the outgoing and incoming cofradías. The alcalde asks permission of the outgoing cofrade to remove the saints; this granted, the incoming cofradía in turn asks permission of the alcalde. The men kiss the hands of their superiors and then go in for the saints. Each of the women of the outgoing cofradía kisses the hands of her superior and asks permission to clothe the images which were her particular charge with the garments which she has made for them during

the year of service. The first outgoing mayordomo then changes the clothes, while incense is burned and rockets are fired. When this has been done, the outgoing cofradía turns over the effects of the santo to the new group in the presence of the other officials.

The transfer completed, the images are carried to the house of the incoming cofrade in a procession made up of the musicians, the other cofradías (including the outgoing cofradía), the regidores and sacristanes carrying the saints, the other religious and civil officials, and such of the general public as care to attend. The women of the outgoing cofradía accompany this procession almost to the new cofradía. Just after they withdraw, the women of the incoming cofradía, also burning incense, come to meet the procession; they kneel in turn before the other officials, and their superiors kiss their hands. After they have thus shown themselves to the public, they go to find the outgoing women, whom they invite to the kitchen for their rituals. The procession continues to the cofradía, where the alcalde directs the mayordomos to carry the images and the insignia into the house.¹ The new cofrade carries the insignia before the officials, each of whom kneels and kisses it. He then invites them into the room where the saints are, where they kneel again; here the alcalde gives a speech thanking the new cofrade for the invitation to witness the ceremonies. The officials are then served bread, choco-

¹The ceremonies carried out by the cofradía of San Francisco are coincident with a general fiesta celebrated by the entire community in honor of this, the patron saint. The dancers of the fiesta go to the cofradía house to ask the santo's permission and protection in their dancing. There they make an offering to the santo and are given food. They accompany the processions of the cofradía and dance around the images in the patio when the processions arrive at the cofradía house. They are also invited to dance at private homes, where they are given money and liquor. It is incumbent upon each of the cofradías to receive them in this manner.

late, and aguardiente. The cofrade thanks those present for attending the ceremonies and urges them to eat. The alcalde replies to this speech, and, after all have drunk the chocolate and more liquor is brought, he and regidores leave for home. The bread is not eaten, but will be delivered to them later in the night. The other cofradías remain for more drinks, after which they too depart. Meanwhile the women have been celebrating in the kitchen. Each woman gives her predecessor liquor, the first mayordoma counts the clothes and hands them over to her successor, and each of the new mayordomas presents her predecessor with three large pieces of turkey in pulique and with tamales. Helpers carry these gifts home, and the women of the old cofradía follow with their husbands.

The Tarahumara¹

Among the Tarahumara each fiesta is typically in charge of three fiesteros, who are in general responsible for conducting it. In the pueblo of Guadalupe each fiestero is assisted by a birioсте. At Samachique two maromos also serve in the fiesta patronal, held in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe, making five functionaries in all. The maromos are exactly like the fiesteros, except that they have also certain duties in connection with Holy Week.

Fiesteros and maromos serve for one year and appoint their own successors. The maestro cantor officiates at their inauguration. They oversee the fiesta in a general way and are responsible for the preparation of the foods and drinks which are served to the public. In connection with the cooking, each fiestero

¹ This account is based upon materials presented by Dr. Bennett in Bennett and Zingg, op. cit.

kills a cow. They also feed the dancers and supply the officials with the liquor which they drink in private. The outgoing fiesteros give their successors liquor at the inaugural ceremony.

In the preparation of foods the fiestero is assisted by women who come to grind and by men who chop the wood; these receive tesguino and tortillas in return for their services. At Guadalupe pueblo the birioates make ollas for the cooking, furnish bowls for serving the foods, cook the meat which is given to the dancers, and serve the foods. They also figure in the inaugural ceremonies. As the outlay in foods is more than any one person could afford at once, other contributors bring gifts of food, which the fiestero must more than return at some future time. The dedication of the foods used in the ceremonies of communal eating is in the hands of the head chapeon, who trains the dancers.

At Samachique the fiesteros appoint their own successors. Both there and at Guadalupe the ceremonies of inauguration are held in the church, where the incoming officials pray together. At both places the outgoing group present the new incumbents with gifts: tesguino at Samachique, meat at Guadalupe. At Samachique the maestro cantor officiates at a service attended by both groups.

Bennett has described the fiesta of Guadalupe at Samachique as typical of the highland Tarahumara. Since these Indians live in relative isolation on scattered farms and ranches, they all at the time of the fiesta move into the town, which consists of a church, a courthouse and jail, and a number of houses which they occupy temporarily during their communal gatherings and festivities. Several days before the fiesta the members of the community begin to gather, the women grinding corn for the festal foods, the men chopping wood, and the officials conferring with

respect to the fiesta and other matters of common concern.

Before the fiesta the fiesteros and marcos clean the churchyard and smooth the dance space. Each must then kill a bull to be used in the cooking of the foods. For this ceremony he constructs a patio in his house and in the center sets up a cross decorated with a rosary. After bringing in the cow he incenses the cross, the four directions, and the four sides of the animal, which is killed by an experienced old man. The blood is consecrated and taken into the house to be cooked, while each person present is given a piece of meat and a share of the entrails. Later a bowl of the cooked blood and another of esquiate are brought into the patio. The fiestero dedicates these before the cross and carries them into the house. One by one the watchers and helpers enter to be served. The meat is guarded in the house until the first night of the fiesta, when it is cooked and distributed.

Skyrockets and bells announce the beginning of the fiesta itself. The dancers and singers perform before the cross in the churchyard. There are processions with the cross and a picture of the Virgin, offerings of candles, a service conducted by the maestro cantor, and a sermon given by the governor of the pueblo.

On the following day the singers and dancers again perform before the images, first in the church and later in the yard. In the afternoon the fiesteros bring esquiate and boiled meat, which the head singer offers three times to each of the four directions and then serves to the people. In a definite order he invites each person to come forward to a stone seat to receive his portion; first come the dancers, then the musicians, followed by the singers, and last of all the general public. The dancers and singers continue their performances from time to time throughout

the duration of the celebration.

The following day the incoming fiesteros are inaugurated. They and their predecessors gather in the church, together with the officials and the maestros cantores. The outgoing officials dedicate tesguino and serve it to all present. They lay down their blankets for the incoming men to kneel on, and hang their rosaries on them. Then follows a prayer and song service. After this the incoming group are given candles; they hand these to the maestro cantor, who makes crosses around their heads, crosses himself, and extinguishes the candles. He then gives a speech and ends the service with a final prayer.

During the day the general observation of the fiesta continues, with another procession, another prayer service, and more dancing. The governor may take advantage of the occasion to hold a law trial and deliver another sermon.

In the afternoon the people go to the house of each of the fiesteros to receive gifts of food. At each house the officials make a ceremonial circuit around the cross, crossing themselves on each side of it. Each person is called individually, in a definite order, and given stew and tortillas. Most of the people are given three tortillas, but special persons receive five, and the rest only two. No one eats at this time.

The dancers perform again in the evening, and again the fiesteros bring tesguino, which is dedicated by the singers and served to all present. Later in the evening all of the people visit in succession the houses of the five officials of the fiesta. At each house the fiestero meets the procession with a torch and then crosses himself while the dancers dance around the cross in the patio. The officials circle the cross and hang

their canes and the whip of the mayor on it. After the dedication of the tesguino the dancers perform again and then hang their headdresses, fans, and rattles on the altar. A drinking party follows. This circuit of visits consumes the rest of the night and ends the fiesta.

CHAPTER II

FORMAL ASPECTS

Generalized Structure

From these several accounts certain common elements emerge which stamp the practices as local manifestations of an institution widespread in Mexico and Guatemala. In each instance we have to deal with an institution composed of laymen engaged in service to a santo. Each year one or more individuals assumes the responsibility for rendering to the santo the homage due him on the part of the community in return for his benevolent protection. In the discharge of this burden the functionaries personally assume certain expenses and administer definite ceremonial activities. This service may be assumed either as an act of personal piety or as a contribution to the welfare of the community. Society, in its side, provides itself with an incumbent, either by encouraging volunteers to come forward or by appointing some one. The duties of these functionaries center about the maintenance and perpetuation of the cult of the santo, in connection with an annual fiesta held in his honor. Many other agencies also contribute toward this celebration, and the role of the chief burden-bearer is less prominent in some places than in others; but always, so long as the santo remains central in the festivities, it is such a personage who is chiefly responsible for providing the offerings. In so doing he is assisted by a number of helpers, both within and without the organization which he heads. The mechanisms which provide for these subsidiary contributions vary according to local

custom, but the offering of services and other contributions in return for foods is a basic pattern. In some instances the role of the specialist dims considerably the prominence of the chief burden-bearer in the fiesta as a whole. Still it is the group which accepts the stewardship that actually maintains the sacred obligation and the custodianship of the santo. These responsibilities are perpetuated and transferred from person to person through a line of successive incumbents by means of a locally elaborated ritual based upon a few common elements.

Such appears to be the generalized structure of the stewardship of the santo, in so far as it may be known from the data at hand. The pattern submitted is of course tentative and will doubtless be amended by future research, but it is well borne out by the available descriptions.

The Sacred Obligation and Its Distribution

While the number and the nomenclature of the members of the group which accepts the stewardship vary throughout the area under consideration, the group is always composed of one or more organizers, sometimes assisted by specially titled helpers, who assume a sacred obligation. While the service may or may not involve the assumption of an explicit vow, its sacred nature is everywhere apparent. The rituals of the institution assure the maintenance of the reciprocal relationship between the santo and his congregation. By rendering the santo annual homage and presenting him with tokens of affection, the community assures itself of the general good will of the santo, manifested in good health and abundant crops. To fail to carry out this perpetual pledge would be to court the disfavor of the santo, with its attendant punishments. The formal institution provides for the distribution

of this obligation among individual members of the community, at Tepostlán by means of perpetual pledges, elsewhere by other mechanisms. Above all, it provides for a succession of incumbents who take the lead in caring for the santo, organizing the annual offering, and defraying the expenses.

Redfield's comment upon the cuch in Yucatan stresses this distribution of obligation:

In communities where the sense of pious obligation to the patron is strong, the division of labor is incident to a division of the relation between the community and its supernatural guardian. Accordingly the transfer from one group of leaders to the next, and also the subdivision of responsibility from the principal holders to the lesser, is ritualized. These transfers are expressed in traditional gestures; they have a binding effect. The vow by which the community is perpetually bound to its supernatural guardian, and which must be annually renewed, is discharged by a changing series of particular individuals or groups of individuals. In the conservative villages the central organization of the festival is spoken of as cuch, "burden," and there are rituals by which the holy load is shifted from one set of shoulders to the next. Always there must be someone, or some group of people, who have the sacred obligation upon them; they are the ones who will next year take the leadership in making the festival. The rituals take the form of an actual handing over of certain of the festal foods from one man to another, and from some men to others. Where the sense of sacred obligation is strong this act is the culminating moment of the festival; then the sanctified custodianship passes.¹

It is such towns as X-Kalakdzonot and X-Cacal that form the basis for such a statement.

In X-Kalakdzonot the name of the fiesta (cuch) has reference to its essential meaning: a charge, or burden, voluntarily assumed as an act of piety. The organizer of the fiesta in such a village assumes more than the responsibility for a popular success. He takes, for a year, the solemn charge to render to the santo his fiesta. The organizer may expend the equivalent of a year's income. His only recompense is in the form of special divine protection by the santo. This concept is symbolized in the handing-over of the decorated pole (ramillete) from the organizer of this year to the organizer of next year. The promise which the recipient makes is one of great solemnity; it is believed that death is likely to follow its breach. This grave sanction provides for the continuity of the

¹Redfield and Villa, unpublished manuscript on Yucatan.

festal organization and also for the perpetual assertion of the corporate personality of the village and of the special relationship between the village and its patron santo.¹

At X-Cacal the services of election and inauguration in the church and the preparation of offerings of ritual foods presented to the santo under the direction of a religious official bear out the sacredness of the observances.

Several practices at Dzitas point to the sacredness of the cuch in that community. At chuch-hel the cigarettes and balche which the incoming men receive from their predecessors bind them to their obligation. Furthermore, the foods of the decorated pole are not ordinary foods: the meal for the arepas must be ground by hand, and the whole offering must be made up in a definite way and later ceremoniously distributed. Participants in the accompanying dance are sprinkled with balche, the Yucatecan lustrative par excellence.

The special dances and fiestas have for their purpose the perpetuation of the festal organization. The preparation of the fiesta devolves upon individual volunteers, who make the fiesta and the attendant expenditures as an act of religious devotion to the santo, "so that there may be a good harvest." In 1933, when hard times made it impossible to carry out the cuch, the cargadores and noox paid for a mass in the church and promised the Virgin that they would give her a still finer fiesta next year.²

At Tepoztlán there are two mayordomos for each public santo; each of these men holds his own ritual and discharges his particular responsibilities. They serve in pursuance of a vow, by which they perform individual acts of piety, at the same time assuring the well-being of the village.

¹ Redfield and Villa, Chan Kom, pp. 156-57.

² Redfield, data from private files.

To be the mayordomo presumes a willingness to spend much money as an offering to God, confident that it will be returned in the form of divine gratitude.¹

While, as Parsons has pointed out, it is no longer customary at Mitla, nor at the nearby town of Huilá, to undertake a mayordomía by a personal vow requesting some form of divine favor, this practice is still common in San Sebastian and other parts of Oaxaca. Even at Mitla the notion of the sacred pledge persists. The town as a whole feels its annual offering as a perpetual sacred obligation due the santo in return for his divine protection.² Refusal to accept a mayordomía is severely frowned upon, and if a man dies during his term of service, his son is expected to make good the pledge.³

Likewise at Panajachel and Chichicastenango, although service in the cofradía comes by appointment from the town officials, the sacredness of the obligation and the pledge to fulfill it is still apparent. When the alcalde and the regidores advise their nominee of his appointment, they warn him that to decline is a "sin before God and a disgrace before the principales."⁴ Rosales⁵ states that after the mayordomos have partaken of the ritual foods at the house of the cofrade, they "are really pledged to serve the saint."⁶ Before recent interventions in local affairs by the national government, refusal to accept an appointment was punished by imprisonment, both at Panajachel and Chichicastenango. At the latter town the inaugural service of the cofrade and his mayordomos

¹Redfield, "The Cerahpa and Castiyohpa of Tepoztlán," op. cit., p. 140.

²Parsons, Mitla, p. 400.

³Ibid., p. 303.

⁴Tax, data from private files.

⁵Ethnographic assistant to Dr. Tax.

⁶Tax, data from private files.

includes a prayer service in the church imploring personal blessings from the supernaturals for the new incumbents, although the forefathers somewhat eclipse the santo in this ceremony.

In genau vorgeschriebener Reihenfolge werden in der Kirche sowohl den Seelen der verstorbenen Würdenträger der Bruderschaft als Christo und allen Heiligen Kerzen gestiftet. Aber der Text des Gebets zeigt deutlich, dass die ganze Handlung auf das Wohlwollen der Ahnenseelen abzielt. Ihnen stellen sich die neuen Würdenträger vor, um Glück und Gesundheit für ihre Amtsdauer sich zu sichern.¹

The sacredness of the charge which the chief burden-bearer assumes is, then, pretty generally evident. The degree of sacredness with which any individual incumbent actually invests his office will of course vary with the motives that lead him to assume the burden. Both the needs and expectations of the community and the attitudes of prospective incumbents figure in the selection of a votary. On the one hand, the members of the community recognize certain men as potential candidates, because of their personal qualifications, their wealth, their past public service, and the length of time they have rested from such service. The men of the community, on their part, may wish either to assume such an office or to avoid it. Secular considerations of civic duty or personal prestige or such sacred motivations as the desire to honor the santo or the wish for some special blessing may dispose a man to accept. On the other hand, the expense of the undertaking or a non-acceptance of the group's standards of value may make him eager to evade the responsibility. The town selects the incumbents either directly by election at a meeting of the men (Mitla, Dzitas, Tepostlán, X-Kalakdzonot, X-Cacal, Huilá), or indirectly by having them appointed by the town officials (Panajachel, Chichicastenango, Tuxpan, Mitla, Huilá, San Marcos, San

¹ Schultze-Jena, op. cit., p. 13.

José), or by the outgoing leader (Samachique). At Mitla accession to a mayordomía is automatic from some of the official posts. In short, the chief burden-bearer is either elected by the town or appointed by the officials, and he takes office either as a volunteer or at the command of the social order.

The Transfer of Obligation

As a rule, the transfer of obligation from the outgoing to the incoming chief burden-bearer takes place immediately after the public celebration of the fiesta. The essential feature of this ceremony is the handing over of certain sacred objects which stand as symbols of the charge. At Mitla, Tepoztlán, Panajachel, Chichicastenango, and Tuxpan, these sacra consist of appurtenances of the santo: the box, the candles, the fireworks-tower, or the image itself. In Yucatan it is the sacred foods and objects that are transferred. The report from Samachique does not treat of this point. In at least some instances the transfer of obligation is the occasion for a short ritual speech. This custom has been noted for Mitla, Tuxpan, Samachique, X-Kalakdzonot, Panajachel, and Chichicastenango. At X-Kalakdzonot and Tuxpan the speeches deal with a formal reminder to the incoming chief burden-bearer of his duties, and his acknowledgment of receiving them. The data are meager as regards these speeches, and added investigations are needed to clarify the point.

Some of the speeches are given by functionaries from outside of the group which has assumed the stewardship. This brings us to the point that in some instances such functionaries participate in the ceremony of transfer and seem at times even to supervise it. The weighing of the candles at Mitla takes place in the office of the alcaldes, who supervise the proceedings. The in-

augural service of Samachique is in the hands of the maestro cantor, who gives a service and sermon, and makes crosses above the heads of the fiesteros with candles. At Panajachel it is the alcalde who gives one of the incoming mayordomos permission to take the santos, and later delivers a speech praising the continued celebration of the rituals and urging those present to fulfill their obligations. Both there and at Chichicastenango the town officials are prominent in the rituals of the cofradía. At Tuxpan the singing-shaman delivers a formal sermon, answered by responses from the sacred and secular officials and the keepers of the votive bowls.¹ The mayordomo of the image known as San Cristo also officiates at this dedicatory service.

The Duties of the Chief Burden-Bearer

The specific duties which fall to the chief burden-bearer in connection with his service to the santo vary from community to community, but there are several that occur so commonly as to suggest a common pattern.

In every instance cited the chief burden-bearer is responsible for the preparation of ritual foods. In this capacity he must assemble an adequate supply of foodstuffs and oversee the communal labor entailed in their preparation. The foods prepared may serve one of two purposes: they may figure in the ceremonies, or they may be served as a return for service rendered the santo, either directly in fulfillment of a vow or indirectly through participation in the activities of the burden-bearers. The actual offering of these foods to the santo appears in its most clear-cut form at X-Cacal, where they are later distributed and eaten

¹The keepers of the votive bowls and the mayordomos of the Huichols correspond to the chief burden-bearers of other communities. For a discussion of these officials see p. 62ff., infra.

by the people at large. At Dzitas and X-Kalakdzonot they are placed on the sacred ramillete before being distributed to the members of the cuch and those of the general public who wish to assume the obligation which they entail. The dedication of the foods before the cross at Samachique might be construed as an offering of the foods to the santo, especially in view of practices among the more remote Huichols, who anoint the sacred paraphernalia with the blood of the slain animal. While the association of the foods with a sacred object is not everywhere explicit, the notion of serving ritual foods in connection with sacred ceremonial occasions is particularly widespread. In all of the fully reported instances it occurs at the inauguration of the new officials. At Mitle, Tepoztlán, and Samachique the payment of contributions of money or food is made an occasion for ceremonial feasting. This food is not to be construed as payment for the contributions, since at each of these places the offerings are given in fulfillment of perpetual or reciprocal pledges. At Panajachel those who assist the mayordemas in the cooking drink together liquor sent by the cofrade. They also receive some of the foods they prepare; here, however, we are perhaps dealing with the second usage of festal foods, that of payment for services rendered, for the Indians of Panajachel speak of "paying" with food and drinks those who contribute minor services or gifts to the cofradía. Everywhere the musicians associated with the festivities of the stewardship and any dancers performing by vow to the santo are fed by the officiating incumbents, whether as payment or for purely ceremonial reasons it would be hazardous to say. The foods prepared under the direction of the chief burden-bearer are foods of the sacred cookery, as distinguished from the secular. In some instances they must be prepared in special ways,

as at Dzitas.¹ Usually the slaughter of the large animals supplied by the chief burden-bearer is an important ceremonial occasion.

The contributions of food, labor, or money which are acknowledged by gifts of food come to the officiating organization through a system of pledges. At Tepoztlán these are perpetual for the members of the town or barrío, but elsewhere the notion of the exchange of foods is widespread. At X-Kalakdzonot and Dzitas both the members of the cuch and outsiders contribute to the ceremonies twice the amount of foods they have taken from the cuch. At Mitla and Samachique the exchange is between individuals; the donor will at some future occasion receive an equivalent return from the person to whom he presents the foods. At Panajachel this reciprocity is found only regard to donations of firewood; other donations are acknowledged with gifts of food, but no systematic pattern of reciprocity appears.

Certain specialists are commonly associated with the officiating organization. As already noted, the dancers of the santo are commonly fed at the house of the chief burden-bearer. In addition these same dancers or others participate in the ceremonies of the organization in Mitla, Dzitas, and Panajachel; at X-Kalakdzonot and X-Cacal the officials of the organization themselves perform the ritual dances of the stewardship. Musicians are so omnipresent in the ceremonies of the stewardship that they seem at times almost a part of the officiating organization.

Although the band is called upon on secular occasions, as at weddings or to honor a distinguished guest, the musicians are so indispensable on all religious occasions, at masses and other church rituals, at funerals, at the fiesta of the patron saint, and at all mayordomías that they must

¹ See p. 36, supra.

be considered part of the religious organization. At fiestas, including the prolonged mayordomías, the musicians are not paid, except in food and tepache and cigarettes.¹

Redfield includes the flutist and drummer in the five officials active in the feast held at the times the pledges are paid at Tepoztlán. The huehuechihqui of this town is paralleled by the huehuete of Mitla; only future research can prove whether this official represents a localism or a more widespread practice. The rituals of the stewardship frequently entail the services of sacred specialists or civil officials, a point to be considered in more detail later.

Monetary contributions are also common. At Mitla, Lovani, Dzitas, and Santa Caterina Palopó they are made in return for a portion of the festal foods. Solicitation and taxation are also mentioned in connection with raising funds for the fiesta, but the present data do not point to any general pattern in this connection. The most one can say is that the contributions of goods and labor are generally supplemented by monetary contributions, which are sometimes made directly to the group which has assumed the stewardship.

The chief burden-bearer is also commonly custodian of the santo. At Panajachel, Chichicastenango, and Tuxpan he cares for the images themselves, as well as the appurtenances of the santo. At Mitla, although the image remains in the chapel, the box and the candles of the santo are kept by the officiating incumbents. The same is true of the candles and the fireworks-tower burned in honor of the santo at Tepoztlán, where the mayordomo has the added duty of supervising the communal labor on the lands of the santo. La Farge speaks of the mayordomos of Bachajon and Sivacá as caring

¹ Parsons, Mitla, p. 189.

for "sacred properties."¹ In Yucatan the sacred ramilletes are held by the chief burden-bearer during his year of service. Except perhaps in Yucatan, it is also customary for the officiating incumbents to supervise the cleaning and decoration of the chapel for the fiesta.

In general, it may be said that the chief burden-bearer organizes the offerings of the community as a whole to the santo. One of the most common duties is the responsibility for the candles of the santo. With the help of others, he supplies the festal candles at Jacaltenango, Lovani, X-Cacal, Panajachel, Samachique, Tepestlán, and Mitla, actually overseeing their manufacture in the last two towns.² At Dzitas this function of the group which has assumed the stewardship has been taken over by gremios organized to arrange the novenas.³

The Stewardship and the Fiesta

The word fiesta has been used to apply to a number of rather diverse cultural phenomena in Latin countries. We are here concerned with two usages: in reference to a program of sacred worship carried out in honor of a saint, and in reference to a secular festival held either in its own right on a public holiday or in conjunction with a sacred fiesta. In most instances in which a sacred and a secular fiesta are held simultaneously the abstract distinction between the two tends to become blurred, for such logical distinctions are the product of the scholar and are

¹Tulane University of Louisiana Expedition to Middle America, 1st, 1925, op. cit., II, 357.

²From an interview with Sol Tax I have the statement that at Chichicastenango the cofradías run a butcher shop from which they obtain wax for the candles.

³Statement by Robert Redfield.

felt by the participants to a much lesser degree, if at all. In such a town as X-Kalakdzonot, where the fiesta patronal appears as a whole integrated to an unusual degree, one cannot easily set aside certain aspects as sacred, others as secular: such activities as the jarana and the bullfight are at once both sacred and secular. On the one hand they have strong magical elements and are thought of as offered to the santo; on the other hand it would be difficult to say to what extent their purely social aspects overshadow their essential sacredness. Such a question of inner attitudes is, at least at present, more or less unanswerable. At Panajachel and Mitla, by way of contrast, the sacred and secular elements are organized by different functionaries respectively, and the distinction between the two types of activity, although still blurred, emerges much more clearly. Recognizing that the problem is a difficult one, we may nevertheless essay an evaluation of the role of the functionaries of the stewardship in the fiestas held on the name-days of prominent santos.

Among the Tarahumara the chief burden-bearer, as organizer of the gifts to the santo, becomes in effect the leading official of the fiesta. But, as Bennett points out, he is not to be viewed as a single administrator, directing in his own right all of the activities of the fiesta. He and his associates are rather a focal point through which various groups of people contribute.

Although there are special functionaries who manage the fiesta in a general way, the routine seems fairly familiar to everyone. It is never like a pageant run by a single director.¹

On the basis of present data, Bennett's statement seems to hold equally well for X-Kalakdzonot, where the cargador, asking the men of the village to help him "make" the fiesta, provides for

¹Bennett and Zingg, op. cit., p. 296.

the jarana and its musicians, supplies bulls for the bullfight, and feeds and houses visitors. Yet in both of these towns the dancers who perform before the santo appear as an autonomous group, directed by mayoles at X-Kalakdzonot, by chapeones at Samachique. At the latter pueblo the head chapeon serves the food at the communal eating ceremony, the maestro cantor leads the services in the church, and the governor gives a sermon and may call a law trial.

In the patronal fiestas of Mitla and Panajachel a relatively well-marked bifurcation into sacred and secular aspects is evident, and it is at once clear that the group holding the stewardship has little concern with the secular activities. The Ladinos stage the secular fiesta at Panajachel, while the president of the pueblo seems to dominate at Mitla.¹ In both towns the members of the official hierarchy (supplemented, at Panajachel, by the principales) take the responsibility for many aspects of the fiesta. The sacred activities of these celebrations include the processions with the sacred properties to the church, the masses, and the rituals performed by the officiating members of the stewardship at the house of the mayordomía or cofradía. To what extent is the group which has accepted the stewardship responsible for these sacred activities? In the ceremonies of the stewardship its officials are of course the central and responsible figures, although the alcaldes are of considerable importance, since they supervise the ceremonies of inauguration. At Panajachel the alcalde and the regidores also count the money collected by the cofradía and are present when it arranges its expenditures. In the processions the mayordomos and cofrades play

¹ See Parsons, Mitla, p. 246.

a leading part; but at Panajachel the other officials also participate, and at Mitla the superintendent of public works actually supervises one procession (the calenda), in which all officials participate. At Mitia the masses said on the name-day of the santo are commonly paid for by the mayordomos, but during the mayordomía of San Pablo the alcaldes also pay for a mass, send candles to the church, and give a supper to the musicians.¹ If a mass is said at Panajachel, the cofradías must attend, along with the other officials, and they must care for the priest during his stay; the expenses of the priest, however, are either made up by subscription under the leadership of the high officials or the principales, or, occasionally, are paid by a Ladino as an act of devotion.

At Dzitas it is the gremios that have taken over certain sacred activities of the fiesta patronal. They decorate the church for the novenas; stage processions with fireworks; kneel through the services of the novenas; and provide candles, which they hand on in the same manner as the cuch transfers its ramilletes.

One general thesis suggests itself. The burden-bearers stand as stewards with respect to the santo: in so far as the fiesta does honor to the images for which they are responsible they tend to assume positions of leadership and to owe hospitality to all groups specifically honoring their santo. Their duties in these respects fall into three main categories: they are responsible for specific rituals of the institution of the stewardship; they occupy important positions in processions with sacred objects; and they serve offerings of foods to those who contribute to their

¹ Ibid., p. 158.

own undertakings, to other groups honoring the santo, and to the other public officials.¹ They do not necessarily perform all of these services in all localities, for local cultural influences may add to their duties or detract from them. Inasmuch as the jarana and the bullfight of X-Kalakdzonot are offered to the santo, it is the concern of the cuch to provide for them. The same is true of the jaranas of the cargadores at Dzitas. Although the group holding the stewardship nowhere train the dancers, they feed those who dance in honor of the santo at X-Cacal, San Sebastian (Oaxaca), Panajachel,² and Tepoztlán. The data from Mitla and Huilá suggest two possibly negative cases in this respect.³ At Tepoztlán one of the mayordomos also provides the fireworks-tower set off in honor of the santo. There remains one other striking local practice to fit into this thesis: the eating ceremonies of Tuxpan, Samachique, and X-Cacal. At Tuxpan this ceremony takes place in connection with the offering of foods to the gods at the altar and at the sacred hole; it is therefore distinctly tied up with offering foods to the gods, and so becomes a concern of the stewards. At Samachique the communal eating ceremony of the fiesta patronal is a parallel to the eating ceremonies held at the pagan fiestas observed on private farms. The fiesteros, as the leading officials of the fiesta, prepare the food for this ceremony. The situation at X-Cacal is too localized and complex to admit of generalization at the present time.

¹This function of serving public officials is mentioned in the sources dealing with X-Cacal, X-Kalakdzonot, Mitla, Samachique, and Panajachel. Dr. Redfield tells me it is also found at Dzitas and Tepoztlán.

²See supra., p. 27, n.1.

³Parsons, Mitla, pp. 250, 251.

Some of the offerings to the santo demand the services of specialists. In such instances men from outside the stewardship may be in direct control of the participants, as we have seen in considering the dancers. Under such circumstances the group holding the stewardship becomes a point of organization for offerings to the santo. Those actively participating are given food at the house or building occupied by the stewards, which becomes a center for social activity. At Mitla a dance is held for those who contribute foods or money.¹ In many places prominent visitors are entertained by the officials of the stewardship. At Panajachel the cofradia may hold a public dance, after it has finished its own rituals.² The members of the stewardship do not lead in services held in the church. On such occasions a religious functionary takes charge: a priest, if one is available, or a native maestro cantor. If a priest officiates, the payment of the fee sometimes rests with the chief burden-bearer.

In addition to its concern with the gifts offered to the santo the stewardship in any given community may adventitiously acquire other responsibilities in accordance with the local cultural configuration.

¹ See p. 59, infra.

² See p. 24, supra.

CHAPTER III

THE ROLE OF THE STEWARDSHIP IN THE COMMUNITY AND IN THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The Promotion of Social Solidarity

Such appears to be the general form of the stewardship of the santo in Mexico and Guatemala. Its function carries us into a consideration of the role of this institution in the community and in the life of the individual.

The stewardship promotes social solidarity in a number of ways, both directly and indirectly. Within the actively participating group engaged in its service this institution, with its attendant duties and incidental social intercourse, favors the formation of new social ties and strengthens old ones. It leads the individual to share actively in the activities and attitudes both of the work-group with which he is associated and of the community at large. Secondly, as one of the more dramatic of several patterns of behavior binding the members of the community to the santo, the stewardship is of importance in maintaining the ties between the community and this unifying symbol. Thirdly, the stewardship is in many instances an important mechanism in bringing about the biggest fiesta of the year, with all of its social ramifications.

In all instances at hand the stewardship is the chief means of expressing the relationship between the community as a congregation and the santo. The latter, as a tutelary divinity functions not only as a benign supernatural force, but also as a

symbol for the co-ordination of group sentiments. He is one center for the development of feelings of group unity, of in-group sentiments, of individual participation in a socio-cultural unity which transcends the individual person, and in which he takes pride.

The santo is the symbol of the collective spirit of the barrio. It is not uncommon for an individual to boast of the superior miraculousness of the santo of his barrio: "Our barrio is the most important because our image is the most miraculous." San Salvador protected the people of Santa Cruz during the revolution; San Sebastian appears in dreams to the people of his barrio, and offers them advice, etc. There is, therefore, a morale, an esprit de corps embodied in the santo and occasionally expressed as rivalry. Every exertion must be expended on the fiesta to maintain the barrio prestige.¹

Each village prides "itself on the merits of its santo and the splendor of its fiesta."² While the activities connected with the stewardship are by no means the only mechanism for the expression and maintenance of the affection of the group for the santo, they are the core of the great corporate undertakings which affirm the attachment of the group to this particular one of its symbols of group unity. There are numerous contributions to the santo by individual specialists and autonomous groups; but it is those who have accepted the stewardship who not only co-ordinate these discrete offerings and take the lead in contributing toward them, but also, as the representatives for the entire group, serve the santo in a personal way and do him honor. Individual offerings to the santo are common, both during the fiesta and throughout the year; but aside from these society must make its contribution as a group, albeit vicariously through certain selected members. As a consequence, those who serve as incumbents serve the santo not only as individuals, but also as representatives of the group.

¹Redfield, Tepostlán, pp. 78-79.

²Ibid., p. 65.

The rituals with which they honor the santo glorify and enhance a religious deity about whom feelings of belonging cluster, and they affirm the relationship of the symbol to the group.

In some respects the feelings of attachment to this symbol reach beyond the local group. It is common for persons from outside the immediate community to honor the santo. This may take the form of individual offerings to the santo, as when pilgrims bring candles to burn at a fiesta. But such offerings are also sometimes concerned with the local institution of the stewardship: as when dancers from another community who come to dance before the santo are fed at the house of the chief burden-bearer,¹ or guests who come to share in the festivities are entertained by the organization.²

At times more than one local group may participate in a fiesta. Thus at Tepostlán, where the fiestas are commonly staged by the barrios as units, there is also the fiesta of Santa María de Tepostlán, at which the entire village is the "focus of attention for the people."³ This community of feeling sometimes extends to other villages as well.

At the same time a traditional pattern of co-operation among villages unites them as against mere visitors from outside the valley. On the occasion of very important fiestas, given in small hamlets, as, for example, the annual fiesta of Ixcatepec, the mayordomos charged with the care of the santos in Tepostlán and the neighboring villages meet and agree to distribute the burden of an eight-day fiesta among the group. Each mayordomo then becomes responsible for one day for the care of the santo of Ixcatepec, and undertakes to provide the candles burned that day. Everyone from Tepostlán goes to Ixcatepec, and the fiesta is thought of as a fiesta of the whole community. The cockfights attending the fiesta of Ixcatepec may then

¹Parsons, Nitla, p. 251; Redfield, Tepostlán, p. 105; cf. also Panajachel.

²Redfield and Villa, Chan Kom, p. 157.

³Redfield, Tepostlán, p. 64.

be held as Tepostlán vs. Cuernavaca, or Tepostlán vs. Yautepec.

Such institutions integrate into a single community a number of more or less independent villages with special cultures and traditions.¹

Also at Paracho, in the Tarascan country of Michoacan, the unity of the village is affirmed in the organization which holds the stewardship, in that each barrio sends one family. These families live near the church and "have charge of the Patron Saint and other religious rites."² At X-Cacal the important fiestas are those which unite the villages of the tribe, which center about a shrine city; the service to the images is divided among the companies into which the sub-tribe is organized.

All of this feeling of belonging which derives from psychic participation in a community of believers is over and above the simple bonds of fellowship which arise from co-operation in the service of the santo. Not only are these latter ties the spontaneous result of common endeavor and the attendant social intercourse, but they arise in contexts of festal gait and sacred solemnity calculated to invest them with more than ordinary sentiment. After working together, the people eat together and then relax together.

Even for those not actively participating in the stewardship or its ancillary activities, the institution is important as the central agency in bringing about the occasion of worship and sociability which is the fiesta. This aspect of the festivities is of particular importance among the Tarammara and the Huichols, where the individual families live in isolation except when brought together by social and festal occasions. The fiesta held in honor

¹Ibid., p. 65.

²Villa, unpublished excerpts from field notes.

of the santo is another excuse for calling together the scattered members of the community; and the group serving the santo, in its responsibility for bringing about the fiesta, indirectly promotes social intercourse. The socializing influence of the institution is more direct at X-Kalakdsonot and Dsitas, there the jaranas held at the homes of the cargadores afford the most favorable opportunities of the year for the young of both sexes to meet and display themselves before each other. So strongly is this felt as an unusual occasion that the participants must afterwards undergo rituals which safely conduct them back to normal from the abnormal influences to which they have been subjected. Probably the dances of the mayordomías and weddings of Mitla serve a similar social function.

In addition to these more diffuse social ramifications of the activities of the stewardship, its activities function to strengthen specific social ties. Most obvious of these is the emphasis upon conjugality in ritualism. Probably in most places the wives of the functionaries assist them in the fulfillment of their obligations and share in the prestige which accrues to their husbands. But in some localities the women actually figure with their husbands in the rituals. At Mitla, although women may not hold official positions, married couples always attend mayordomías together; at Panajachel and Tuxpan the wives of the cofrades and mayordomos have definite roles both in the rituals and the duties of the cofradía. In like manner, the participation of officials in the rituals and feasts at Panajachel, X-Cacal, San Baltasar, and Samachique affirm the relationships of superordination which they hold.

The Significance of Service to the Individual

In the life of the individual participant, the institution sets in motion even more subtle socializing influences. By serving as a chief burden-bearer or a subsidiary official, the individual upholds the local mores, expressing and reinforcing by overt behavior his convictions as regards religious belief and civic duty, and upholding the values of the group in these respects. In a number of localities studied, namely, Mitla, San Baltasar, Huilá, X-Cacal, Panajachel, Samachique, and Tuxpan, the chief burden-bearer comes into close contact with political and religious officials, bringing him into specific new relationships with them. By this he must come to a more personal realization of the important roles of these men, at the same time that he himself becomes a more mature member of the community, with a certain interest in the maintenance of these customs and the prestige which he will enjoy from his investment in them.

Little is said in the sources as to this inner significance to the individual of his service. Surely to the pious and the civic-spirited, a trust of such importance must represent a major achievement in the course of his life.

Much more obvious is the relationship of service as a chief burden-bearer to the status of the individual in the community--this is of significance to both the person himself and to the group. To both, he appears as a successful and commendable person in his discharge of the role assigned to him as a member of the group. One passage from Schultze-Jena suggests the significance of this service to the individual in Chichicasteango:

Einer Bruderschaft anzugehören und auf der Stufenleiter der Würden, die sie zu vergeben hat, aufzusteigen, wird schon dem Neugeborenen als Wunsch mit auf den Weg zum Lebensglück gegeben.¹

By his service, the chief burden-bearer shows his ability to perform social duties of great significance to the community--he appears as a pious man and a social benefactor. He also fulfills certain expectations of the community as regards his civic duties. Since the group must ultimately distribute this burden among its members, it looks to each one of these to do his part at some time or other. We have but few specific data as to how this distribution is actually achieved. We have seen that at Panajachel and Chichicastenango the burden is forced upon members of the community as a civic obligation; the pattern of conduct demands that the prospective incumbent complain of his nomination and attempt to escape it, but the council will usually overrule his objections. The distinction between the simpler and the more elaborate cofradías at Panajachel enables the community to equate the service demanded of a member to his wealth. In contradistinction to the Guatemalan customs, the mythology of the Huichols implies that the keeping of the votive bowls should be given only to those who will serve willingly.² At Mitla every male member of the community is expected to assume a mayordomía twice during the course of his life. As he works his way up through the hierarchy of town officials, he accedes to certain mayordomías automatically from certain civil posts, and service for at least one term as a mayordomo is an informal prerequisite to candidacy for the presidency

¹Schultze-Jena, op. cit., p. 11. Dr. Tax tells me that a new-born boy is also wished well as merchant, farmer, etc.

²Zingg, op. cit., p. 190.

of the pueblo.¹ Further inquiries are needed in other regions to bring clearly to light the explicit or diffuse attitudes of the group elsewhere in these respects.

Local Pattern

Thus far the emphases of this paper have been upon the common elements of the stewardship of the santo as a widespread institution; the concern has been to present side by side the available accounts, to compare them, and in a preliminary way offer a few suggestions as to their common functions--in short to prove the existence of a basic pattern in the area and to present that pattern in a preliminary way. But to stop at this point would be to leave the description and the interpretation essentially incomplete: this basic pattern is only an abstraction which can be deduced from the particular local celebrations, and these everywhere appear as elaborated versions of the general pattern of the institution which have developed in accord with local cultural pattern. In each town and village the stewardship takes on local aspects, both as regards its form and with respect to its feeling tone and its function in the society. I refer not to the obvious distributional differences, but rather to the Gestaltist aspect of cultures, brought forward by Benedict. To treat of this comprehensively would involve one in a more pretentious and intimate study than that here presented, but certain leads and suggestions come immediately to mind.

Two aspects of the stewardships of Tepoztlán strike one as particularly characteristic of the community: the simplicity and democratic nature of the institution and its ceremonies, and

¹ Parsons, Mitla, pp. 193, 166. Theoretically this prerequisite holds in Panajachel as well.

the association of the ceremonies with the barrio. One finds no such emphasis upon the ceremonial prestige attaching office-holding as appears at Mitla, on the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala, or among the Tarahumara. And this is in conformity with Tepostecan attitudes. Only recently has the formal governmental structure now prevalent in much of Mexico been adopted there, and it is still largely ignored by the people. The old tradition of the town's more or less running itself survives from the days when "a single person of personality and local prestige ruled the community with the consent of public opinion."¹ The simple ceremonies of the stewardship itself are carried out by two officials chosen by the men of the villages, assisted by the services of traditional specialists and the payment of inherited obligations by all members of the barrio. The importance of the barrio in the Tepostecan cerahpa and castiyohpa is in accord with its position in all aspects of life in the pueblo. The terrain itself divides Tepostlán into marked geographic areas. Upon these have developed local groups, living together, holding lands in common, sometimes sharing certain economic specializations, centering about a common chapel and santo, and characterized in a general way by common temperamental traits and a local point of view. Tepostlán is in effect "a federation of semi-independent units."² Each of these has its own santo and ceremonies, but all join annually in the festival of the town chapel about which center the feelings of larger unity.

At Mitla one finds a rather highly differentiated structure of sacred and secular officials and greater emphasis upon their duties as officials. These men participate in the service

¹ Redfield, Tepostlán, p. 67.

² Ibid., pp. 69-82.

of the santo and in many instances are responsible to the town for naming the new incumbents. Many aspects of the service of the santo are undertaken by other men than the mayordomos. The alcaldes supervise the transfer of the wax; the mayordomo de ganado has charge of the bulls of the santo; the president arranges many aspects of the fiesta patronal. Socially, the mayordomías have been in large measure equated with the weddings, which seem to be rather more elaborate than in Yucatan, Tepoztlán, Samachique, and the Huichol communities. Obligations incurred at a wedding may be repaid at a mayordomía, and vice versa; the entertainment at the feasts held on either occasion is similar.

About two o'clock in the afternoon dinner is served in the house of the mayordomo, first to the guests, the golaneche, then to the musicians. The courses, the blessings, the whole affair is just like that of the wedding feast, and the fandango in the evening is the same entertainment as the wedding dance, except that for the guests there are only bouquets, no leafy necklaces.¹

In such ways does the mayordomía of Mitla reflect the politico-religious organization and social usage in another institution chosen by the town for elaboration.

At Panajachel the highly elaborated politico-religious rituals, with their emphasis upon ritual drinking, pervade the cofradías, giving their ceremonies a richness, complexity, and formality beyond that found in other sections. As at Mitla, service in the cofradía is interwoven with political office-holding in a single system of servicio.

In more remote areas, where the cultures retain a more than usually distinct local cast, the practices are correspondingly distinctive. Particularly interesting are the local elaborations of the social aspects of the stewardship at Samachique

¹Parsons, Mitla, p. 199.

and Tuxpan. It is interesting to note that at both of these places the festal group is made up of isolated individual families who live a true communal life only during ceremonial occasions, and that both communities have developed communal eating ceremonies which emphasize the solidarity of the group. Furthermore, the somewhat divergent local religious practices have brought about distinctive ceremonies.

The social life of the Tarahumara, outside of the immediate family group, is limited largely to formalized visitation, meetings of groups of friends for co-operative labor on the fields of the host, the Sunday gatherings at the community center for church services, common business, and communal labor. With the meetings of groups of friends for co-operative labor (tesguinadas) are associated the native curing ceremonies and drinking parties. With the Sunday services for the entire community are associated the song and prayer service by the maestro cantor, the sermon by the governor, communal labor as respects the affairs of the pueblo, and town meetings for the administration of communal affairs and the prosecution of justice. The church fiesta combines the politico-religious pattern of the Sunday meetings with the social abandon of the tesguinadas. The result is a distinctive local ceremony with none of the novenarios, social dances, or bullfights of more thoroughly Mexicanized regions. The maestro cantor and the governor conduct the services at the church; all members of the community join in communal labor and meetings; and the whole is finished off with a night of drinking in the houses of the fiesteros. In addition occur the ceremonies of communal drinking and serving of foods, in which the singers dispense the food and drink supplied by the chief burden-bearers in such a way as to do honor to those at the moment prominent in communal life and to

recognize individually the membership of each person in the group. Here again the ritual is colored by the local cultural emphases: it is interesting to note how the same strain of formality, with its peculiarly local mode of expression, runs through all social relations of the Tarahumara.

The whole pattern of isolation is reflected in the Tarahumara manners. The system of manners is simple, but is rigidly executed. There is none of the informality which results from familiarity. . . . In some sections the formal manner of visiting is still in vogue. The visitor approaches the house and seats himself some distance away from it. He patiently waits until his host decides to recognize the call. . . . In most of the Christianized sections this scheme is abbreviated. . . .

Generally a guest is offered food if he stays for any time at all. . . . Having eaten a Tarahumara always returns the dish or container to the one who presented it to him. It would be very bad form just to set it down or to hand it to someone else. . . . At fiestas one never sees a Tarahumara eating unless all present have been served with food. Special guests at a house will be offered a goatskin to sit upon, and a special place by the fire. . . .

When a Tarahumara attends a gathering of Indians on Sunday or goes to a fiesta, he does not shout a general greeting and join the group, but greets each man personally.¹

Although the church fiestas present a mass of recently introduced customs and traits, they are not altogether foreign to the culture. . . .

. . . . Many parts of the ceremony are primitive. The "killing of the cow" is performed just as in other fiestas of non-church origin. The dedication of tesguino is strictly in accord. . . . The social distinctions made in the serving of food and drink are a reflection of the Indian social patterns.²

Among the Huichols the strong survival of the pagan religion, coupled with the incipient and peripheral assimilation of Roman Catholicism make for even more divergent ceremonies. But the point of interest is that the basic pattern emerges here as clearly as anywhere, once the peculiarly local form of the ceremonies is stripped away.

At Tuxpan there are two activities related to the steward-

¹Bennett and Zingg, op. cit., pp. 185-87.

²Ibid., p. 317.

ship as presented in this paper.¹ One of these centers about Christian santos, the other about the still vital pagan deities; both figure in an annual fiesta held "for everything." There are three mayordomos, one for each santo, and four "keepers of the votive bowls," each of whom cares for and makes offerings to the god of a native temple. The mayordomo of San Cristo is also a member of the council of old men which appoints sacred and secular officials; he is served by a deputy of his own appointment. The keepers, who are appointed by the other officers of the pagan religion, serve in response to vows which they must either assume willingly or reject. In return for the assumption of this vow the incumbent may expect some special favor from the god, such as increase of cattle, good crops, or recovery from illness; failure to keep the vow is punishable by death to "the families and animals of those responsible."² Mythology states that the keepers serve the gods so that rain will fall. All of the keepers and the mayordomo of San Cristo serve for a term of five years. The mayordomo of San Cristo is responsible for the crucifix and the box and money of his santo; he and his deputy also aid in preparing bodies for burial in the campo santo. The keepers have corresponding duties toward the pagan images.

They are appointed for five years and are inaugurated into office. Each of these officers takes care of the votive paraphernalia of one of the half dozen pagan gods which are considered to be the special patrons of each temple. The officers are sacred and have to observe various penitences, pilgrimages, and fasts for the good of the entire group. Each one has a god-house, near the temple, where the communal paraphernalia is guarded, and sub-ceremonies take place as in the god-houses of the individual rancherias.³

These men have the duty of sweeping the dancing patio of the temple

¹The following materials are taken from Zingg, op. cit.

²Ibid., p. 191.

³Ibid., pp. 171-72.

and keeping the temple in order. In connection with their care of the appurtenances of the god they must make pilgrimages with the new paraphernalia for ceremonial water or peyote.

Also the duty of care of the ceremonial paraphernalia includes the responsibility for participation with it in the ceremonies given at the temple. In Tuxpan the "keepers of the votive bowls" have to give the ceremony to prepare the soil for seed, and must provide the food and drink for the feast following it. At the temple of Ratontita [not at Tuxpan] the "keepers of the votive bowls" assign to all participants the charge of bringing part of the food. These officers are responsible for and must supervise the deer-hunt which provides the essential sacrifice for the feast of parched corn at the end of the peyote cycle of ceremonies.¹

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At Tuxpan the officials, secular and sacred, both Christian (mayordomos) and pagan ("keepers of the votive bowls"), are the hosts. They at least furnish the animals that are killed. The governador sends topiles around to all the houses to collect a liter measure of corn. My information is specific that the mayordomos contribute an animal in order to have blood to annoint the saints. I also saw that the "keepers of the votive bowls" also contribute an animal for the same purpose. The sugar, chocolate, bread, candles, etc., are paid for from the collection of centavos that were contributed by the people in the bowl placed at the feet of the officials. The secular officials contributed no animals, but may have augmented the corn collected by the topiles at their order.²

The feast itself is managed by the singing shaman, the mayordomo of San Cristo, and the keepers. These latter receive help from the general populace in the preparation of foods. Festal foods are offered to the gods at the altar and at the sacred hole; communal eating follows the serving of the gods. At five-year intervals the new keepers are inaugurated by inspecting the god-houses, breaking bread into the votive bowls of their gods, keeping vigil before the altar, and receiving candles, tesguino, tor-tillas, and stew made from the animals which have been killed-- all as gifts from the retiring keeper. Wives share with their

¹ Ibid., p. 191.

² Ibid., p. 471.

husbands in the duties and ceremonies. At the close of the feast the mayordomo of San Cristo consecrates the new keepers and their wives.

In general, the stewardships of Tuxpan seem to have the same broad functions that we have seen in other parts of Mexico. Only as regards subsidiary contributions are specific data lacking, and even here the implication that the mayordomos and the keepers receive outside help is clear. Many of the specific ceremonial duties demanded of the keepers are of course local in character; through their connection with the corn-deer-peyote complex, they relate the ceremonies of the stewardship to the whole seasonal pulse of Huichol life.

CHAPTER IV

PROBLEMS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The Distribution of the Institution and Problems of Local Differences

The data at present available on the stewardship of the santo in Mexico and Guatemala leave a number of problems open for future research. The geographical extent of the institution has yet to be determined. A cursory examination of ethnographic reports on Middle America reveals no mention of the institution outside of Mexico and Guatemala. But this is merely negative evidence; the reports are few in number and, for the most part, date from an earlier period of ethnography. It may well be that the institution has been overlooked; on the other hand, it may be that the somewhat divergent cultural history of the other countries has not favored the growth of the practices under consideration. Within Mexico and Guatemala themselves the institution has been shown to extend from Chihuahua on the north to Yucatan on the one hand and to east central Guatemala on the other. To what extent does it occur in other parts of these two countries?

Wisdom's materials on the Chorti in east central Guatemala¹ suggest that a variant form of the stewardship occurs there. He notes many elements which correspond with practices elsewhere. A captain, who sometimes houses the images during his year of office, is appointed or elected annually to care for the santo; he and a group of friends carry the images in a procession to his

¹ Charles Wisdom, The Chorti of Guatemala (To be published).

home to install them there. During the year Indians make pilgrimages to his altar, giving gifts of food, money, and service. There is also a permanent house, known as the cofradía, which houses images to the santo, and other sacred paraphernalia; this house is the center of Indian fiestas in honor of santos. To this cofradía the Indians bring offerings of food; women appointed by officials known as mayordomos cook there; drinks and some of the foods are there distributed free among the Indians participating in the fiesta. The mayordomos, who serve for as long as they wish (sometimes for life), keep the church in repair, care for the money of the santo, toll the bells during fiestas, carry the images in processions, live in the cofradía, and care for the sacred properties of the cofradía. Dancers and musicians who participate in the fiestas are given food, presumably at the cofradía. These materials concern several pueblos which follow a common cultural pattern but vary in details. The actual detailed organization of these practices is not clear at present, but such customs are undoubtedly related to the stewardship as outlined in this paper. It is possible that the organization of religious specialists into a distinct superordinate class among the Chorti has modified the institution considerably in terms of local conditions.

Up to the present time the stewardship of the santo has not been given adequate treatment in most ethnographic reports. Even in many of the reports available the information is so scanty that one cannot with certainty say that the institution does or does not occur. Especially is information lacking with regard to the Ladino element in the population. Wisdom states that in east central Guatemala the Ladinos are typically anti-clerical. The only positive information comes from Redfield's notes on his

stay in Agua Escondida,¹ a Ladino town in the Department of Sololá in the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala. Both the Indians and the Ladinos of this region have essentially similar stewardships, and although a given cofradía tends to be either Ladino or Indian, there are some instances of Indian participation in Ladino cofradías, and vice versa. In recent years financial stress has interfered somewhat with the traditional working of the Ladino cofradías, but the pattern is still carried on in attenuated form. Ideally each of these cofradías of Agua Escondida is headed by a chief burden-bearer (known as the alcalde of the cofradía) and his wife. Any men who wish to join in the stewardship make contributions and thereby become mayordomos. Likewise women volunteer as capitanas to prepare foods and to decorate the santo and the house of the cofradía. There are also boys who "run errands and do other work."² The members of the cofradía elect the cofrade for the next year. Usually there is volunteering, and the current alcalde has precedence over other volunteers if he wishes to resume the burden. The succeeding cofradía holds two meetings for confirmation and perfection of organization. The cofradías receive gifts of goods and services, which they frequently solicit by distributing tamales which call for a donation in return. They also participate in processions and are responsible for the nights of the novenas. The santo is carried to the house of the incoming alcalde, to remain there during his year of service. At the present time this pattern is not always followed in all of its details at Agua Escondida. It remains for future research to determine the presence or absence of such practices

¹Robert Redfield, unpublished field notes.

²Redfield, data from private files.

among Ladinos elsewhere.

Thus both the geographic and ethnic boundaries of the stewardship in Middle America have yet to be determined, but this is by no means the end of the problem. Institutions of similar function are found throughout most of the Roman Catholic communion, and it remains to be seen whether the stewardship of the santo as herein defined is confined to Middle America. I have been unable to discover in detail the mechanisms whereby the saint is so honored south of Guatemala, but I am told that the veneration of the saint has led to divers local institutions throughout the Roman Catholic world, and that the extent to which the priesthood dominates such practices varies widely.¹

Saenz has reported briefly on the stewardship in Ecuador.² There the chief burden-bearer (cargo) and his assistants (priostazgos) undertake the leadership of the fiesta of the santo. These officials are usually appointed by the alcalde of the town in agreement with the priest (de acuerdo con el cura), but frequently volunteers present themselves. During their term of service these men receive gifts of food, drink, and money, which they must return in equivalent amounts when the donors hold the celebration. Such observations from Ecuador call for supporting research both in Ecuador and other countries south of Guatemala. Note the greater prominence of the priest in Ecuador.

An exploratory conversation with a priest, formerly resident in Italy, now serving in Chicago, indicates that, while patterns similar to the stewardship as found in Mexico and Guatemala

¹I obtained the data for the statements of this paragraph from a priest in Chicago.

²Moises Saenz, Sobre el Indio Ecuatoriano y su incorporacion al medio nacional (Mexico: Publicaciones de la Secretaria de Educacion Publica, 1933), pp. 76-78.

occur in both rural Italy and urban Chicago, the Mexican-Guatemalan institution can probably be differentiated from those of Italy and Chicago on several important points. In rural Italy the annually selected committee to honor the saint has a lay leader and is in charge of both sacred and secular aspects of the fiesta. But the priest selects the members of the committee and is considered their head in so far as they deal with sacred affairs. According to my materials,¹ the Italian institution owes its formal perpetuation to the priest, is dominated by him as regards the sacred fiesta, and is concerned with the secular as well as the sacred fiesta. The systematic reciprocal pledge-systems common in Mexico and Guatemala seem to be lacking, as do the ritual meals, exchanges of foods and services, the use of foods to validate or cancel an obligation, and the ceremonies concerned with the transfer of sacra. Whether the stewardship is invested with the same sacredness in Italy as in the Middle American instances is an open question. Surely a comparison of practices in these two areas would be of great interest as regards a number of problems. The influence of local culture traits upon practices roughly similar throughout the Roman Catholic world is of interest in the study of acculturation. It would also be of interest to compare the relationship of Italian villages, on the one hand, and Mexican and Guatemalan villages, on the other, to the culture centers upon which they are respectively dependent and to investigate any possible correspondence between the closeness of this relationship and the degree of sanctity with which the stewardship is invested

¹The material presented in this paragraph I obtained by means of a brief interview with a priest in Chicago's Sicilian district. It must be considered as suggesting lines of future inquiry, not as giving a definitive statement of conditions in either Italy or Chicago.

in each region. Finally, the Mexican and Guatemalan instances are of particular interest in illustrating the manner in which communities conserve their sacred traditions in the absence or infrequent presence of an organized priesthood. Even within the Guatemalan area the importance of the Roman Catholic priest among the Chorti makes for variant practices.

In Chicago, on the other hand, a rural population has been transplanted into a large and mechanized urban center. Here the immigrants from each Sicilian town have their own association which owns images of its saints (which it keeps in the church), organizes its own fiesta, and supplies candles (which it holds in its own building). These associations are to some extent under the control of the priest, but they exercise a high degree of autonomy and are social as well as religious in function. It is of interest to note that social contacts are maintained largely through an organization nominally devoted to the veneration of the saint, which may serve as a symbol of the unity of the group. The gathering of comparative materials such as these would make possible the study of a single institution in widely diverse cultural and social settings.

There are at least three aspects of the stewardship of the saint which could be studied comparatively: the actual organization of the institution and the manner in which it perpetuates itself, its position in the religious and social life of individuals and of communities, and the local cultural elements which may be found within it.

With respect to the last of these, it is obvious that within the area treated in this paper one problem open to the ethnologist is the mapping of trait distributions. The festal foods used vary from region to region in accordance with cooking

patterns. The sacra which figure in the ceremonies also vary. Ramilletes are handed over in the Yucatecan towns. The appurtenances of the santo--candles, clothes, or the images themselves--are transferred in such widely scattered communities as Tuxpan, Tepoztlán, Mitla, and Panajachel. The box of the santo is particularly stressed at the two extremes of this distribution--Tuxpan and Panajachel. Incense figures prominently in some reports but is not mentioned in others. Is this an indication of differences in distribution or in reporting? The purveying of candles seems to be particularly stressed at Mitla, Tepoztlán, and Chichicastenango. The working out of such distributions would at once augment our ethnographic data and might suggest hypotheses of value to our understanding of the spread of culture.

The General Underlying Pattern

Another group of problems for future investigation center about the need for fuller descriptive data on the institution. Most of the available accounts are descriptions of the formal aspects of the institution as observed by investigators who worked without advance knowledge of the total constellation of traits which might be expected. It is only natural that some students noticed certain practices while others concentrated their attention upon other elements of the institution. As a result, it is not always easy to equate one account analytically with another. One cannot know whether the various emphases and omissions are valid or are merely the result of varying points of attack.¹

Because of lack of data it was in some instances impos-

¹It is unfortunate that Ruth Bunzel's unpublished manuscript on Chichicastenango is not available to the writer. It would be interesting to see how her materials check with those of Schultze-Jena.

sible to treat comparatively of a number of customs that may eventually prove to be of widespread occurrence. At Dzitas the appointments of the new ouch are confirmed at the feast of chuchhel.¹ At Panajachel the incoming cofrade receives his mayordomos in his home and confirms their assumption of obligation at a feast. Also at Agua Escondida there are meetings for confirmation of appointment and perfection of organization. At Tuxpan the retiring keepers of the votive bowls form a procession to show the incoming keepers the casa real and the temples which will be their charge. Do such ceremonies of confirmation occur elsewhere? There are also scattered descriptions of methods of notifying specific individuals and the community at large as to the plans and progress of the more important ritual occasions. Thus at Tepoztlán the huehuechihque goes about the village formally inviting perpetual contributors to the cerahpa and castiyohpa. At Panajachel the public is notified of the progress of cooking in the cofradía by rockets. Such practices emphasize the importance of the ceremonies thus formally proclaimed to participants and the general public. It is possible that they indicate a sacred or, to use Marett's term, a "tender" attitude toward these activities. How widespread are these practices, and in what spirit are they undertaken?

A problem of much greater import is the relationship between the stewards of the santo and the town officials. We have seen that in Panajachel the mayordomos and cofrades are an integral part of the town servicio. They are appointed by the principales and are inaugurated by the alcaldes. The cofradía of San Francisco confers with the principales and alcaldes in planning

¹See p. 16, supra.

the spending of the money which it has collected in the cause of the fiesta patronal. The pattern at Mitla parallels these practices in many respects but is, if both reports be correct, somewhat less consistent. There the method of appointment by higher officials is supplemented by a system of automatic succession from civil offices to seven of the stewardships, and recourse is had to a town meeting if the post is filled by neither of these means. The Mitlayeno tradition of volunteering is in contrast to the pattern of attempted avoidance at Panajachel. At Mitla also, the alcaldes officiate at the inaugurations of mayordomos, and Parsons ascribes to the former "supervision in general of the mayordomias."¹ This correspondence in custom between Mitla and Panajachel is in striking contrast to the wide difference to be noted between practices in these two towns (and their neighbors), on the one hand, and the democratic election of the chief burden-bearers of Tepostlán, Dzitas, X-Kalakdzonot, and X-Cacal. In none of these places is there any suggestion of formal superordination or participation on the part of town officials. In this matter there seems to be correspondence between the type of formal governmental structure and the relationship of the group which has assumed the stewardship to the town officials. It is, of course, possible that the reporting has had something to do with this, inasmuch as all four examples of democratic election are known only from reports by Redfield or his assistant, Villa.

It would also be interesting to know whether the duty of the mayordomos of Tepostlán to act as overseers on the lands of the santo during their year of service occurs elsewhere. This is a part of the larger question of what duties not directly con-

¹Parsons, Mitla, p. 158.

nected with the production of rituals honoring the santo the burden-bearers may assume. The mayordomo of San Cristo at Tuxpan figures in the funeral ceremonies, and at Panajachel members of cofradías clean the cemetery. Are these instances isolated and fortuitous?

The Supernatural Sanction

One interesting observation regarding the institution of the stewardship is its absence from mythology and folklore. Only among the Huichols is there a traditional literary sanction for the organization and its observances. This is the more interesting in that the santo himself is a favorite character in folklore. Tales of his miraculous exploits and the favors he has vouchsafed to individuals and communities abound; but stories of his stewards and their ceremonies hold no comparable place. The Huichols are a notable exception, in that in their mythology the duties of the keepers of the votive bowls are definitely laid down, and the continued observance of the rituals is commanded. It should be established whether such sacred sanctions are really absent in other cultures, or whether this lack is merely due to the interests and techniques of the several reporters. For, if valid, the absence of these ceremonies from the sacred tales will be of interest to both students of acculturation and students of myth.

Historical Analysis

An analysis of the stewardship as found in Mexico and Guatemala and an interpretation in terms of Indian and Spanish elements is exceedingly difficult. In dealing with traits or complexes in which Spanish and Indian practices differed widely such analyses are frequently convincing, but both South European

and Aboriginal Indian cultures supply us with ample precedent for many elements in the stewardship of the santo as it is known today. The concept of an annual festival honoring a tutelary divinity, directed by a relatively temporary committee under the guidance of one leader, is well known from both cultures. Since traits of immaterial culture are especially liable to fusion, it is in this instance largely conjecture to call one of the traits either Spanish or Indian. Parsons has pointed out a number of correspondences between the mayordomías of Oaxaca and aboriginal Indian ceremonies:

The conduct of the mayordomía presents several parallels to that of Aztec ceremonies. Vows are made in sickness to entertain the supernatural; his image or paraphernalia are kept for the year in the house of the vow-taker or Mayordomo; there are preliminary days of preparing for the ceremony or feast followed by processions and feasting; worshippers and gods are enwreathed, and flowers or leaves are strewn; there is music of drum and flute; there are ritual drinking and smoking; there is dancing by participants and by more formal groups.

.

And then there is the general attitude toward the mayordomía system which is thoroughly Indian. Whatever the number of mayordomías, each group of celebrants is independent of the other. Each group is responsible for its own function. Outsiders are not expected to attend, although the town as a whole is interested in having the celebrations properly observed. There is a great deal of work to be done, but with only one or two exceptions is it paid for except in the usual Indian way of feeding the people engaged in the work.¹

These correspondences are interesting and suggestive, but do not of course prove the Indian origin of traits practiced today. This can be proven only if it be shown that the traits in question could not possibly be of European origin. It is precisely here that data are lacking; we know almost nothing of the nature of the stewardship in either present-day Spain or the Spain of the conquest period. From what is current as general knowledge it seems

¹ Ibid., pp. 507-8.

unlikely that many of the traits occur in European culture in the particular form listed above, but we are caught short by the lack of an assembled body of scientific data on the point. Even if these traits be granted Indian lineage, many of them are either local in character or serve as adventitious elaborations of the essential structure of the institution. Yet three points merit further consideration, and future investigations should be made with these in mind.

In the drum and flute used in these ceremonies we have hardly questionable survivals of Indian material culture, somewhat modified by Spanish influence. It is interesting to note that in the Ladino cofradías of Agua Escondida the drum and flute are played by Indians. Here, then, is a trait which seems by all odds Indian and is known to have figured in pre-Columbian rituals.¹

The position of foods in the stewardship of Mexico and Guatemala also seems probably an Indian survival. It is known to figure in Indian ceremonies in the North American Southwest and is part of a larger pattern of the use of foods in a formal exchange pattern in secular as well as sacred context.

Food is a medium of exchange. With food "they pay each other" (Hano). Among Hopi, in particular, there is a constant interchange of service and food. Whoever is in charge of or heads any enterprise, not only field parties for planting or harvesting or kiva parties for spinning or weaving but a dance, an initiation, a wedding, has to supply food, usually with the help of the family connection, kinwomen coming in to grind or bake, kinmen slaughtering sheep or steer. . . . In Pueblo society, in general, the households of men engaged in any ceremonial are kept very busy preparing food; at the conclusion of any celebration there is a feast, with leftovers usually carried home.²

¹Redfield has called attention to traits in the stewardship which are most likely Spanish: "the candles, prayers, fireworks, and rustic bullfight." Robert Redfield, "Folkways and City Ways," Renascent Mexico, ed. by Hubert Herring and Herbert Weinstock (New York: Covici Friede Publishers, 1935), p. 44.

²Elsie Clews Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), I, 24.

Dr. Bunzel describes the following practices at Zuni:

"This year we did not take the crook for the Shalako at the winter solstice, but late in the summer when they had no place to go father took the crook because he is wole. So we didn't build a new house but just fixed up our front room."

.....
"This was the day that the Sayataca people came in, and on that night we had a big feast for the Shalako mask that stays in our house. Lots of women brought corn flour and they got wheat in return. . . . That day our whole family came and there were twelve men and fifteen women who were not relatives. They all stayed for a feast late at night when the men came to take the Shalako mask out. . . ."1

From Zuni also comes the following example of the use of food in secular exchange:

Thus the labor of housebuilding is truly cooperative, the housebuilder providing meals and gifts for the workers and standing the entire expense of the construction, the other men working to fulfill the necessary ceremonial requirements of the winter solstice.²

Furthermore, as far as I can determine, the use of food for purposes of exchange in the stewardship does not occur in either Italy or Chicago. Data are needed on the treatment of foods in other Latin cultures. Gifts of foods are made on festal days in the Philippines, but the pattern there probably differs in important respects from Indian practice.

The handing over of specific sacra and, in many instances, the housing of these by the chief burden-bearer may also be of Indian origin. The priest I interviewed knew nothing of such practices in Italy, whereas in the American Southwest this is common custom.

Fetishes or sticks of office, official regalia, are passed on or "handed," breathed on or from with prayer, counsels are given, and that as a rule seems to be all there is to installation.³

¹Irving Goldman, "The Zuni Indians of Mexico," Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples, ed. by Margaret Mead (New York: McGraw-Hill and Co., 1937), pp. 330-31.

²Ibid., p. 319.

³Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, II, 590.

This complex of observances with respect to sacra merits further investigation in Aboriginal American, Middle American, and Latin cultures.

Considering the obstacles noted above, a historical reconstruction of the stewardship of the santo in Mexico and Guatemala is scarcely feasible except as specific documentary data may be uncovered. Sahagun describes customs which may well be related.

If anyone wished to show his devotion to this god by celebrating a feast, he would take his image to his home. As soon as the image reached the house of the man who was offering the god this celebration, they ate and drank first then commenced the dancing and singing with the god whom they so honored.¹

Thomas Gage, writing in the seventeenth century, recorded customs which seem, upon superficial examination, the counterpart of the stewardship of today. At that time many images were kept in the church and offerings were made on the saint's day either by the owner of the saint or the "sodality," or "company," responsible for its maintenance.² These companies were headed by "mayordomos," or "stewards,"³ who collected "alms for the maintaining of the sodality" and "every month or fortnight" paid the priest for a mass to be sung to the saint.⁴ That we are here dealing with historical antecedents of the present institution of the stewardship is hardly open to doubt, but the information is too scanty to be placed significantly within a larger frame of reference on the basis of our present knowledge.

There is some other evidence for the presence in Middle America of customs which may be designated the lay stewardship of

¹Fray Bernardino Sahagun, A History of Ancient Mexico, trans. Fanny R. Bandelier, I (Nashville: Fish University Press, 1932), 39.

²Thomas Gage, A New Survey of the West-Indies (London: A. Clark, 1677), pp. 331, 342.

³Ibid., p. 382.

⁴Ibid., p. 331.

tutelary divinities (as distinguished from the services of permanent religious specialists) since pre-Columbian times. Here is an almost totally neglected line of inquiry for the historian interested in Middle American religion. Starr in 1900 described certain customs among the Tepehuas which may or may not be related to the stewardship as discussed in this paper.¹ He also mentions the dance of the pig's head, which, as we have seen, figures today in the ceremonies of the Yucatec Mayan cuch.² The point is that the whole problem of the stewardship of divinities in the Americas cries for investigation, both in the library and in the field. Parsons has already complained about the lack of information on installations of sacred officials among the Pueblo peoples of the Southwest.

Problems of Function

For a better evaluation of the functions of the stewardship a more intimate knowledge of the affective tone with which it is invested is needed. The formal descriptions of the institution need to be complemented by such inner interpretations of culture as come to light spontaneously in conversation and the direct observation of behavior in many contexts. Such material as the following from Parsons:

José was one of a delegation of Mayordomos who went to see the governor last December about his order that the band should not play at mayordomías. "But I told the governor that it was alegría for us, our way of pleasuring, that in Oaxaca and Tehuantepec people invited their compadres to

¹ Frederick Starr, "Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico," Part I (Davenport: Putnam Memorial Publication Fund, 1900) (Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences, Vol. III), p. 85.

² Ibid., Part II (Davenport: Putnam Memorial Publication Fund, 1902) (Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences, Vol. III), p. 18.

their saint's day. That is not costumbre in Mitla; instead, we have the mayordomías. We cannot give up the mayordomías.¹

I wonder how Bernabe, the most modern of the younger men and the most admired, will conduct his mayordomía. I doubt if he slips out of it, at least altogether, as he slipped out of serving as mayor de bara. Even the most prosperous of storekeepers could not afford to offend public opinion so deeply.²

Villa, in reporting on the cuch, has noted the personal benefits deriving from participation.

As it has already been demonstrated that the Holy Cross always gives aid to those who make the fiesta, everybody tries to obtain a piece of bread from the altar.³

Just what is the attitude of the townspeople toward those who assume the stewardship? Saenz states that in Ecuador one of the worst insults is the accusation that a man has "not gone through with the charge."⁴ According to Tax, the stewards are highly regarded as public benefactors in maintaining a necessary relationship between the community and the supernaturals.⁵ It seems probable from the materials at hand that service in the stewardship might well furnish materials significant for the extension of the concept of social maturity into the study of cultures other than our own: it is one means whereby the social maturity of an individual is manifest, inasmuch as he "contributes to public welfare" and "holds a major position of public trust."⁶ We have scattered suggestions that service in the stewardship is used by the natives in judging social maturity; it could be so used by us

¹Parsons, Mitla, p. 441.

²Ibid., p. 400.

³Redfield and Villa, Chan Kom, p. 237.

⁴Saenz, quoted in Parsons, Mitla, p. 193, n. 17.

⁵Personal interview with Sol Tax.

⁶Edgar A. Doll, The Vineland Social Maturity Scale (Publication of the Training School at Vineland, New Jersey, Department of Research, Series 1936, No. 3 [April, 1936]).

if we had more biographical and conversational material providing us with data relevant to the criteria of social maturity.¹

Redfield has used the stewardship to illustrate the process of secularization in Yucatan. He shows the progress of secularization by comparing present-day practices at Dzitaa with those related by old residents as formerly the rule. He also shows relative degrees of secularization as manifested in several local instances, by comparing customs from a number of towns which vary with respect to isolation from urban centers.

Of course, this ritual institution functions completely only in the villages which are least disturbed by modernizing influences. In more mobile communities it breaks down, or changes its form and meaning. The nature of the changes which this institution undergoes illustrates the general character of the changes taking place in Mexico as folkways give way to city ways. In examining the changes undergone by the mayordomía, we are not struck by any progressive decrease in its Indian character and the comparative survival of Spanish features. . . . What actually happens is something very different. The whole complex of beliefs and practices, here called the mayordomía, changes its character, loses elements of meaning and of action, and finally disappears entirely. First, though the fiesta remains in formal execution, it loses its sacred significance. The santo is no longer brought from the temple to watch the dancers as they dance. It is no longer brought because the dancers no longer feel that their dancing is a religious act, an offering to deity. They have been to school, perhaps, or they have worked in the towns. Then, also, the candles, the fireworks, the bulls, even the prayers may remain--but the little central ritual whereby the symbols of the sacred charge are handed over to the next mayordomo, is left out or perfunctorily performed. In Yucatan, when this has happened, the people cease to call the fiesta "charge" or "burden." "It is only a fiesta," they say. There are now members of the community who enter into the fiesta only for the good time, or who--having lived in the city, and ac-

¹See Parsons, Mitla, pp. 166-67, 416. Under the present conditions of acculturation the problem of social maturity at Mitla raises questions beyond the scope of the present paper and insoluble on the basis of the present evidence. Yet the instances cited are most interesting when examined in terms of the Vineland Social Maturity Scale. Parsons also states (Mitla, p. 399) that "communal service" as a musician is considered as equivalent to service as a mayordomo. It is also significant that Estaquio Ceme, a prominent leader in Chan Kom, mentions his leadership in the cuch as an important step in his rise to superior social maturity. (Redfield and Villa, Chan Kom, p. 218.)

quired a sense of superiority--even stand aside and look on, aloof and non-participant. The homogeneity of the community has been broken; the loss of rituals and of their meaning has severed some of the interconnections which previously wove together the web of the culture; the fiesta has become less sacred, more secular--a holiday, no longer a holy day.¹

Parsons submits attitudes from Mitla that point to secularization there also. It would be interesting to have material of this sort from other regions, both to know the process of secularization and to see what takes the places of the forces for social cohesion indwelling in the stewardship, when this institution becomes seriously weakened.

¹Redfield, "Folkways and City Ways," op. cit., pp. 43-45. In a more recent paper, as yet unpublished, Dr. Redfield supports the thesis presented above with a wealth of data from Yucatan.

CONCLUSION

It is evident that the stewardship of the santo exists in the form outlined above¹ in a number of widely separated communities in Mexico and Guatemala. This institution closely parallels similar institutions in other Roman Catholic countries, but, from the scanty evidence available, appears to differ from them in several important respects. Its form has been colored by the tradition of the local culture, and it perpetuates itself without much reference to an organized priesthood, which is either absent or only secondarily present in the instances under consideration.

A most important means for maintaining a favorable relationship between communities and their tutelary divinities, the stewardship of the santo also offers an outlet for personal piety, civic spirit, and the desire for personal aggrandizement. It is an important force for social solidarity, and, in its several grades of service, it inaugurates the individual into civic duties of increasing import. As the stewardship is more carefully observed in more varied context it may well furnish many data of significance for the field of personality and culture. Under the increasing influence of Western civilization it tends to become secularized and ultimately to disintegrate, its functions passing to various other institutions or fading out of

¹ See pp. 4f, 33f., supra.

the culture.

The geographical extent of the institution has yet to be determined, and a minute formal analysis must await the accumulation of more adequate and representative data. The problem of the history of the institution may well prove insoluble, at least in its details.

GLOSSARY

Aguardiente--Rum

Alcalde--A high civil official with religious as well as civil functions. At Agua Escondida, the highest official in the cofradía.

Arepas--Cakes of maize and honey.

Atole--Corn meal stirred in water and strained. Not a part of the regular daily cooking at Tepoztlán.

Balche--A ceremonial beer, used only in ritual contexts.

Barric--A socio-religious subdivision of a town, homologous to the ancient calpolli.

Campo Santo--Cemetery.

Chapeones--Singers who participate in and oversee the performance of the matachine dancers among the Tarahumara.

Chirimia--A Mexican wooden flute related to the aboriginal flageolet but modified by Spanish influences.

Chorriado--Cacao prepared with ground maize, anis en grano, and pimiento de Tabasco.

Copal--Gum used as incense.

Cuartel--Municipal building.

Esquiate--A drink made from the meal of toasted corn kernels.

Fiesta Patronal--A fiesta held in honor of the patron saint of a town.

Gremio--A volunteer organization, usually on an occupational basis, helping to maintain the cult of the santo.

Jarana--The characteristic folk-dance of Yucatan.

Kol--A thick soup of fowl and corn meal, elaborately seasoned. Used only in rituals.

Ladino--In Guatemala, a person of Spanish language and culture.

Maestro Cantor--A functionary who recites prayers and leads Roman Catholic ritual in Mexican folk societies.

Mayol--The leader of the dancers in the jarana.

Mayor--An official concerned with marriage and match-making.

Mescal--A strong distillation from the sap of the maguey plant.

Mile Verde--A sauce of chile and other ingredients served with meat (usually beef). It is always accompanied by tamales and is served only at fiestas honoring a santo.

Nixtamal--Corn boiled for grinding.

Principales (Panajachel)--Men who have fulfilled their servicio, and now occupy a position of superior social prestige.

Relaciones--Traditional texts, often religious.

Servicio--Communal work demanded of each member of the community: labor for the young, official service for the mature.

Tamale--Corn-meal dough and other ingredients boiled in cornhusks. Prominent in the festal cookery of the towns herein considered.

Tepache--Fermented sap of the maguey plant.

Tesguino--A beer brewed from corn. Much used on festal occasions.

X-muuch--A cornhusk decorated with cornhusk cigarettes.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

AN ANALYSIS OF CO-OPERATIVE LABOR
IN MIDDLE AMERICA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY
VIRGINIA DREW

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MARCH, 1943

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is an attempt to utilize the available data regarding co-operative labor in Middle America¹ in such a manner as to present a cross-sectional view of the institution as it exists, contemporaneously, throughout that part of North America. In adhering to such a pattern this work will be in line with the type of research which has been undertaken by Redfield and his students.²

Before examining the specific problem in question or the material which will be employed in a discussion of that problem, it would seem advisable to consider briefly the approach to co-operative labor which occupied the attention of an outstanding student of anthropology. Malinowski, in discussing the Trobriand Islanders, distinguishes two types of labor under the terms "communal" and "organized" work.³ He regards organized labor as that labor wherein the co-operation of several socially and economically different elements are involved. Communal labor, on the other hand, does not involve these different elements--there is no technical division of labor or social differentiation of function. As Firth points out, the distinction between these two types of work is an important one since the organization in each case is of a radically different pattern, requiring a different scheme of regulation and leadership of a different order.⁴

In criticizing Malinowski's terminology, Firth points out that both types of labor may be communal, in the sense of "carried on by the whole community," and certainly both are organized.⁵ Any undertaking which involves the co-operation of a number of

¹Mexico and Central America.

²Eugene Doll, Benjamin Paul, and Jeanne Lepine.

³Bronislaw Malinowski, Argonauts of the Western Pacific (London: Routledge, 1922), p. 159.

⁴Raymond Firth, Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori (New York: Dutton, 1929), p. 221.

⁵Ibid.

persons could not have much chance of success without some organization or direction of affairs. And the term "communal" here simply implies reference to action by the community; it can bear no significance of antithesis to organization. In other words, these two terms, "communal" and "organized," cannot be treated or contrasted as if they were mutually exclusive. Firth then, would suggest that a more fruitful distinction be between undifferentiated and differentiated economic function in the case of the workers concerned.

By this we understand that Firth would distinguish between that type of collective endeavor in which all the workers or participants were engaged in similar activity as opposed to that type of endeavor in which there is differentiation of activity. We can cite an example of Firth's taken from Maori culture.

The first type is represented by such an undertaking as hauling a log from the forest. Here all the workers, with the exception of the leader and the skid handlers, perform an identical piece of work, that of pulling on the ropes. For practical purposes there is no differentiation in their functions. The second type of work is represented by the planting operations in agriculture, where the people of one party loosen the soil, those of another pulverize it and make the mounds, while others distribute the seed, and still others plant it and finish off the work.¹

It is conceivable that this distinction would be an important one to look for in a study of co-operative labor; but that it can serve as the basis for distinguishing between types of co-operation seems doubtful.

A preliminary examination of the data shows that in Middle America co-operative labor can most fruitfully be divided into two basic categories, namely: communal labor, which is that work done by all adult males and females on enterprises for the public good, such as repair of public buildings, and public office; and joint labor, or work done by certain individuals for the common or reciprocal advantage of that limited group, such as housebuilding and crop-harvesting. Within the field of joint labor itself, lies another problem in determining the significant difference between "working together on a common end," and "reciprocal service" or "working together first on A's job and then on B's." It is possible that the former variety follows from affinal relationship

¹Ibid., p. 221.

of the individuals whereas the latter type need not. From a first perusal of the data, too, one gets the impression that these two divisions are not two entirely separate and mutually exclusive entities, but, rather, represent different points on a continuum. It seems possible that certain activities formerly done by communal labor are now done by joint labor. An example chosen from outside the Middle American area would be one type of work party which the Hopi Indians of Arizona had at one time. The entire community assisted in harvesting all of the crops and carrying the products to the mesa. Now a few individuals join together to harvest jointly.

While making the inquiry into the regional differences and similarities of co-operative labor within Middle America there are many points to be kept in mind. Co-operative labor is a striking aspect of primitive labor throughout the world. It is done by groups of all sizes and embraces diverse types of tasks. It is readily understandable that the family, the primary social unit in society, must be a co-operative institution. Likewise the entire community can be regarded as a co-operative unit, for this is necessary for its survival. In this paper we will deal with the latter unit, the community, but we shall disregard those instances of co-operation of a single family of husband, wife, and dependent children. Our smallest unit will be the compound family, or a group of several related single families.

It would appear that in many places man has recognized the advantages of group, over individual, labor. Co-operative work organizations of the kind in point are to be found throughout the world both in temporary and permanent forms, some being formal and others informal. Can we make similar distinctions in Middle America? Further, does the attitude of the individual toward his work vary with the task at hand? And if there is a considerable amount of prestige attached to some types of co-operative labor and to certain positions, and not to others, would the individual's attitude be affected?

These are very general considerations. The more specific problems which we should attempt to solve by our study of the Middle American data are several. What are the objectives of communal labor--political, civil, religious, and military--in the various groups studied? Communal labor and the economy of the group are best reflected from the relationship of the technology of pro-

duction to communal labor. Is it true that one type of activity--let us say, the food-collecting activities such as hunting and fishing--are more apt to give rise to communal labor than is agriculture? Is there, or not, significance in the relation of property rights, especially in land and houses, to communal labor? In a complete consideration of communal labor it is necessary to investigate its role in the preparation of ceremony and festival and its importance in times of public crisis. A very important consideration is the relation of co-operative labor to the complexity of the group--for example, is there more communal labor in an agricultural community than in a trading community?

To complete the discussion it will be necessary to consider joint labor and its relation to family organization, agricultural techniques, and other food-production techniques such as sugar-making and fishing.

From the examination of contemporary cases of co-operative labor in Middle America, as outlined above, an attempt will be made to discover what functional relationships exist and generalizations which may be drawn from the comparison of several well-documented cases, augmenting the material with data from more sketchy accounts when it is profitable.

At the present time a fairly representative sampling of Middle American communities is found in anthropological literature. Several of these monographs, dealing as they do with cultures which exhibit many similarities, will serve as the basis for the ensuing discussion. Because these monographs vary widely in their value for the present undertaking and in the degree to which they throw light upon the various considerations which we are to make, we might profitably note quality and quantity of data which we might expect to find in any one work. Outstanding from qualitative and quantitative standpoint, particularly with regard to joint labor, is one of the several works on Guatemalan communities--Wisdom's account of the Chorti Indians.¹ At the time of his observations the author of this volume must have been cognizant of the many unanswered questions concerning co-operative labor. He was also very fortunate in possessing this awareness while studying a group in which joint labor manifestations are numerous. The author of

¹Charles Wisdom, The Chorti Indians of Guatemala (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

this paper had access to Tax's manuscript on Panajachel¹ at a time when there was no adequate means of extracting from the two-volume work the points pertinent to this discussion other than to peruse the entire work. This, of course, was impractical and it might be that the most valuable data was completely overlooked.² In the sections consulted, however, co-operative labor was dealt with, positively or negatively, very little. A certain amount of information was found in Paul's notes on San Pedro, Guatemala,³ but as they represented only eight months' field work they could not be expected to contain complete data on the entire culture and co-operative labor was one of the less emphasized facets. Fortunately, this material is well accounted for in Rosales' manuscript on the same community.⁴ That author has observed the community for a considerably longer period of time and is thus acquainted with a complete yearly cycle of activities. Wagley's article on Chimalteango, Guatemala,⁵ dealing as it does specifically with economics, is rather disappointing in its partial neglect of co-operative labor. The value of the article would have been greatly enhanced by the inclusion of more descriptive material regarding co-operative labor as well as a critical discussion of the data. Villa's manuscript on Tusik in Yucatan contains much valuable data regarding communal labor.⁶ While he does leave some doubt about certain questions his treatment of the subject is, on the whole, quite complete. Redfield and Villa have collaborated on the Chan Kom, Yucatan, treatise and the results are very gratifying to one interested in communal labor particularly.⁷ Redfield's understanding of the cultural mechanisms plus his keen insight have produced a

¹Sol Tax, Panajachel MSS, 1942.

²The author of this paper has since read Volume I of Dr. Tax's manuscript. It contains no mention of joint labor in the economy of the community.

³Benjamin Paul, Notes on San Pedro, 1941.

⁴Juan Rosales, San Pedro MSS, 1942.

⁵Charles Wagley, Economics of a Guatemalan Village, Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 58 (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta and Co., 1941).

⁶Alfonso Villa, MS on Tusik, 1942.

⁷Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa, Chan Kom: A Maya Village (Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication No. 448 [1934]).

discussion of the subject, in addition to the purely descriptive aspects, which is valuable to the student of co-operative labor. Mrs. Parsons' account of Mitla provides us with much data, more pertaining to communal labor than joint labor.¹ Although her material is not particularly well organized she does give us a fair amount of it. Unfortunately, many questions remain in the reader's mind after having finished the sections on co-operative labor. Bevan's account of the Chinantec is quite inadequate although a certain amount of data on joint labor is available.² One has the feeling, however, that there is a lack of completeness. This may be accounted for by the fact that the author's sojourn among the Chinantec was relatively short. Redfield's account of Tepoztlan, Mexico, is good although brief.³ Zingg's Huichol data are very sketchy and merely afford additional examples of one or two points.⁴ Bennett and Zingg present a fairly complete account of joint labor among the Tarahumara primarily in connection with the tesguinada, an institution which has further implications than would be indicated by the mere fact that it is representative of a form of co-operative labor.⁵

Other works have been consulted and will be cited from time to time. They may provide additional data regarding certain points, but on the whole they present a very inadequate consideration of co-operative labor or only hint at the existence of such an institution.

It is evident from the foregoing that none of the monographs at our disposal is completely documented with regard to co-operative labor. The majority of the researchers went to the field with an eye to studying as much of the culture of the particular group chosen as was possible in the allotted time. The

¹Elsie Clews Parsons, Mitla: Town of Souls (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936).

²Bernard Bevan, The Chinantec (Instituto Panamericano de Geografia e Historia, No. 29, [1938]).

³Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan, a Mexican Village (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

⁴Robert M. Zingg, The Huichols: Primitive Artists (University of Denver Contributions to Ethnography, Vol. I [1938]).

⁵Wendell Bennett and Robert M. Zingg, The Tarahumara, an Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

importance of co-operative labor was of a different degree to each investigator and accordingly it merited varying degrees of attention in the several accounts. Although the mass of data upon which we can draw leaves much to be desired, it is sufficient to enable a study of co-operative labor in the various communities in Middle America and an attempt to generalize accordingly. A complete and conclusive study is impossible at the present time. At the completion of the study questions will remain unanswered or only partially answered. The value of the paper will lie in the ability of the author to answer the maximum number of questions as completely as possible.

CHAPTER I

ANALYSIS OF CO-OPERATIVE LABOR

Joint Labor

Keeping in mind the two basic categories set up in the Introduction--namely: communal labor, which is work done on enterprises for the public good by all adult male and female members of the community, and joint labor, or work done for the common or reciprocal advantage of a special group of participating individuals--we may advance to an examination of specific instances, and attempt, by means of an approach to the data through the criteria discussed in the Introduction, to ascertain wherein lie the similarities to, and differences from, other cultures in the area of any specified group--and to discover generalizations accordingly. Our first consideration shall be of joint labor.

A casual glance at the data would suggest the possibility that all joint labor conforms to a certain type, namely, economic. Does a more careful and thorough study of the facts substantiate this or not? Is it true that the activities undertaken by joint labor are primarily those necessary to maintain physical life--activities having to do with subsistence and concerned with providing food and shelter?

Among the Chorti the important activities usually jointly done, in whole or in part, are agriculture, butchering, hunting, food-plant collecting, fishing, housework, sugar-making, house-building, lime-manufacturing, and charcoal-making. Each family or household individually clears off the milpa--the plot in which the maize is planted--prior to the planting, weeds its milpas after planting, and tends and guards them during the ear-forming season; the planting, harvesting and storing are always jointly done and are the most important of the joint economic activities. All of the males of the family work at these tasks until they are finished, after which they help neighboring families until every family in the aldea, small village, has its work completed. On the other hand five or six families may plant all their milpas

together, the entire group working one milpa at a time until all are planted. Maize is harvested by the men only. While several of them cut the ears off the stalks with the machete, others transport them in large agave-fiber sacks to the storehouse where the ears are piled on the ground in front of the storehouse, remaining there to dry until the harvesting is finished. Then the ears are stacked in the storehouse.

Fishing with nets and hook and line is done individually, but fishing with poisons, dams, seines, traps, and by diving is done by groups of twelve or more men. The catch is divided equally. The compound families do most of their hunting and fishing by themselves, each family constituting the co-operating group, although single families nearly always team up with others.

What food-collecting is indulged in is done, for the most part, by women. The women of the family,¹ usually six or eight, journey to the hills and stream banks in search of every kind of edible plant. They are often accompanied by small boys whose work it is to climb the trees and shake down the fruit. This joint collecting is done especially in May and June when the fresh greens and fruits are available and much desired. Throughout the remainder of the year the women of each household make short trips alone to collect the few edibles they can find.

Most large families are the co-operating unit in the processing of sugar cane; small families band together and borrow a press, if necessary, for which the owner receives part of the sugar in payment.² Five men are required to operate the press and equipment. The family male head directs the work and helps the others at their tasks; two persons feed the cane through the roller; another carries the juice to the boiling-vats and superintends the boiling; another coagulates the hot syrup and molds it into round pellets; and a boy of the family drives the bulls which turn the press. If there are not enough men in the family groups, two or three laborers may be hired to carry stalks from the fields, for which they are paid either in pesos or in sugar. The very old men

¹Wisdom does not state specifically what kind of family he refers to here, but from the number of women he cites as being in the work group it is probable that he refers to a compound family.

²Here again, Wisdom does not make explicit the type of family to which he refers. His repeated use of the terms "large" and "small" family would suggest, in each case, "compound" and "single" family, respectively.

and boys collect firewood, wrap the pellets in maize leaves, and carry drinking water. The sugar and chicha--wine made from sugar juice--is divided among the family's households, the family head keeping the largest share.

The men of the "larger" families co-operate in lime-making. Also many of the professional lime-makers own a large kiln in common and co-operate in breaking up the stones, baking and slaking the lime, and gathering the firewood. They divide their product in equal shares.

The males of each family build its smaller houses and sheds, but the construction of larger houses is always a group affair, especially in transporting the large timbers from the hills and laying them in place. A man skilled at making joints and leveling the structure is especially invited. The family usually lays the thatch roof and walls without help. Unfortunately for this paper, Wisdom neglects to distinguish further between the types of buildings which are constructed by joint labor and those which are not.

Housework is normally done by the women of each household but during times of family crisis--as advanced pregnancy, birth, sickness, or death--the female relatives and neighbors gather at the stricken household to do the work.

From Panajachel, Guatemala, we have very few facts relative to joint labor. Tax gives some indication of the possibility of its existence when he mentions that a number of men, of the family or hired, do plant together. The maize is harvested in December when the men again work in groups. Admittedly those are rather sketchy data. Tax does make the positive statement to the effect that houses are built entirely at the expense of the owner--that is, no joint system of labor is involved.

Rosales reports that in San Pedro planting and harvesting, particularly when a man has more than fifteen cuerdas of land under cultivation, are jointly done. Paul reports that after childbirth, the family in San Pedro has to make a big food-offering to the midwife, so a number of friends are called in to prepare the food, which takes all night. They are paid in food and in kind.

Housebuilding is an important activity done by joint labor in San Pedro. Three separate bees, each one lasting one forenoon, are held for the construction of one building. Adobe bricks are made at the first, the walls are erected from the bricks at the

second, and the roof is made at the third. As a rule there are fifty to sixty members in a work band.

At Chimaltenango, Guatemala, in clearing and burning the field a man may be assisted by his sons or he may have to hire men to work with him. In planting, however, since it is desirable to finish the whole task in one day, men may hire men to help them but almost all men make an effort to exchange work for planting with relatives. Weeding is done alone or with the help of sons. For the harvest the farmer arranges with brothers and their families and with cousins to help and he may hire laborers in addition. When the crowd is assembled, each individual takes a row and works as fast as possible stripping the ears from the stalk. Two men carry the harvested ears back to the space cleared for that purpose. This report of Wagley's, dealing as it does with economic life, is rather incomplete in its treatment of co-operative labor.

Villa's words regarding joint labor in Tusik are few.

Joint labor is limited to groups of close relatives, chiefly parents, brothers, children, and sons-in-law who occasionally band together to work a single milpa which is divided into individual tracts. These groups also gather wild honey or occasionally hunt together. Houses are almost completely the work of the individual rather than the co-operating group. Exchange of labor, although little practiced, is known and does occur in exceptional cases.¹

Joint labor is almost nonexistent in Chan Kom. Usually a man clears, plants, and harvests his milpa without help, excepting that of his son. In a minority of cases a group of friends or of relatives help one another in the work on the individual milpas. This type of work exchange is more prevalent in housebuilding. Most of the masonry houses in Chan Kom today were built by co-operating groups of men who have constructed, in turn, a house for each member of the group. A mason and two or three neighbors were known to have pooled their efforts to make a lime-burning and then divided the lime equally among them.

Very few of the co-operative activities in Mitla are of the joint variety. Today, outside of co-operation which is organized or quasi-compulsory, there is little or no social co-operation. In agriculture, even, the fields of the Saint are plowed, planted, and cultivated by townsmen in small groups; but in harvesting, all the men are supposed to join or contribute the day's work in money.

¹The present writer did not find these mentioned.

It would appear that all private agriculture is carried on independently. Mrs. Parsons alludes to neither joint fishing or collecting. Several men may hunt together, but no mention is made of the composition of the group or division of product.

In Bevan's account of the Chinantec there is no mention of joint labor with regard to agriculture, fishing, collecting, or hunting, other than to point to its absence. In house-building the joint element is still present. Bevan merely states that all the friends of a man wishing to build will help him in the construction. He also mentions that a large stepladder, made from a tree trunk and with steps cut in the solid wood, is kept ready in the municipio for those wishing to build or repair a thatch.

Zingg's remarks about joint labor among the Huichol pertain only to agriculture. The work of clearing and burning the brush in the fields is done by joint labor of the guests who come to celebrate the ceremony of the parched corn. The family plants without the aid of others. The weeds soon become so thick that it is necessary for neighbors to be called in to help clear the fields of weeds. Fifteen people arrived in one work party which Zingg mentions. Most of the smaller weeds are pulled by hand although the machete is used in certain places. The family has no outside aid in watching the fields or in harvesting and storing the corn.

Bennett and Zingg leave many unanswered questions regarding joint labor among the Tarahumara. The Tarahumara family as a unit is said to perform all tasks necessary for its existence, including planting, harvesting, and storing of corn and beans. However, in any difficult task, a man can call on his friends to assist him. It is indeed unfortunate that the authors did not deal more specifically with these difficult tasks such as the clearing of a field of stones or trees, plowing, planting, harvesting, building houses, and cutting and carrying planks. The Tarahumara who has a large or difficult task to perform invites his friends and neighbors to aid him. He makes several large jars of tesguino, corn beer, and serves it to the men and women helping at the task. The authors might have suggested joint labor in fishing for they mention that it is important near large rivers where groups of men dam up the streams and use poison or mats. However, I found no mention as to how the members of the group are recruited or how the catch is divided. Fishing may or may not be a joint activity.

That part of house-building of cutting out tablas and canoas, beams and supports, is a joint affair and involves men within a radius of four or five miles.

The data, then, do support the fact that the majority of activities undertaken by joint labor are mainly of the subsistence type, concerned with providing food and shelter. We can further point out that while no account gives as full and complete a description on joint labor in the groups, where it does exist--as does Wisdom's work on the Chorti--it is evident from the data which we do have that, of the economic activities done by joint labor, agricultural processes are those most frequently done by this type of labor, with house-building second. The Chorti plant, harvest, and store the maize in this manner, while, in Chimaltenango, only planting and harvesting are done by joint labor. In San Pedro, planting and harvesting are accomplished in this manner. The Huichol, on the other hand, clear, burn, and weed the field in groups. And among the Tarahumara, clearing the field of stones and trees, planting, and harvesting are done by joint labor. House-buildign, or certain steps in the process, is done jointly at Chan Kom, San Pedro, among the Chorti, and Tarahumara.

One might suspect that there is in existence a significant relationship between joint labor and the similarity of the activities, from community to community, undertaken by joint labor. As an example, let us examine agriculture. We find that in the communities where joint labor is common the agricultural processes are very similar. It is not unusual procedure to clear the land of brush and grass by the slash-and-burn method. After this, planting is undertaken by means of a digging-stick with which the holes are made for the corn to be placed in. As the plants grow and mature the field is kept fairly free of weeds, and is also guarded. Harvesting by hand is followed by drying and storing--often at some distance from the field. The processes most commonly undertaken by joint labor are planting and harvesting. A notable exception is the Huichol practice of clearing and burning their fields jointly and planting and harvesting independently. Considering only those communities in which joint labor exists, it is at once suspected that one of the three following reasons might explain the situation to a great extent. Planting and harvesting are, by their very natures, processes which must be done within a relatively short period of time, and, furthermore, there exists

in several communities the belief that planting and harvesting should be done when the moon is full, and this, as a rule, allows approximately one week for the job. Zingg remarks about the overwhelming rapidity with which the growth of weeds overtakes the young plant, and it may be that likewise, due to the character of the soil or climatic factors, the growth of brush and grass on the field prior to planting is so dense and second growth would be so rapid that the plot must be attacked by a group of people.

However, when we examine similar data from other communities not having joint labor, we find that not only are the agricultural processes much the same, but the belief about planting and harvesting during the full moon is also present. As a matter of fact Redfield and Tax have found that exceptions and qualifications modifying the belief about the moon reduced its effect on practical agriculture in San Antonio, Guatemala, and Panajachel to very small dimensions.¹ We are unable, then, to find in these facts any basis for the occurrence of joint labor and are forced to seek fundamental influences elsewhere. Perhaps they are inextricably woven into the societal structure.

Another point of importance is the composition of the co-operating unit; on what lines is it based? If it is true, as seems to be the case upon examination of the data, that in joint labor the co-operating unit is often based on kinship, what is the relationship between this fact and the type of family which exists in the various communities? In general, the family group in this area is either of the single-household type, consisting of a man, his wife, and their dependent children--all of whom live together in their own houses; or of the multiple-household type consisting of a number of related and mutually dependent households, all of whom live together in the same neighborhood. The latter is a lineage group, all the members of which are related through descent from its oldest surviving parents or through marriage into the family. The members of the multiple-household family are often of three generation levels. Of the groups on which we have data, the Chorti, Chan Kom, Tusik, Mitla, the Chinantec, and the Tarahumara, this general pattern prevails. However, the small parental family is dominant. The large household does not exist among the Tarahumara is the small family unit is ideal to meet the require-

¹Redfield, Correspondence.

ments of Tarahumara life and the Tarahumara feels encumbered with a large unit, especially since the small patches of land utilized for farming support a small family nicely but are insufficient for a large number. Redfield states that the majority of households in Chan Kom are of the single-family type.

Although both the multiple- and single-family households exist as co-operating units, it is often necessary for them to join with one another for the accomplishment of certain tasks. Among the Chorti the single family is found to do its work jointly with other single families frequently, whereas the multiple-household family is a large co-operating unit within itself and need engage in joint labor with other units less frequently than the single family because it is capable of performing a greater variety of duties. In either case, we have a group of single families co-operating together; on the one hand these single families are kin and on the other hand the single families may or may not be kin. At any rate, the families in this latter type of group are neighbors, as the participants in joint labor groups from several communities are reported as being, and in this area neighbors are very often kin. House-building, perhaps, more than any other activity done by joint labor, often involves the effort of non-kin, as among the Chorti where one or two skilled laborers--usually not kin--are needed to level the building and to make joints. Also in cases where laborers are hired to augment the groups, as occasionally happens in Chorti sugar-making, a definite non-kin element is present. In general, though, the co-operating units in joint labor tend to be based on kin lines; and in cases where there is some doubt because of the observer merely having said that "neighbors" work together, there is the probability that many of these are kin.

It might be expected a priori that a significant relationship does exist between joint labor and the concept of property, particularly with regard to land and houses. It is conceivable that either a communal or private concept of property could exist in the same community as joint labor. There seems to be nothing about joint labor which would make it and either property concept mutually exclusive. It might be supposed that a consistency in the property attitude would attend joint labor. Upon examination of the data, however, we find that there is a great variation among the Middle American communities which we are studying.

Among the Chorti both land and houses are family property. Land is the most valuable property which the Indians have and it is used as a measure of the families' wealth. Houses are considered, by the Chorti, to be second only to land, in value. And of course, as we have seen, there is a great deal of joint labor among the Chorti. This is mostly interfamilial and, found with joint labor--particularly agricultural--is a combination which we might expect to exist in many localities. This expectation is not borne out by the data. In Tusik, land is common property but houses belong to individuals. Here too, we find very little joint labor. At the time of observation of Chan Kom there was some confusion on the subject of ownership because of the existence of some folkways along with Federal and state laws. According to the latter the village lands are owned by the village. Outside the village, land is owned by the Federal government. Outside of the ejido--common lands surrounding the village--there are a number of tracts of agricultural land owned by individuals of Chan Kom. Houses, like most land, are communally owned. There is very little joint labor in Chan Kom. In Mitla, too, land ownership is both private and public. Valley fields and dwelling sites are private property, while mountain lands about the town are common lands. Mrs. Parsons does not give us data on house ownership. Here there is little joint labor. Among the Tarahumara the concept of property is based upon individual ownership. Fields and house are all considered the private property of some individual but the family unit jointly uses all the property possessed by its component members. Uncultivated land is not considered anyone's property and can be used by anyone for grazing. Joint labor in both agriculture and house-building are present here. So we see that in the five instances which are cited here there are several types of relationship between joint labor and the concept of property.

It is obvious from the data that joint labor is not an activity the mechanism of which is such as to make it a permanent thing. That is, the type of work need is one which arises periodically, often annually, and as the need for joint labor is felt, a group of people is assembled to perform the task at hand. As soon as the task is complete the particular group adjourns. This group may gather together as an organized group or it may not; it may at some later time repeat the task, but there is no reason to believe that it might, barring chance.

In other words, the group that convenes to jointly discharge some duty is assembled by means of special agreement; each time a different activity is to be performed a call is sent out for workers; there is nothing which binds any individual to a cycle of activities. Wisdom does not tell us how the workers are recruited for any work effort among the Chorti. At San Pedro the mechanism for recruiting labor for house-building is relatively simple. At least a week before the first of the three bees the host, his wife, and children go about the area to inform and announce the date of the bee and to solicit help. This invitation is repeated a day or two before the bee. To recruit labor for planting and harvesting, a San Pedrano goes to relatives and friends early in the morning or in the evening to ask for help. The Chimalteco merely arranges with his brothers and their families and with cousins to help him. The Huichol notifies his neighbors to come to work in weeding his field. The Tarahumara announces a tesguinada to those living within a radius of four or five miles. We have no material on this point from Tusik, Chan Kom, or the Chinantec.

The relative or neighbor who responds to the work call does so because of no formal compulsion. No formal political sanctions will be used against him in the event of his failure to report for work in aiding his host. However, a combination of altruism, informal compulsion or moral obligation, the knowledge that the aid will be returned at a later date, the receipt of payment (usually food) for services, and the opportunity to participate in a social occasion, produces, as a rule, the response of all those summoned.

The Chorti recognize the aldea as a co-operating unit and each man feels it his duty to aid all other members in the aldea when they should need it. Not only does each Indian respond to the formal summons of any individual, but he often makes informal calls on his neighbors, at which time he helps with any duty in process at the time of the call. Among the Tarahumara a refusal to join in the occasions of joint labor would seriously offend the tribe. Nothing less than robbery would as well exclude the individual from the society of his friends.

Most joint labor is paid for by food and by returning the same assistance at a future time. All of that joint labor which is reciprocal (to be explained more fully later) comes in this

category. In all joint labor activities Chorti workers are given food, and sometimes feasts, by the family in whose interest they are working, and for the duration of the work itself. During an activity such as house-building, the owner's wife and daughters keep a large supply of boiled beans, tortillas, atole or corn gruel, vegetables, and fruit always available for the workers to eat when they like and at the conclusion of the work they are treated to something of a feast. If, on the other hand, the working group passes from one family to another, as in planting and harvesting, each family supplies food while its milpas are being worked on. If a neighbor merely drops in to assist a family for a few hours at some task, he is given a meal before going home, and possibly a few boiled maize ears or tortillas to take home with him. Those who have a special skill are given more food than others, as their help is more valuable. At San Pedro the response to a call for workers at house-building is large and as a rule there are fifty to sixty members in a work band. The guests are served three meals at each bee and know that the host will in turn aid them. In planting and harvesting, the host serves corn foods, mainly tortillas, to his guests and also promises to return the labor at a later date. The Chimalteco serves his guests a noon meal of atole and frijoles as well as a mid-morning and mid-afternoon lunch, pays them a certain number of ears of corn, and he and his family will later help the guests. At Chan Kom the members of any group working jointly will in turn construct a house for each member of the group. The Tepoztlan host serves his guests food and drink which is prepared jointly by the women at the house of the owner of the field. The Huichol host serves tortillas, beans, and ram stew to the workers--not only to be eaten at that time but also the surplus to be taken home. The Tarahumara serves tesguino. Here the work is not specifically reciprocal, as every man does not go to help every one who has helped him.

A further force propelling the individual to the collective work effort throughout Middle America is the social aspect. It is a means of turning dull and routine work into something more pleasurable. It provides an opportunity for being with a group of people, joking, exchanging news and gossip, and, among some groups, for drinking and celebrations. Much horseplay attends a Chorti group and the members stop frequently to smoke and talk. Planting is the one exception here because it must be done quickly

and it is too serious a task to be worked out in a playful mood. At San Pedro the work bee is a social occasion too, and much merriment and joking takes place. At Chimaltenango there is much shouting and joking back and forth among the workers as they work. Lunch is particularly convivial with the laughter and talk continuing. At Tepoztlan where men harvest in groups the harvest is a social occasion. The gaiety is enhanced by a bottle of alcohol which is hidden under a pile of corn. The atmosphere at a Huichol gathering is pervaded with jokes and foolery. The Tarahumara tesguinada with its tesguino is a real celebration, often lasting far into the night. It always has work for its excuse and it is an effective and pleasant way of accomplishing otherwise heavy and tiresome tasks. This social element is so great in some localities that it induces gatherings of people for tasks where group work could be done without. Many wealthy Tarahumara who could afford to hire men to do their work give tesguinadas. The only other instance which suggests such an overdevelopment of the social element in the work party is among the Chorti where much joint labor seems to be done because it provides fun and excitement and converts dull and monotonous work into something of a social occasion. These are often small, unimportant tasks in which co-operation is not at all required.

There exist very few exact data on the relationship between joint labor and an individual's prestige. Among the Chorti, to be willing to co-operate at all times whenever possible is perhaps the best reputation an Indian can have in his community, and unwillingness to do this marks him as thoroughly mean and antisocial. Those phases of co-operative activities which require special skills are performed by individuals possessing these skills and with some prestige in their aldeas because of this skill. The Tarahumara is expected to participate in joint labor activities and refusal to do so is a serious offense to the tribe. At the tesguinada all men are equal with the exception of the doctor-shaman who is distinctly honored. With the tesguinada which he gives, the host maintains his position in the community.

A further consideration, and one which might prove to be of considerable interest if we had the requisite data, regards the individual endeavor of any one person. For one reason or another, is it usual for an individual to try and surpass his fellows in the quality and quantity of work which he produces? Is there a

reward of additional prestige or some more tangible remuneration to the person who does produce more, either through greater ability, or greater industry? In other words, if an individual works harder than another would this additional effort be recognized and, if so, how would it be recognized? To digress geographically for an example we might note that in Haiti, among the peasants, a hard worker may find a few extra coins in his dish as he finishes his food and the shirker or late comer is reminded of it in the portion of food given him, and should his conduct prove habitual he will receive only halfhearted response from his fellows when he desires a piece of work done. Our Middle American data give us no examples of a positive manifestation and the only negative one mentioned is at Chan Kom, where the amount of time and effort which any individual expends on any endeavor is a matter of public knowledge and if someone is known to shirk his duty public opinion reminds him of it.

The reader may have perceived by now that, although all joint labor is done simultaneously--that is, all the members of the co-operating group work together during a given period of time --there is a significant difference between planting a field and making sugar; in the former endeavor everyone is working for only one individual at any given time, whereas in the latter type all of the members of the group profit immediately from a division of the product. Such tasks as fishing, sugar-making, lime-burning, food-collecting, and housework, when they are done jointly, are examples in which the members of a group work together on a common end.¹

From the data it would appear that all joint labor is characterized by simultaneity. When a group of people is working for the good of one of its members all of the members of the group are engaged in activity at the same time. Likewise, when all of the members of the group will benefit from the particular piece of work being done at the moment, they are all working together. Although we do find exceptions in Middle America, much of the non-

¹The statement about food-collecting should be qualified to the extent that when it is jointly done it is an example in point. From our material we are unable to determine precisely whether or not it meets the definition of joint labor. Do the women merely accompany each other and each one gather her own products, or does each one gather for a common supply which will be divided among the women?

reciprocal labor is done by groups which tend to be formally organized. That is, there is, in the group, a leader who apportions the work and tasks and then directs the work throughout its duration. Sometimes he has no other task than to do this directing; at other times he gives aid to the workers who need it. In reciprocal labor, the host tends to assume the role of leader, in that he gives the few elementary directions which are needed; but the group, although organized, is more informal and the host works right along with all of the workers. The formal grouping is well exemplified by sugar-making among the Chorti--particularly so because of the rather well-marked division of labor. Since operating the press and equipment requires five men, the family male head directs the work and helps the others at their tasks; two persons feed the cane through the rollers; another carries the juice to the boiling-vats and superintends the boiling; another coagulates the syrup and molds it into round pellets; and a boy of the family drives the bull which turns the press. At the same time others carry the stalks from the fields, while the very old men and boys collect firewood, wrap the pellets in maize leaves, and carry drinking water. From the material at hand it is impossible to make a sharp distinction between informal and formal groups, and therefore we cannot interrelate one type of grouping with a particular type of joint labor; and there seems to be no significance in contrasting work in which specialization takes place with that in which there is relatively little or no specialization, at least for the purpose of this paper. Specialization of labor presents an interesting problem in a consideration of labor in general. We only mention here that the work of specialists is likely to be hard to reciprocate and therefore we might expect to find less of it in truly reciprocal labor than in nonreciprocal types. Ordinarily one might think of it as requiring the use of a common medium of exchange. We find this to be true of Chorti specialists who consider themselves as professionals, but there still exist individuals who exclude themselves from professional rank even though they possess a particular ability. They do realize a little pay in food over and above that which the ordinary worker receives, but it is in no way commensurate to the remuneration of the professionals.

Communal Labor

We have defined communal labor as that work which is done by all adult males and females on enterprises for the public good. This is contrasted with the previously discussed joint labor which is work done by certain individuals for the common or reciprocal advantage of that limited group. Communal labor, although it has varying manifestations, exists at all times. That is to say, it requires activity from certain individuals at certain times. Throughout Middle America it is manifest in institutions which are structurally an aspect of the internal social organization. The organization of communal labor can be thought of as permanent. Let us review the available data on communal labor in Middle America.

Among the Chorti until recently every adult Indian male, except the very old, was required to put in ten days of unpaid labor on the roads of his municipio every year. This work was usually done on the important routes which connect the pueblos with one another since they are used for animal traffic and by everyone. In lieu of this work an Indian might pay the alcalde five pesos for each of ten days as this was usually given to another Indian who would work in his place. The central government has now reorganized the system of road work. Every man between the ages of eighteen and eighty must give two weeks' service on the road each year or pay the sum of two quetzals; the money goes for equipment and materials. Every Indian male is also subject to call by the alcalde at any time of crisis--such as to repair washouts and bridges after floods and damage to the church and other public buildings from rain and storms. This is never paid for, although at times the alcalde furnishes the men with tortillas and beans while they are at work.

The military office of the Chorti is the commandancia which, in time of war, serves as a military post, and at all times functions as a police department. Every able-bodied man is supposed to serve at the commandancia as a soldier for two weeks of each year, for which he receives no pay; but those who are forced to serve are usually only younger men of large families who are not needed for milpa work. A few who serve continuously are paid about seven pesos per day. The principal duty of the commandancia is that of enforcing the orders and decisions of the juzgado, the village political unit, and of carrying out instructions from the

political chief; although it is the opinion of many Ladinos, persons of Spanish language and culture, that the chief purpose of the comandancia is to guard the country against "invasion" from Honduras, regardless of the fact that no such danger has existed for a long time.

Among the Chorti, community co-operation in certain ceremonies and festivals is an integral part of Indian life. Although each family performs its own ceremonies individually, the more important ceremonies and festivals are celebrated co-operatively. These are conducted by professional padrinos, but all the families who attend them share the expense and labor required. For the celebration of the patron saint in Jocotan, for example, every family of the entire municipio is expected to contribute as many pesos and as much maize, beans, and other foods as it can afford, and the women co-operate in cooking the chilote, tortillas, and cacao which everyone consumes during the celebration.

Among the Chorti, serving public office seems to be no longer a communal endeavor.¹ The political officials consist of the three alcaldes, who, although not paid, do receive considerable prestige. The juzgado has a representative in each aldea. These offices tend to be professionalized, since certain men in each aldea--because of education, native ability, and willingness to serve--are almost invariably appointed year after year to serve as officials. Each aldea has from three to six men who take turns occupying the positions, so that six or seven possible appointees are generally looked upon as professional politicians, whether they are in or out of office.

At San Pedro the amount of time which a man must spend on public works is not designated, but every adult male is subject to call to give his services in such endeavors as building and repairing public buildings, making a canoe, delivering messages, or rowing to Sololá. In road repair all the men work together, usually once a year.² For public works, such as building, the people are informed by two alguaciles who are ordered by the intendente to call out the men. One man from each household must be ready on a certain day to give his services in some activity such as build-

¹We mention this because it still is a very important form of communal labor in several communities in Middle America.

²We do not know for how long a period.

ing a new roof on the slaughterhouse. Each man may be asked to bring a few materials for the work, whatever it may be. Those who report for a particular work have their names recorded and then they will not be cited for public work within the next fifteen days. During those fifteen days if there are any services to be done, the men who did not show up for the public work will be called upon and will not be able to refuse. In case of refusal to perform general work such as church repair, a man may be called on for extraordinary services such as delivering messages for intendencia and rowing to Sololá.

At San Pedro there is a hierarchy of offices through which every adult male must pass, serving a one-year term in each office, except mayordomo and alguacil where he must serve two one-year terms, with one year of rest between each year of service. The first office is that of chajal and it is followed by mayordomo or alguacil. The former of these is religious and the latter non-religious. Either may be served first, followed by the other--and then a repetition of both. The next office occupied is the religious office of juéz; three nonreligious offices, regidor primeiro, regidor municipal, and mayor, then follow. The last six offices are alternately religious and nonreligious: cofradia, intendente, cofradia, intendente, cofradia, and fiscal. These duties are performed without remuneration, and it is usually not until a man is sixty or seventy years of age that he is free from serving office. The office of mayor involves some expense, so the men unable to afford the office serve as policemen, one of which is on duty for each one-year term.

At Panajachel there are six offices which every adult male serves without remuneration. The first service into which boys enter when they leave school¹ is that of alguacil. Until 1936 it was the custom for a youth to serve one year, rest a year, serve a year, and so on, until his marriage, at which time he rose to the position of mayordomo. The alguaciles are servants in the town hall, sweeping, guarding, patrolling the town, and the like, without receiving remuneration for their work. Because the alguaciles and mayores contribute to buy cord and larger ropes for service in the church, the officials of the church reciprocate by giving the alguaciles and mayores large mats upon which they can sleep in

¹Fourteen or fifteen years of age.

the town hall.

Since the last century the office of texel, which preceded that of mayordomo, has been extinct because there has been no priest resident in Panajachel and the duties of the texel were dependent upon this. They consisted of contributing to the expense of the cofradia feasts as well as assuming duties in the cofradia and the church. There are four cofradías, each of which has several mayordomos. A young man not having served in this capacity previously, commences as third or fourth mayordomo. After he has served, rested, and served as mayor in the town hall, he is obligated to serve again as a higher mayordomo in the same or a different cofradia. The mayordomos share with the cofrade the duty of celebrating the fiestas of the cofradia. They also help clean the walls of the church once or twice a year.

The service of mayor, of which there are four, is done only once a year. The mayores are the chiefs of the alguaciles. They have no rituals to do during their year of service except when they end the year. At least one year of rest ensues after serving the office of mayor or higher mayordomo before a man becomes an auxiliar for two years with a year of rest between the two. As the name indicates, an auxiliar is an assistant of the higher officers. There are four regidores, two of whom serve full time at the courthouse. Each has his special duties, such as charge of funds, agriculture, or health.

In his article, Wagley does not discuss communal labor in regard to public works or office-holding, but he does mention that the poor men who must continually work for wages in order to support their families lose prestige in another direction: they are unable to sacrifice a year of work to hold public office, nor can they pay for the numerous ceremonial meals and the sacrificial fowls for public rituals which the officers of higher rank must provide. Both authority and prestige are in considerable measure derived from office-holding in Chimaltenango and to the poor man the higher offices are not open. Whatever the political system of Chimaltenango, it would seem that office-holding is not thoroughly communal--some offices being closed to a portion of the community because of economic status of the individual in question. But from other statements of Wagley it would appear that the communal idea does penetrate into political theory. The Chimalteco does not make a dichotomy between civil and church officials; all

offices represent public service to which custom and duty call most men for at least a few years; all boys must at least pass through the lower offices. That there is probably communal work in the form of nonpolitical community service, is suggested in that the canton serves only as a useful subdivision of the pueblo in such matters as census-taking, tax-collecting, and enforcing communal work.

In Tusik, co-operative labor involved in the guarding of the patron saint of the cacicazgo is obligatory for all married men. The men are assigned to the work of guardia according to their membership in the companies and not according to village. Each company in its turn spends two weeks in the capital village, during which time its members take turns every two hours in guarding the sanctuary. The watch is performed twenty-four hours a day. The men serving guardia must also care for the temple and are responsible for the religious services conducted there. They also act as messengers and act as police. Another form of compulsory co-operation is that called fagina and involves labor on public works without remuneration. In Tusik this institution has been declining in recent years and is now employed only for the most urgent public works.

Both fagina and guardia are present at Chan Kom. Fagina is, of course, labor which every man in the village must perform on public works, and guardia provides the personnel for village administration. The obligation of guardia falls upon every male member of the community as soon as he leaves school. Men about forty-five years of age or over are exempt. At the beginning of each year the comisario makes out a list of all the boys and men who are subject to fagina; to each he assigns one week of duty as member of a body of four men always on duty in the public building. These four are the guardia; each is a policia. That one of the four who has received the most education is called sargento and he is charged with receiving official letters or orders which may come to the village, and with communicating matters of interest to the comisario. The four men constituting the guardia perform any public service, under the direction of the comisario, such as running errands, providing escorts for returning visitors, arresting delinquents, and announcing decisions from door to door.

In Mitla, a day's service on the public works, road-building, and Saint's field is exacted of every male. The only excep-

tion to this free public service is the payment of the masons for work on public buildings. Here every male starts at the age of fifteen to serve in a series of town offices. Commencing as a deputy to a mayordomo he acts successively as a member of the night police force, topil, mayor, vice-councilman, councilman, alcalde substitute, and alcalde. There is no pay for any communal service, but all officials and quasi-officials¹ are exempted from paying town taxes. A man's prescribed official career is completed at the age of sixty. From this official service there is, theoretically, no escape. There is no personal prestige or gain to be had from office-holding. The offices do not bestow distinction; they merely indicate a course of life which is expected of every townsman.

The church officials of Mitla are, besides the priest and the five sacristans, who are more or less permanent: two topiles mayores de iglesia, six topilillos de iglesia, one topil mayor de ganado, two topillos ganado, two mayordomos de cocina, two topiles de panteon, six acolitos, and two fiscales. The topil mayor de ganado and the two topilillos take turns herding by the week, and the topiles mayores and their topilillos, who supply the curacy with wood, also take turns by the week. We do not know whether or not these officials receive remuneration or are compelled to serve. The patron saint of the pueblo, together with outstanding saints, have each a mayordomo whose functions consist in paying the mass said on the saint's day, in purveying the special candles of his saint, and in supplying food, drink, and tobacco to the musicians of the fiesta, to all those who come in to slaughter an animal, to cook, to work on the candles, or to get and arrange the greens, or other adornments, for the bowers of the mayordomia or for the church. Relatives, compadres, and acquaintances contribute to the supplies--but an accurate record is kept and the recipient is expected to make a return at some later date. The office of mayordomo is annual because the expenditures are too heavy for a longer tenure. Men may be appointed to the office or volunteer, but every man, except the musicians, is expected to hold two mayordomias in the course of his life.

Civil communal labor forms an integral part of Chinantec life and is known by its old name of tequio, signifying fatigue duty. Tequios take place every Sunday morning, and occasionally

¹Musicians.

on Saturdays, to engage in a great variety of work. The church, municipio, curato, and the great hammock bridges in the forest are kept in constant repair. Since the advent of schools, civil communal labor has increased, for the schools are built and furnished in their entirety by the village people themselves. Attendance at tequios is rigorously enforced by the presidents. The village president is elected annually from among the local contribuyentes or voters. The office seems to go in rotation among the able-bodied men of the village. There is no law forbidding re-election, but rarely does one person hold more than one term of office. The president has unquestionable authority during his tenure. He receives no pay, the post being entirely ad honorem. It often entails personal sacrifice, for often he must occupy himself with village matters when normally he would be at work for his own ends. The secretary--the only permanent official--is more important in the village than is the president. He is paid by means of contributions of the voters or food and lodging. In some cases he is given cultivatable land which is cultivated by the voters. There is a police force of young men which depends on the president for its orders. The alcalde is a minor judge who is chosen from among the elders, but the president handles most civil cases. There are other titles--sindico, regidor, primer and segundo mayor, and so on--but such titles are purely honorific and require little, if any, action. After the president and other officials have served their term of office they automatically become ancianos and comprise a body of elders which the president often consults--although his decision cannot be overridden by them. The topilles or messengers are, like the other municipal functionaries except the secretary, unpaid. They may be young boys or married men. Their duties consist of a variety of acts--from running errands to distant pueblos, to taking care of visitors.

In the preparation of a fiesta, the chief expenses of a village result from buying of candles to burn before the particular saint venerated. The feast of the wax, in aid of a festival, is organized by the mayordomo. Each able-bodied man is made to contribute fifty centavos to the common cause, while the women of the village contribute tortillas. A pig is roasted in the open, the mayordomo officiating as chef; beans are cooked in great black pots. About midday all the women of the village come to receive a good meal, which they take to eat in the privacy of their own

homes. Wax is purchased with the money collected and candles are made from it to burn before the patron saint of the village at her fiesta later in the year.

The material from the Tarahumara does not seem to be complete. The performance of ceremonies in connection with the fields, crops, and animals is very important. Since each one requires a fiesta of food, liquor, and dancing, the individual performance of all such ceremonies would place a considerable burden on the family. As a result, as many as ten families get together to give a fiesta for "curing" of the fields. The "curers" march to all the fields owned by the co-operators and sprinkle the liquid which "cures." Each family represented furnishes corn for food and tesguino, and a goat. Likewise, fiestas attended by larger groups of people are co-operative affairs. The native fiestas are similar to, and larger than, tesguinadas but they are ceremonial rather than economic. Although every man does not conduct the ceremony, he has a definite part to play. The community or church fiestas are still larger and more complex. Several days before each ceremony people gather at the pueblo and commence making preparations: the women grind corn to tesguino, pinoli, and tortillas; the men chop wood; the children watch herds. The fiesteros conduct the fiesta and it is they who furnish tesguino and food to all the people, much of their prestige hinging on the amount given. The position necessitates considerable financial outlay but it is highly respected and sought after. The fiesteros are ordinarily not rich men.

From this summary of available data we can get some idea of the variation of manifestations of communal labor. The majority of tasks undertaken by communal labor fall roughly into three categories. There are those duties which consist in serving public office to keep the machinery of government running. This category might be termed political; and a subcategory, military, with duties which are of a police or protective nature. Civil communal labor includes a variety of tasks, such as repairing roads and building public buildings. Religious communal labor consists of serving religious offices which are interwoven with political offices, and also in participating in preparation of ceremony and festival. Some types are continuous activities serving to maintain, in so far as possible, equilibrium in the community, others are collective spurts meeting demands which arise periodically; the satisfaction

of all kinds is for the public good. To repeat the Chan Kom example, the guardia system activity is for two or more weeks in each year for each man with several people serving at all times; in the fagina system the activity is occasional, according to need.

Not only does the variation exist in manifestation but also in the size of the group at any one time, or for any particular job. This may range from one man being on police duty at any one time, to a large group of over a hundred members such as the group which gets the tree which will be made into a canoe at San Pedro. From the data at hand we can elaborate this no further; that is, we cannot make a definite statement as to correlation between the size of the group and the activity. It can only be stated that a variation in the number of individuals participating in communal labor at any one time does exist.

An interesting and important point on which, unfortunately, there exists almost no data, is the relative amounts of time which individuals in a community devote to communal labor over and above the required amount of time. The only direct reference available is that of Chan Kom. Redfield gives a table which demonstrates that, although, theoretically, the men are supposed to contribute equally to fagina, in practice there is some variation.¹ In general it may be said that the more public-spirited men do more than the others. Politically, if a man holds office he must go to town on public business or devote some of his hours at home to it, the amount depending on the needs of the community during his tenure. Communal labor, particularly civil, during the period of observation, demanded one-half to one-quarter of a man's time.

In Middle America both diffuse and organized sanctions are employed in relation to communal labor. That is, the members of the community may express their approval or disapproval of the actions of a fellow community member as individuals in a general way or a traditional and specific procedure may be employed for making the approval or disapproval evident.² In many communities both types of sanctions--organized and diffuse--are present, although occasionally the data leave the reader in doubt as to which type

¹Redfield and Villa, op. cit., p. 80.

²As is true in most societies, those sanctions which are provoked by disapproval are much more definite and numerous than those expressive of approval.

is referred to at a particular point in the discussion.

Every Chorti man between the ages of eighteen and sixty must give two weeks' service on the road each year or pay the sum of two quetzals. For the celebration of the patron saint every family of the entire municipio is expected to contribute as many pesos and as much maize, beans, and other foods, as it can afford. Here then, in one community, we have both organized and diffuse sanctions in connection with communal labor. At San Pedro each adult male is compelled to aid in public works at various times of the year--depending upon the quantity and quality of these public works. Likewise he is expected to serve in a series of public offices. The government of Guatemala has forbidden that organized sanctions be used against those men who refuse to serve office in favor of volunteering duty in the army. Whether or not these organized sanctions have been replaced by diffuse sanctions, the writer cannot say. The youth at Panajachel looks forward to a lifetime during which he is obligated to serve several public offices. At Chan Kom and Tusik every male of the community must serve as a member of the guard as soon as he leaves school and until he is about forty-five years of age. The duties of fagina, the accomplishment of public works, are compulsory for all adult male members of the community. Although it is the usual thing for all the adult members of a community to unite their efforts in the major religious ceremonies, it is not compulsory. In Mitla every male starts at the age of fifteen to serve in a series of town offices. A day's service on public works is likewise exacted of every male, excepting officials and musicians. There is no compulsion to aid at religious festivals, but relatives, compadres, and acquaintances of the mayordomo usually give him assistance. Every male Chinantec is expected, in reality compelled, to do fatigue duty every Sunday and occasionally on Saturday. To the Chinantec festival of the wax every able-bodied man is made to contribute centavos and the women must give tortillas.

The attitude of the individuals toward communal labor is somewhat difficult to ascertain but is, perhaps, reflected to a considerable degree in the spirit in which that individual enters into communal labor. In the data it appears that entire families enter into religious communal labor very eagerly and wholeheartedly. On the other hand, civil communal labor is recorded from several localities as being, for the most part, something quite enjoyable

and willingly done by the majority of those individuals obligated to participate. During the work at Chan Kom there is plenty of opportunity to joke and talk and a cheerful enthusiasm permeates the work. The municipal band accompanies the Chinantec tequio and aguardiente flows freely, thus imparting to the work effort a social aspect.

While the distaste which certain individuals have for communal labor is evident in several communities, the large support which the institution has is likewise evident particularly in the strong sanctions--both organized and diffuse--which are employed. Fine and imprisonment are the two most common organized negative sanctions while the strength of public opinion sometimes leads to ostracism of the delinquent, the strongest diffuse negative sanction.

The Chorti dislike military service and put it off as long as possible by claiming to have sickness or milpa work to do at home. The latter excuse carries more weight than any other--unless repeated too often, after which the individual reports for duty or is fined. The mayor of San Pedro will accept a first and second refusal to participate in obras publicas if the person in question is a "good person" in the community. But on a third refusal he is reported to the intendente who punishes him¹ for disobedience. At Chan Kom there is strong support for communal labor. The village has lost more inhabitants by emigration than it gains by immigration, chiefly because the demands upon the inhabitants to work on public improvements are so exacting. The fact that civil communal labor is exacting and sanctions are so strong, coupled with the fact that certain individuals must go some distance from the village in search of good land, brings about the origin of new villages. Ebtun is such a daughter community of Chan Kom. Failure to aid in public works is punished by arrest and imprisonment and sometimes by the imposition of extra tasks. Mrs. Parsons says that at Mitla a man can refuse to serve on public works once, after which "he has to go." Among the Chinantec, civil communal labor is rigorously enforced by the presidents, and those who do not come, unless hindered by illness, are fined or imprisoned.

An encroachment upon communal labor is the possibility of making substitutions in several communities. In lieu of two weeks'

¹Usually by fine.

service on the road each year the Chorti can pay the sum of two quetzals, which goes for equipment and materials. Even prior to this system which was a recent reorganization by the government, an individual was able to pay the alcalde five pesos for each of ten days which the individual did not work, and the money was usually given to another Indian who would work in his place. At Mitla the only encroachment upon civil communal labor is the payment of masons for work on public buildings, and salaries to the two secretaries. A further encroachment was mentioned previously: one individual who was desirous of not serving an office paid a friend of his to serve for him. The Chinantec have practically no municipal taxes and no "taxlike" demands. The contribuyentes contribute their own personal labor. However, one abuse exists in that young men, in return for aguardiente for a particular tequio, are exempt from civil communal labor for the remainder of life.

In communal labor the co-operating unit, instead of being a group of kin or neighbors, as is often the case in joint labor, is a political unit. In most types of communal labor it is the male members of the community who are expending their efforts collectively, and in a few other kinds, women are the participants.

Because of the limited scope of the data which we have chosen to study, we cannot relate communal labor to the technology or economy of the group for we have no nonagricultural community in the study. Existing as it does in all the groups which we are considering, it cannot be said that communal labor exists in communities at such-and-such a technological level and not in others. In addition it is not only difficult--if not impossible--from the data at hand, to place the groups on a continuum representing advance in complexity of economy, but to attempt to evaluate correctly the importance of communal labor in any one locale, with reference to the others, would be likely to invite erroneous conclusions. Even though we do have, in Yucatan, at San Pedro, and at Mitla, evidences of the breakdown of, and diminution in, communal labor, the assertion that this is positively correlated with a less agricultural community is not justified. Other factors might be largely responsible.

Since 1935 the youths of San Pedro have become increasingly preoccupied with duty in the Guatemalan army. They volunteer for this duty and when they are called upon for communal duty in the village some say that it is their obligation to serve the govern-

ment and not the town. On the other hand, many of the volunteers also serve in town offices. At first the town officials tried to punish those who refused to serve town offices, but the state intervened to protect the nonservers. Here it would seem that preoccupation with the army and its attendant introduction of modern influence, rather than the state of development of agriculture, is responsible for the breakdown in the communal system.

In Tusik and Chan Kom, festal preparation--except the annual festival at Chan Kom--involves the participation of all the members of the community and the pooling of a large amount of labor. In Dzitas, a more urban community than either Chan Kom or Tusik, these occasions are much rarer and seldom, if ever, involve more than a minority of the population. In Merida, a cosmopolitan city, the work done in connection with festivity and worship is more a matter of the individual or of small groups of individuals than it is in Dzitas, and even the neighborhood festal organizations are far from all-inclusive. A similar change can be noted in civil communal labor as one progresses from Tusik to Merida. In Tusik and Chan Kom, through the institution of fagina, which accomplishes public work, such as road repair, without remuneration of the laborers, it is the duty of every adult male to assume responsibility of aiding in such endeavors. In Dzitas most of the people pay taxes and those few who cannot afford to do so put in a small amount of time per year on the roads in lieu of this payment. In Merida, labor of this sort is virtually nonexistent and, with the exception that the people in the poorest sections of the city keep the roads in front of their houses free from weeds, public works are maintained out of taxes. Political and military communal labor exists in Chan Kom and Tusik and thereby is maintained the regular operations of local government. In Dzitas and Merida there is no such duty. One would not expect a single factor, such as technology, to be the influencing factor in such a change. Several factors might combine to produce it, and connected with it might be--as Redfield suggests--greater size, greater homogeneity, more modern influence, greater division of labor, or more use of money.

In Mitle, a town of 371 men, of whom, at the time of the study, 140 were merchants or traveling men, 98 laborers or hired men, and only 70 exclusively farmers, the actions of some of the younger members of the community in regard to political communal

service was correctly interpreted by Mrs. Parsons as an indication of the breakdown in communal service. The long-standing controversy over the relations of paid and unpaid officials had been opened up by an expression of unwillingness on the part of the secretary to take the office if he had also to serve as mayor de vara. Formerly, when few could read and write, it was the rule that the literate one should serve as secretary but not as mayor de vara. In 1922 the president introduced for the first time the practice of paying each secretary fifteen pesos a month. With the increase in literacy, objection to this arrangement was made, for it meant that some literates were mayores de vara without pay and other literates were secretaries with pay. A new rule, that secretaries had also to serve as mayores de vara, came to prevail. Because the secretarial pay is low some individuals consider the double service a hardship. On the other hand, some, who have served both as secretary and mayor de vara, do not want the secretary to be excused from serving. The younger men, most aware of the current change, proposed that the offices of treasurer and secretary should be well paid and that the offices should be quite distinct from the system of communal service--the men should apply for the jobs, not be appointed to them--and that between these offices and the office of mayor de vara there should be no relationship whatsoever and that ex-secretaries, as well as others, should serve as mayor de vara. An additional indication of the breakdown here is reflected in a wealthy individual's solution for communal service. In order not to be called upon to serve as secretary, he asked one of the retiring mayores de vara to take his place during his alternating week of service. The institution of taxation is known in Mitla but the things upon which tax money is expended are the school, Saint's fiesta, and the church. Here again, something other than technology is probably vital to the breakdown. Mrs. Parsons mentions that office-holding particularly, while not arduous, does interfere with a man's attention to his personal fortune. The factors, then, which have caused an emphasis to be placed upon the acquisition and care of a personal fortune--whatever they may be--have been instrumental in precipitating the breakdown.

Co-operative labor is an important institution for promoting social solidarity in Middle America. In drawing the community together in the case of a scattered population like the Tarahumara, or in serving as a centralizing influence in those communities

organized on town lines, co-operative labor serves as a unifying factor in community life. The combination of common interest and unity of purpose which co-operative labor effects is an important integrative factor. Villa states the following with regard to military and political communal labor in Quintana Roo: ". . . the institution of guardia tends to maintain the cohesion of the group by virtue of the sentiments of solidarity aroused by the cult of the common symbol and by the co-operative practices which attend it."¹ From the individual viewpoint, co-operative labor attains great significance because in it the individual has his own attitudes reinforced by the attitudes of others. In other words, co-operative labor restates the culture through a reaffirmation of the collective representations and common understandings of the group.

The dichotomy in co-operative labor, as defined in this paper, is strengthened because of the nature of the institutions on which each type of co-operative labor is based, and, accordingly, of which they are expressions or activities. It has been noted that joint labor is based primarily on kinship lines whereas communal labor is based on political lines. Because kinship institutions in culture tend to be less subject to change than community institutions, we might expect a reflection of this in the types of labor based upon each one of them. In other words, because of their bases communal labor is less conservative than is joint labor.

When other factors making for disorganization of a culture exist they are, naturally, in conflict with the factors making for organization. Whichever prevails--those factors making for organization, or those factors making for disorganization--they must prevail to the detriment or weakening of the other set of factors. The result, in view of the disorganization which is attendant upon contact with modern "western" civilization, is the weakening of the institutions or factors making for cultural organization, one of them being co-operative labor. Perhaps a better way of stating this is possible. By weakening the structure of co-operative labor, co-operative labor, itself, is weakened. From this would follow the fact that, as kinship institutions are less easily weakened than are community institutions, so joint labor would be less easily weakened than communal labor. From data on contemporary Middle

¹Villa, op. cit., p. 21.

American communities we are not able to make a definite application of this idea in this area, particularly because we do not have at our disposal adequate historical data. It does appear, from the data which we do have, that the introduction of wages, hired laborers, and the idea of acquisition of personal wealth have weakened joint labor to as great a degree as the introduction of taxes and new ideas of governmental organization have weakened communal labor. It is conceivable that this discrepancy is due to the fact that we have laid too great an emphasis upon the basis of the two types of co-operative labor, as well as due to inadequate data--particularly historical--which we have at our disposal. However, it seems that co-operative labor in Middle America is undergoing rather rapid changes at the present time.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEMS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The data at present available on co-operative labor in Middle America leave a number of problems open for future research. The complete geographical extent of the institution is not yet determined. That is, although it is recognized that co-operation does exist throughout the primitive world, the exact instances have not been studied to determine the existence of the two basic types nor the extent of their importance in any particular community in their full geographic setting. Within Middle America the institution extends from Chihuahua on the north at least to Yucatan and eastern Guatemala. From two statements which Conzemius makes regarding the Miskito and Sumu Indians of British Honduras, we can suppose that co-operative labor does exist there--but the data do not present a complete picture of the institution. He says that "two men generally work together when fishing with the javelin."¹ And that "when a number of men organize a hunting party, expected to last more than a day, they may be accompanied by the members of their family."²

To the north of the northern extension of co-operative labor in Middle America we find instances of the institution. The institution among the Hopi Indians of Arizona, a group practicing agriculture and having a kinship organization based upon female lines, is well reported by Beaglehole.³ Through a brief consideration of the data it is evident that many elements are similar to those found in co-operative labor in Middle America. The types of work undertaken by joint labor are primarily economic, having

¹Eduard Conzemius, The Miskito and Sumu Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 106 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1932), p. 66.

²Ibid., p. 77.

³Ernest Beaglehole, Notes on Hopi Economic Life, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 15 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937).

to do with food and shelter. House-building, field-working, grinding, and sheep-shearing are specific types which are mentioned.¹ Work is done by "work parties," the members of which will be of one sex exclusively or both sexes--according to the work to be done. Usually the group is made up of friends and immediate relatives or else includes also on a larger scale many clan and kin relatives from both the paternal and maternal sides of the household. The maternal kinship organization of the Hopi, as opposed to paternal organization throughout Middle America, would account for the difference here. A type of joint labor which involved a much larger group, entailing the intervillage co-operation, is no longer in existence among the Hopi. The method of recruiting workers differs considerably from the general Middle America pattern, in that the senior woman of the household will go around to see her women friends and arrange with them for the women or their menfolk to work on an appointed day. Formerly the method was even more divergent, in that the men of the household desirous of obtaining labor would butcher a sheep and hang the carcass up outside the house. Men passing by would notice the sign and enquire as to the work to be done and the meeting place. These would tell others and so the word would pass around the village. Remuneration for this type of work is in the form of food which the woman for whom the work is being done provides for the midday lunch and for the evening meal of the workers; she also makes gifts of food to the wives of the men. Whether or not there is compulsion for the hostess to later aid those who have aided her, is not mentioned. One might doubt that if such a compulsion exists it is not very strong, for a specific type of working party, bean-planting, in which several women join together in a group and plant each other's fields in rotation is alluded to--suggesting, perhaps, that a greater degree of compulsion exists here.

Work parties for civil communal labor are organized on a village basis and engage in such activities as cleaning out village springs, repairing stock reservoirs and village trails. Beaglehole suggests that the obligation in these cases is not so much one of self-interest, as one based on traditional loyalty for the village officers and traditional pride in the village and its equipment.² These parties are usually organized by the crier

¹Ibid., p. 28.

²Ibid., p. 29.

chief and announced four days in advance. Most of the men make an effort to perform their share of the work and the household members are more than a little ashamed of themselves if one, at least, from their number is not present as a representative. There seems to be no formal compulsion to attendance at one of these parties, but public opinion is strong and does not allow shirkers to forget their lack of industry easily. Among the Hopi the women are responsible for providing and cooking the food for the workers. No mention was found of such an arrangement in Middle America. There is a traditional expectancy that all should work according to ability in the interests of the common good of the village. Such material regarding individual endeavor is lacking in the Middle American data. The social aspect of co-operative labor exists among the Hopi, in that the work is lightened by the pleasure of working in company and enlivened by good-natured banter, gossip, and laughter at any little untoward incident.

In conversation Watson mentions a type of female labor done in connection with festivals which is foreign to Middle America. All of the women of a particular society aid in making the piki which is to be consumed at a particular feast. Each woman cooks her share on the same stove as the other women and, as the stove accommodates only one person at any one time, the women work in rotation. The product of each is put into the common supply.

Up to the present time co-operative labor has not been given adequate treatment in most ethnographic reports. And in many reports the information is so scanty that one cannot with certainty say to what extent the institution is present. A study of its occurrence and distribution among the Ladino population in Middle America would prove valuable.

Perhaps a trait-distribution map of the local cultural elements which are found, would be of definite value to the ethnologist--thereby presenting the specific variations and differences as they exist. This would, of course, give rise to the question of whether these differences are indications in distribution or in reporting. In addition to augmenting ethnographic data, the working out of distributions might suggest hypotheses of value to our understanding of the spread of culture.

A very important group of problems for future investigation center about the need for fuller descriptive data on the institution. Most of the available accounts are descriptions of

the aspects of the institution as observed by investigators who worked without advance knowledge of the total complex of traits which might be expected. It is only natural that some students noticed and emphasized certain elements while they disregarded certain others, while other investigators concentrated their attention on completely different aspects of the institution. As a result, as has been seen in the foregoing section, it is not always easy to equate one account analytically with another. And, as has been stated previously, it is difficult to know whether the various omissions and emphases are to be attributed to their emphasis or omission in the community or to varying points of view of investigators. Particularly has this problem arisen with regard to certain types of communal labor.

Other inadequacies which have already been pointed out are in connection with the attitude of the individual toward co-operative labor and also the prestige which is or is not to be gained from participation. About the former we have almost no data; and in regard to prestige there are but few statements, suggesting that in some localities a man's position in the community is dependent, to some extent, upon his co-operative activity, and in other localities such activity in no way enhances his prestige but is carried out merely because it is a matter of duty. These are merely examples of instances where we have very inadequate data. In addition, there are some points on which we can obtain virtually no information. For example, we never know the proportion of any particular job, that is, the size of the plot which is being planted, or the amount of sugar cane that is being processed at any one time. And the population data are presented in such a manner as to be of little value in discovering its relationship to co-operative labor. These and other problems can, perhaps, be partially solved in the Middle American area if the investigators in the area were to provide helpful material which they might have at their command although it was not placed in their reports; and if future investigators will standardize their approaches to the institution in the particular community under investigation. If this can be effected we can better evaluate the function of co-operative labor in general.

Although ethnologists have, for some time, interested themselves in separating the Spanish from the Indian elements in Middle America culture, there has been no thorough and complete study

dealing with these historical aspects of the subject. Such a study would be very valuable and should prove rewarding for the student who becomes interested in it. Some investigators have mentioned historical material from time to time and it is this which we shall review now. It is generally believed that co-operative labor in Middle America is of native origin with a Spanish overlay.

Bishop Landa relates two types of co-operative labor in Yucatan, only one of which is similar to that which exists today.

The common people built at their own expense the house of the lords; . . . Beyond the house, all the town did their sowing for the nobles; they also cultivated them [the fields] and harvested what was necessary for him and his household. And when there was hunting or fishing, or when it was time to get their salt, they always gave the lord his share, since these things they always did as a community.¹

More reminiscent of co-operative labor as it is known today is the following instance which Landa cites.

The Indians have the good habit of helping each other in all their labors. At the time of sowing those who do not have their own people to do their work join together in groups of twenty or more or less, and all together they do the work of all of them [each doing] his assigned share, and they do not leave it until everyone's is done.²

It is pointed out that this idea of exchange of work, reciprocity in labor, is seen in many aspects of the Indians' life. Landa says that the Indians made their thatched houses easily "because they helped one another to make them."³

They also joined together for hunting in companies of fifty or more or less, and they roast the flesh of the deer on grid-irons, so that it shall not be wasted, and when they reach the town, they make their presents to their lord and distribute the rest among friends, and they do the same in their fishing.⁴

Regarding civil communal labor in Mitla Mrs. Parsons says:

Perhaps the Mitla system is Indian, perhaps it is Spanish. What was the early Spanish system of public work? We know that the friars imposed a system of communal church work upon their Indian communities and that they organized groups of musicians. It seems probable that in the Spanish secular government a parallel system came to be imposed. However, we should note that there is a Zapotecan term for communal work and that the term given as Spanish, teguio, is merely a his-

¹A. M. Tozzer, Landa's Relación de las Cosas de Yucatan (Cambridge: Peabody Museum, 1941), p. 86.

²Ibid., p. 96.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 97.

panicized Aztec term, tequitl, meaning work.¹

Redfield writes, "Such co-operative labor is stereotyped and bears the special name cuatequitl. This word is from the ordinary word for work (tequitl) and a root meaning 'head,' much like the 'poll' in our 'poll tax.'"² He goes on to say that cuatequitl is the survival of communal labor reported from both Aztec and Maya areas. He suggests that it is probably characteristic of all parts of Mexico where Indian heritages are strong.

J. Eric Thompson suggests that the "Aztec youth began to train as a soldier at the age of fifteen."³

Sahagun makes the following remark about the close of the Aztec service: "Now they were free of the great work and worry; they now could sleep quietly and peacefully, and look freely for a living either by fishing, tilling the maguey fields, or by doing some trading."⁴

And Burgoa says: "In Mexteca, officials who were annually elected went at sunrise to the highest house and called out a summons to work in the fields. Delinquents were rigorously punished by other officials."⁵

Both Redfield and Parsons regard co-operative labor, particularly civil communal labor, as basically Indian with a Spanish overlay. We agree with this supposition. However, no adequate study has been presented of the historical data available and the problem will be clarified considerably when such a study is undertaken. In addition to these fragments of historical data within Middle America, we have references to its existence both to the north and south of the area in early times. Bandelier, speaking of the early population of Titicaca and Koati, says, "In addition to the communal hunt or chacu, single hunters pursued the fleet

¹Parsons, op. cit., p. 502.

²Redfield, Tepoztlan, op. cit., p. 146.

³J. Eric Thompson, Mexico Before Cortez (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1933), p. 43.

⁴Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, A History of Ancient Mexico, trans. Fanny R. Bandelier (Nashville: Fisk University, 1932), pp. 176-77.

⁵Parsons, op. cit., p. 151.

quadrupeds, using bolas or ilui."¹ And later,

At Tiahuanaco we were assured that house-building is a communal undertaking of the ayllu, or of those of its members that are related to the family for which the building is erected, and that the only compensation for such assistance is chicha and food. The custom is undoubtedly primitive.²

Fray Francisco Cesan de Jesus Maria, writing in 1691 about the Tejas Indians in southern United States, says:

As regards other features of their government, these Indians help each other in such a manner that if one's house and all his possessions are burned up, they all gather together, build him a new house, and furnish him whatever he needs for his subsistence and comfort. All these things they do together. At planting time they all come together and plant whatever each one has to plant, according to the size of the family. . . . They work from the highest to the humblest until each has planted what he needs for the year. . . . During sickness, these Indians visit and aid each other with great kindness, trying to give to the sick all possible consolation by taking them something nice to eat. Some of them present the trinkets they own, others lend them. Among them there is no exchange, save by bartering. It seems that everything they own they do not hold as personal property but as common property. Therefore, there is no ambition, no envy to prevent peace and harmony among them.³

Fray Isidro Felis de Espinosa, speaking of the same Indians of about the same period, says:

Their houses are built of wood with very long flexible lathes. Their manner of building them is as follows. Whenever the owners of a house decided to build one, they advise the captains whom, in their language they call caddi. The latter set the day and order the overseers whom they call tammás to go around to the houses and give notice in order that all may aid in the building. These two messengers mount their horses. . . . They carry in their hands a number of little sticks equal to the number of laths needed for the house. They go the rounds and leave at each ranch one of the little sticks so that he who receives it may take care to cut and clean a lath and bring it and put it in the hole designated for it. . . . Even though they bring the materials they have been instructed to provide, he [the overseer] goes out to meet the man or woman who is late and who arrives after the work has begun. If the delinquent is a man, the overseer gives him four or five licks across the breast and, if it be a woman, he uncovers her shoulder and does the same thing. This is done without exception

¹A. F. Bandelier, The Islands of Titicaca and Koati (New York, 1910), p. 35.

²Ibid., p. 96.

³Mattie Austim Hatcher, "Descriptions of the Tejas or Asinai Indians," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXX (1927), 217.

of persons, for even though it be his own wife or sister who is at fault, she receives her punishment. . . . After work there is a feast after which the people retire to their homes.¹

And about the Asinais he says:

The crops which the Asinais plant are also community crops. What the Indians do all together is to clear the land and dig it about the depth of a hand breadth. This work is finished in two or three hours and the owners of the house give them an abundance of food. They then move to another spot and do the same thing. The planting of the corn and the beans and the other seed is the duty of the householders.²

Thus we have hints that the student who not only studies the historical aspects of communal labor in Middle America but in other areas would be well rewarded.

¹Ibid., XXXI, 154-55.

²Ibid., p. 156.

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, co-operative labor in Middle America can most fruitfully be divided into two categories: joint labor, or that work done for the common or reciprocal advantage of a special group of participating individuals, and communal labor, which is work done on enterprises for the public good by all adult males and females of the community. We have seen that joint labor is concerned primarily with economic endeavors. That is, those activities necessary to maintain physical life--activities having to do with and concerned with providing food and shelter. The composition of these groups is based, principally, upon kinship lines although occasionally non-kin are participants. These work needs, which are temporary, are met by joint labor organized by special agreement. That is, when an individual has some task to perform with which he must have help, he summons a group of people for that particular task. There seems to be no formal compulsion for those individuals summoned to participate in the endeavor; but a combination of altruism, moral obligation, knowledge that the aid will be returned at a later time, receipt of payment (usually food), and the fact that it is an opportunity to participate in a social occasion, results in a majority turnout of those summoned. There seems to be no correlation between the occurrence of joint labor and the similarity of activities which are undertaken by it. That is, communities which both do and do not have joint labor have similar techniques of work. Likewise there seems to be no definite relationship between joint labor and property ownership. In the communities where joint labor exists there is a variety of type of ownership of property. Regarding the prestige which accrues from participation in joint labor, we have very little data. Also we are unable to discover whether or not the individual endeavor is variable and, if so, why it is. The two types of joint labor--reciprocal and nonreciprocal--have been pointed out. It was noted that the organization of the groups engaging in nonreciprocal joint labor tends to be more formal than that of reciprocal groups.

Communal labor presents a somewhat different picture. It consists of various types which can be classed as political, religious, or civil. Some of the activities undertaken by communal labor are continuous, while others are periodic. All, however, are permanent. Not only is there a variation in the type of endeavor undertaken by communal labor, but there is a range in the size of the group which participates in any one activity. This range is from one individual to well over one hundred. The relative amounts of time which an individual expends on communal labor we do not know. Redfield does tell us that at Chan Kom there is considerable variation in the amount of time which different individuals spend on communal labor. It is unfortunate that more extensive data do not exist. Whereas joint labor is based on kinship lines, communal labor is based on political lines. It is the male and female members of the community who are participating in communal labor at any one time. The attitude of the individuals toward communal labor is variable. Sometimes it is regarded as a social occasion which provides an opportunity for laughing, talking, and meeting friends. At other times it is a burden to return to the village to meet obligations of this sort. The value of communal labor to the community is recognized, however, and both diffuse and organized sanctions are utilized to bend the delinquent to conformity. The most stringent organized sanction is fine or imprisonment; the strongest diffuse sanction is ostracism. Because we have been dealing with no nonagricultural communities we cannot say to what extent communal labor and the technology are related. We have seen that, as disorganizing cultural influences have been introduced into the culture, there has been an attendant breakdown of communal labor.

This breakdown is not only apparent in communal labor, but also in joint labor, so the whole of co-operative labor has felt the effect of these influences. Both joint and communal labor appear to be undergoing changes at the present time throughout Middle America.

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PUBLIC SERVICE IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
OF MIDDLE AMERICA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
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BY

JEANNE LEPINE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DECEMBER, 1940

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INTRODUCTION

The institutions to be discussed in this thesis are those compulsory organizations having secular functions which are devoted to the service of the community. These institutions include the system of compulsory communal labor and the ranked series of offices in the administration of the community through which all townsmen are expected to pass. Compulsory communal labor is that service which is demanded from all able-bodied men for the good of the community. At certain specified times all the men of a village meet and go together to work on some public endeavor, such as repairing a church or building a road. The work is decided upon by the village officials and is supervised by them. If any person should not attend, he is apprehended by the authorities and is liable to fine or imprisonment.

The civil administration of the majority of communities in Middle America consists of a ladder-like series of offices. The official hierarchy consists of a chief with one or two assistants who are empowered to take his place in his absence, a council of former officers who serve in an advisory capacity, and a group of young men who serve as a police force and carry out the orders of the chief. As might be expected there are many variations in the several communities as to the number of officers and the duties allocated to them. Theoretically all men are supposed to serve in all of the offices progressing from the lower to the higher. The obligatory character of this institution is one of its outstanding features; in most of the groups it is theoretically impossible to avoid holding office for any reason and all

male members of the town are expected to serve.

These two institutions have been reported from a wide area. Elsie Clews Parsons has noted instances among the Pueblo groups of the Southwest.¹ In northern Mexico, they have been reported as occurring among the Tarahumara by Bennett and Zingg² and among the Huichol by Zingg.³ In central Mexico they have been noted among the Chinantec by Bevan;⁴ at Mitla by Parsons;⁵ and at Tepoztlán by Redfield.⁶ Wisdom found these institutions among the Chorti of Guatemala,⁷ and La Farge and Beyers also found them in this area.⁸ Redfield and Villa noted them at Chan Kom in Yucatan,⁹ and Villa found them in Quintana Roo.¹⁰ These occurrences are scattered over a wide area and in many details are incompletely reported, but with observations from other reports they are sufficient for a preliminary analysis. It is to be regretted that

¹Elsie Clews Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

²Wendell C. Bennett and Robert M. Zingg, The Tarahumara, An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

³Robert M. Zingg, The Huichols: Primitive Artists (University of Denver Contributions to Ethnography, Vol. I, 1938).

⁴Bernard Bevan, The Chinantec (Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, No. 29, 1938).

⁵Elsie Clews Parsons, Mitla, Town of the Souls (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936).

⁶Robert Redfield, Tepoztlán, a Mexican Village (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

⁷Charles Wisdom, The Chorti Indians of Guatemala (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940).

⁸Oliver La Farge and Douglas Beyers, The Year Bearer's People (Tulane University of Louisiana Middle American Research Series Publication No. 3, 1931).

⁹Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa, Chan Kom, a Maya Village (Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication No. 448, 1934).

¹⁰Alfonso Villa, The Maya of Quintana Roo (To be published as a Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication).

it has largely been ignored in too many reports and that no material is available for adjacent areas.

For a survey of these institutions and an understanding of their mechanisms I shall first present a series of specific instances. Rather than confuse the reader with a welter of detail by discussing these instances as a whole, I shall describe their occurrence in a number of separate communities in order to present a clearer picture. It is perhaps advisable to give a brief general statement concerning the organization of the societies to be mentioned. The culture of these groups is remarkably uniform as to basic structure; any differences are usually slight and are chiefly due to the local environment and the degree of contact with outsiders.

The population of Middle America, as was that of aboriginal times, is a village population. As Redfield says:

Geography and history made this so. The generally arid and mountainous nature of the country and the need for common defense drew people together in close settlements. With this village tradition, developed among agricultural tribes, the tradition of sixteenth-century Spain was in accord. The Indian and the Castilian pueblos were much alike; they blended into the Mexican village of today.¹

The towns are built around a central plaza which contains the church and official buildings. Tepoztlán and Mitla are divided into sub-groups, called barrios, each of which has its own chapel and patron saint, but which is an integral part of the town. Surrounding the town is the public land for grazing and the individual agricultural plots, the milpas. These are privately owned by both men and women and each family has one or more.

The Tarahumara and the Huichol do not follow this general pattern. These groups do not have a town organization but live

¹Redfield; op. cit., p. 18.

in scattered, isolated rancherias. Throughout the region are communities called "pueblos," each centered around a church and comunidad (courthouse and jail building). However, the people locate their farms and houses away from the main centers and prefer to live in family, rather than village, units. They journey to the community center once a week in the case of the Tarahumara, while the Huichol are only at the center from January first to Holy Week. The average distance between farms is from one to five miles. In the winter, the Tarahumara leave the farms and live in the caves of the deep canyons to escape the severe cold. Bennett suggests that they almost might be called agricultural-nomads.

The milpa is the basis of life and corn, beans, and squash are the primary crops. All of these groups have cattle and poultry but they are not of primary importance; they are rarely slaughtered and are kept mainly as a sign of wealth. The villages are self-sufficient in that they produce enough food for themselves and they usually produce a surplus so that they may trade with other communities. As Redfield says, "the villages are places out of which people go to work and into which they go to trade."¹ The village is essentially a market. Trade is carried on by three means, the town market, the travelling merchant, and, more rarely, the village store. Money plays a secondary rôle, there is no banking nor lending at interest.

There is a definite and rigid division of labor between the sexes. The woman's sphere is about the home and her activities are always private, whereas a man's sphere is in the field and forest and is often public. There are few specialists and

¹Ibid.

they usually have to do with esoteric matters. There are no social classes, and ostentation of any sort is frowned upon. The closest thing to this is at Tepoztlán where there are Los Correctos and Los Tontos, those familiar with city ways and those who are not. They are distinguished chiefly by their dress.

Marriage is arranged by the parents with the boy's parents taking the initiative through the medium of a marriage negotiator. The marriage is celebrated by a priest or a maestro-cantore, a native familiar with the ritual of the church. The couple usually lives with the boy's parents until he can afford to build a house of his own. Until such time as a child leaves the parental home, he or she is under the dominance of the father and the result of any work belongs to the father. After a child leaves home, he is free from any obligation to his parents unless they are in need. At all the crisis of life, godparents are essential. The parents arrange for them and thereby establish a relationship of mutual obligation that lasts all through life. It is the duty of the godparents to sponsor a child at these important times, to instruct him in his duties, and to make suitable presents. There appear to be no puberty rites nor secret societies in any of these communities.

Catholicism is found throughout the area. In most instances a priest is not in residence and the services are led by a native, the maestro-cantore. The form of the mass, the crucifix, and the hierarchy of saints are found everywhere. Although there is some blending of the native religion and that of the Catholic church, the two are kept fairly distinct. The native religion, led by the shamans, is predominately concerned with the milpa, curing, and protection from evil spirits. The Catholic religion is concerned with marriage, death, the baptism of chil-

dren, and the general welfare of the people.

The study of present-day Middle American folk cultures has been mainly along two lines. One approach has been to trace the origins of the present cultural elements as to their Spanish or Indian provenience. The chapter in Parson's Mitla¹ entitled "Spanish or Indian" is an example of this point of view. The other approach tends to emphasize the functioning of these cultures as they now are. In accordance with this latter viewpoint, this paper attempts to present an institution which is widely represented in Indian communities in Middle America. The aim is to look at the institutions in the several contemporary societies, to attempt to define a pattern characteristic of the region, to discuss these institutions in their relationship to the rest of the social structure, and to point out the rôle they play in the life of the individual and of the community. It may also be well to briefly consider some of the historical aspects. An important problem, which has been glossed over in the reports, is that of the relationship between the secular and sacred officers. To what extent do their duties overlap? Are there rivalries between them for authority? In many of the communities some of the offices have both civil and religious functions. Which of these duties is the more important and what is the position of those who hold these offices in relation to the high officials of the organizations?

¹Parsons, Mitla: Town of the Souls.

CHAPTER I

SPECIFIC OCCURRENCES

Northern Mexico

There are available data for three groups in Northern Mexico, the Tarahumara, the Huichol, and the Yaqui. The report on the Yaqui is not as complete as might be desired, but is sufficient to indicate that the institutions under discussion are enough like those of the Tarahumara and the Huichol to be discussed with them.¹ The two last mentioned groups are very similar except that the Huichol have enormously elaborated the ceremonies pertaining to the officers and have invested them and their paraphernalia with an aura of mysticism. The official organization among the Huichol serves religious as well as secular ends.

The Tarahumara²

The officers of the civil government enjoy an important position in the community; however, they do not receive deference as individuals, it is the office not the man who is treated with special consideration. The symbol of office is the cane. It is a tapering stick about two feet long and one inch in diameter. There is a hole at the handle end through which is a looped cord. The canes are tipped with cartridge caps and a cross is carved on the butt end. They are made from brazilwood and are called disóra (Ind.), or bastón (Sp.). The officers carry them at all times

¹W. C. Holden, Studies of the Yaqui Indians of Sonora, Mexico (Texas Technological Bulletin, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1936).

²Bennett and Zingg, op. cit.

since without them they have no official status. The name of the officials, gusígame, came from the word gusi meaning "stick," and refers to one who carries a cane.

Tarahumara officials have Spanish titles which vary in the different towns but the offices and the duties of office are basically alike.¹ The gobernador is the most important. He is the leader while the other officers serve as advisors and assistants. His most important duty is the administration of law and legal procedure. He is the spokesman of the people and his advice is highly regarded. Oratorical ability is an important asset since every Sunday morning the officials line up outside the church door while the gobernador makes a speech to the populace, advising, censuring, or commending them. He is the representative of the pueblo in all dealings with outsiders and he and the other officials function in a body at all social and ceremonial gatherings within the community. The pueblo center is his special charge; he must keep the church in repair and encourage the people to attend. He is also responsible for seeing that the church fiestas are held and that they proceed in an orderly fashion. His most important duty is holding court. The gobernador is the true judge at a trial although the other officers are present and act as advisers. He is the one who actually decides the guilt and fixes the punishment. His is the final word from which there is appeal. Settling inheritance disputes and punishing fighting are the most frequent reasons for holding court. Punishment is often a lecture which is delivered by the gobernador.

¹Bennett and Zingg studied four groups of the Tarahumara, the Samachique, the Quirare, the Guadalupe, and the Naranáchic. The following is a synthesis of the four groups which are basically alike. They differ slightly in the names of the officials and the Quirare people lack the mayor and fiscales.

There is no fixed term of office, except that an officer must serve at least one year; however, he may continue as long as he has the support of the people. The usual term is three or four years, after which a man feels he has done his duty. When the governador resigns, it is customary for the other officers to leave office with him and thus an entire new slate must be elected. The resignation of a lower official does not involve an entire new election; he chooses his successor who must be approved by the people. If an officer dies, the office remains vacant for a considerable period of time as a mark of respect. An officer is not eligible for a higher position until he has been out of office for one year.

There is no specific time for elections but they are usually held during Holy Week when the entire population is gathered at the community center. The governador conducts the election; the people call out names which he repeats and judges who has won by the volume of shouting in response to the name. All male members of the group have a vote and if a man is elected he may not refuse office for any reason. The inauguration takes place within the week. The officers line up, with the governador in the center; he spreads his blanket in front of him and the in-coming governador kneels on it. The outgoing officer takes his cane and passes it above, behind, in front, to the left and right of the man's head, and then makes three circles over his head. This ritual is repeated with the cane and the mayor's¹ whip held together, and again with the cane alone. Then there is the ceremony of shaking hands three times and raising the clasped hands above the head after the last handshake. This ceremony is repeated for

¹For discussion of the mayor, see p. 10.

each official.¹

There are three assistants to the gobernador whose duties are practically the same as his. Their chief function is to act as an advisory body. They are the teniente, who is second in command, and the alcade and suplente; in the order named, they act for the chief if he should be absent. Any one of the three has the power of arrest and trial, but severe punishment cannot be fixed without the consent of the gobernador.

The other officials are the capitanes who are the messenger boys; they notify the people of events and current news; deliver the messages of the officers and make arrests. At fiestas, they act as a police force to keep order. They sit with the judges at trials and march with them at ceremonies. This force is made up of the young men who are strong and can perform the arduous duties. The alawási is in charge of the mechanics of the trial, not justice, and he oversees the dopíliki who is the jail-keeper. He is assisted by the capitanes in keeping the jail repaired and in guarding the prisoners. He also administers the punishments such as whipping and placing the culprit in the stocks. The mayor and the fiscales are distinct from the other officers except that they march with them and sit at the trials. The mayor is a match-maker, and gives advice to newly married couples.² He carries a leather whip as well as a cane as symbol of office. The fiscales assist the mayor and are the official punishers of children.

¹Bennett and Zingg, op. cit., p. 206.

²According to Bennett and Zingg the office of mayor seems to be a recent acquisition. There is no native term nor traditional precedent for the marriage intermediary although the Aztecs had a go-between and the Huichol shaman has somewhat the same duties. The authors ascribe this office to the influence of the church but do not mention why the mayor's whip is used in the inaugural ceremony.

There is no definite statement concerning compulsory labor. The nearest thing to it is the tesgüinada which is a cooperative work party, with food and drink provided by the host; this, however, is by invitation and thus is clearly not a community affair.

The Huichol¹

The Huichol have much in common in basic patterns of culture with the Tarahumara, and the official organization is almost identical. There are, however, several important differences. The principal functions of the socio-political group are religious rather than civil or juridical; but they do have juridical officials with Spanish titles whose duties include keeping order in the large communal ceremonies, and punishing offenders of tribal laws. Community activity takes place only during the period between January first and Holy Week; and the civil administration functions only at this time. During this period the entire group gathers at the community center which contains the Casa Real, or town hall. This building houses the Santo Cristo, the patron saint of the group, lithographs of the Virgin and St. Joseph, the altar, and the paraphernalia of the officials.

The officials have canes of office which are exactly the same as those of the Tarahumara, except that they are so sacred that the officer themselves dare not touch them without some protective covering for their hands. During the inaugural ceremonies the canes are offered incense and candles, and the women kneel before them and make the sign of the cross. The other paraphernalia of the officials such as writing materials and stamps, are also invested with sacredness, and are kept in the "sacred box,"

¹Zingg, op. cit.

which is brought out but twice a year.

Instead of nominating the officials by popular voice, the Huichol officers are nominated by the dreams of the kawitéro, who are the most important officials in the society. They are a group of old men who have mainly religious functions, but who derive their secular power from the fact that they dream who the new officials are to be. They meet in October with the incumbent officers who give them a bottle of mescal, a native liquor, to put them in a mood for dreaming. They spend three nights singing the sacred myths and acquiring the proper amount of sacredness. After this period they discuss their respective dreams, and then notify the men they have chosen. Although the positions are not eagerly sought due to the time and expense and effort involved, no refusal is permitted. In November, the kawitéro meet with the men they have chosen and deliver long sermons advising them as to their future duties.

The gobernador is the nominal head of the group; he presides at official meetings and acts as judge. Although he may supersede the commands of the other officers, his word has no more weight in council than theirs. The juez, or alcalde, is second-in-command, and sits at the right of the gobernador. He has no especial juridical functions but acts for the gobernador in his absence. The aguacil is third in rank and executes the sentences of the official council. The capitan is the head of the topiles, who are the messenger boys and police force. Each of the officials has a special topile assigned to him. The fiscales function only at the carnival ceremony.

The tenanches are a group peculiar to the Huichol. They are specially selected women who come to the Casa Real every Sunday to sweep the buildings, offer incense to the saints, and put

flowers and leaves on the altar. During the three months the officials are in residence, they are in constant attendance, cooking and cleaning and taking care of the altar. It is not a popular office. The governador sends topiles to bring them to the pueblo center in the same manner that they bring in prisoners. The tenanches have a special inaugural a few days after that of the officials. This ceremony follows the same form as a trial except that the mood is happy and gay. It consists chiefly of long lectures by each of the officials. The tenanches are petty ceremonial officers in function, but they are classed with the civil officers since they are supported by them instead of the mayor-domos who are religious officials in charge of the care of the Santo and for whom the tenanches chiefly work.

The functions of the officers are mostly juridical. Civil and criminal matters are brought to trial during the three months at the Casa Real. Other than this they also collect a small fee from the people gathered for the ceremonies which is used to buy candles and other paraphernalia for offerings to the saint. They also collect the rent from Mexicans who lease Indian lands for pasturage. The civil officers have sacred duties almost as severe as those of the ecclesiastical officers. During the period leading to Holy Week they fast on Fridays and Wednesdays until noon. Wednesday nights the tenanches and topiles dance until midnight; the officers who sit around the fire, go in the Casa Real at intervals to kneel at the altar and pray. On Fridays the sacred paraphernalia of the saints is displayed, and offerings of incense and flowers are made.

The inaugural ceremony is highly elaborate and replete with sacred ritualism.¹ It stands in marked contrast to the sim-

¹Ibid., pp. 38-51. Zingg gives a very complete and detailed account of the inaugural ceremony.

plicity of the same phenomenon among the Tarahumara. This is but another manifestation of the Huichol flair for ceremonialism and mysticism. The ceremony may be divided into four parts: the preparation by the retiring officials who provide the food and drink for the ceremony and the journey to the town of Bolaños by the incoming officers. This journey, taken for the purpose of securing state authorization papers, has assumed the nature of a pilgrimage. The second part is the beginning of the ceremony when the pilgrims return. A mile from the Casa Real, the men are met by women carrying braziers and incense and by the kawitéros and the mayor-domo of the Santo Cristo. At this point the canes have become so sacred they are untouchable and the new officials must remain here all night to attain the requisite degree of sacredness. The new officials are offered tequila by the mayor-domo, who keeps them drunk all night. This is a sacred condition and much to be desired in view of the ceremony to come. At dawn they move a half-mile closer to the Casa Real and remain there several hours while all those who are present pray to the canes and decorate them with flowers. The chief kawitéro makes a long prayer and they form a procession to march into the Casa Real for the third part of the ceremony. This takes place at night; the shaman sings all night to the gods to help the new officers. At dawn, the pictures of the saints and the altar are brought out and a bull is sacrificed to them. The blood is caught and put in the sacred cavity. The singing then continues until the sun is well up. The final ceremony consists of the display of the contents of the "sacred box," and the changing of the canes from the old to the new officers. The chief kawitéro, who is also the shaman, makes the transfer of the sacred canes. After the ceremony, the canes are put away and ordinary ones are substituted to be used until

the next big ceremony. The officers actively participate in all the religious ceremonies, and on these occasions they use the sacred canes.

Communal service, the teguinada, takes the same form here as it does among the Tarahumara. It is compulsory only in that it is a reciprocal affair, and if a man does not accept his neighbors invitation to work, he will not receive help when he needs it.

Central Mexico

Compulsory communal labor in central Mexico is illustrated in the reports for Mitla, Tepoztlán, and the Chinantec. Although in the same general area, each of these groups belongs to a separate language stock. Tepoztlán lies near Mexico City and is considerably under the influence of the Mexican State. The people at Tepoztlán speak Nahua which is a branch of the far-flung Uto-Aztec stock. Mitla which lies to the south of Tepoztlán is a center for the Zapotecan speaking people. The Chinantec live in a tropical jungle in the northern part of the state of Oaxaca and speak a language distinct from the other two stocks and from which they derive their name.

Mitla¹

The annual town officers are the president, secretary, treasurer, five councilmen, one of whom is superintendent of public works and who is called the sindico, and five substitutes. There are also two cane elders (mayores de vara), two cane judges (jueces de vara), and six topiles, or errand boys. In a separate group there are two alcaldes with their substitutes, and a secretary. In each town section there is a jefe, his lieutenant, a

¹Parsons, Mitla, Town of the Souls.

corporal, and fifteen night police. These three divisions take turns policing the town. The president, councilmen, and both alcaldes carry canes of office which are of dark wood with a ribbon looped through the top. The mayores, judges, and topiles carry canes of light wood looped with a leather thong. These canes are carried at all times and Parsons states that they formerly were kissed by passers-by.

At a town meeting, attended by all townsmen over fifteen years of age, on the first Sunday in December, the president, councilmen, and their substitutes are elected. These officers appoint the secretary, treasurer, police of each section, and the entire alcalde group. No one may refuse office. The appointments are made before January first which is the day of changing the canes or the installation of the new officers. The president and the council decide upon and are in charge of all public works and administer the system of communal service. They also sit as a court in minor matters concerning property or familial disputes, and they may impose fine or imprisonment. The alcaldes have both juridical and religious functions. Their duties include the arrest of criminals in cases of theft and assault, registration of divorces and formal separations, and certification of bills of sale for land, houses and animals. They also supervise the Mayor-domias and nominate and install the mayordomos, and weigh the wax which is passed on to the succeeding mayordomo. With the fiscales, they are in charge during the All Souls celebration and they appoint the apostales and the santos barones for Holy Week. The fiscales take office the Wednesday of Holy Week and the Cura presents them with their "canes" which are crosses. On Good Friday they give a supper to the apostles and they collect money by going from door to door for the six annual masses which are paid for by

the town.

The alcaldes and the president and council have particular functions, but on all public or general occasions, the two groups appear together, the councilmen sitting to the right of the president and the alcaldes to the left. They are expected to attend all public events from the basket-ball games to the dedication of a new building. Together they represent the town and are responsible for maintaining its prestige and well-being. On all public occasions both groups are attended by the topiles and the auxiliaries, or the night police. At these events the musicians are also in attendance. They are quasi-officials and are exempt from taxes, communal labor, or office-holding. There is no pay for any service to the town but the officials as well as the musicians pay no taxes. Every other male over fifteen years of age pays twenty-five centavos every month.

Every man except the musicians and sacristans is expected to serve in the series of town offices. In the ideal situation a boy starts at fifteen years of age when he is appointed a deputy to a mayordomo or is appointed a topilillo of the church. A few years later he becomes a topil. When he is about thirty-five years old, he becomes a mayor, either a mayor de cocina, a mayor de ganado, or a mayor de vara. All of these mayores are required to hold a mayordomia the year following their term of office. At about forty years a man is elected as a substitute to the alcaldes and then as an alcalde but in the meantime he must have held his second mayordomia. It is not necessary to serve as fiscal or president who originally was one of the councilmen.

A days service on public works, called tequio, is exacted of every man except the incumbent officers and the musicians. The topiles go from house to house to recruit labor; they make

the request three times and it may be refused twice. No one is paid except the masons who work on the public buildings. The work is done at the injunction of the president and council and the sindico superintends it. The attendance is carefully checked so that no one may evade this duty. The town band is usually present and performs to inspire the workers to greater efforts.

Tepoztlán¹

The formal government of Mexico has a considerable influence on Tepoztlán. The local political unit, the municipalidad, whose seat is at Tepoztlán includes the seven surrounding hamlets as well. It consists of a municipal council with one chief officer, the president, and eight assistants, the ayudantes, a secretary, and a judge. Canes of office are not reported for Tepoztlán and there seems to be no topiles, nor any organization corresponding to them. This town formerly had a cacique who served for life and had a considerable amount of power. The government is elected and installed annually on January first in semi-secrecy by a political clique controlled from Cuernavaca. The ceremony passes almost unnoticed by the general population.

This government does little beyond the administration of routine matters and passes very little legislation. According to Redfield it is of little importance to the villagers since in actuality it is appointed from Cuernavaca.² Its chief duty is to maintain the prestige of the town, preside at public meetings and receive visitors. The people who starts improvements and generally manage affairs are a small group of townsmen who are richer, better educated, and more accustomed to city ways. These people, Los Correctos, look down on politics. Los Tontos, the "ignorant,"

¹Redfield, op. cit.

²Ibid., p. 66.

is the group from which the officials are usually selected.

Co-operative labor is called cuatequitl and consists of the repair and maintenance of public buildings, co-operative harvesting, and the support of the santo. This work is in charge of a special officer, the ayuntamiento. Other repairs and maintenances are done by the men of the barrio especially concerned. The former work is regarded as a moral obligation and a request to participate is not lightly denied. The request is almost a formula and has assumed a ritualistic character.

The Chinantec¹

The Chinantec live in isolated villages and keep much to themselves and thus are relatively free from outside contacts. The head of each small village is the presidente municipal who is responsible to the presidente municipal of the largest village in the immediate neighborhood. However, each village has a considerable degree of autonomy due to its isolation. The village president is elected annually by the local contribuyentes, or voters, and during the term of office, his authority is unquestioned; all obey his orders and accord him becoming respect. This office seems to go in rotation to each of the responsible men of the village.

The secretario municipal is a permanent official and the only one who receives pay. The pay is either money collected from the village, or he is supplied with food and lodging and given a tract of land. He is usually a Zapotec since the Zapotecs are more familiar with the outside world and usually can read and write. His duties are ostensibly to keep all records of births, marriages and deaths and to transact business with foreigners and

¹Bevan, op. cit.

other villages. Actually he is an adviser to the president and really governs the village.

There is an alcalde who is a minor judge chosen from the elders of the village. He settles disputes and may impose fines; most of the civil cases are tried by the president. There is a police force made up of young men who make nightly rounds in bands of three or four. They ring curfew, prevent quarrels and fires, and question strangers. The topiles are the messengers and are at the call of the president at all times. They are responsible for the cleanliness and upkeep of the village, run errands, and care for visitors. After the president and alcalde have served their term, both automatically become ancianos and members of the council of elders. This council cannot override the wishes of the president but no important decision is made without consulting them.

Communal labor is an integral part of the life. It is known by its old name of tequio. Tequios take place every Sunday morning and if there is much to be done the villagers also meet on Saturday. They repair the church and bridges, and the plaza must be landscaped and kept neat. The trails are repaired every three years and since the advent of schools, they must be built. Attendance is strictly enforced by the topiles and those who do attend, unless prevented by illness, are fined or imprisoned. The band also attends and plays to amuse the workers. The ancianos also attend but do not work. Drink flows freely and the tequio takes on a festive air. In this area, it almost serves the purpose of a weekly fiesta.

Guatemala

For Guatemala, there is data available for three groups: the Chorti, and the towns of Panajachel and Jacaltenango. The ma-

terial for Jacaltenango is meagre and merely states that there are two alcaldes elected annually, who function as chief and judge, and that there is a secretary appointed by the state who actually governs the community. They also have the errand-boys who are called mayores.¹

The Chorti²

The Chorti political organization is overlaid by the system of the republic. The country is divided into departments each with a capital city; these departments are further divided into municipios each with a governing pueblo. There are two governing bodies--the civil, the juzgado, and the military, the commandancia. The head of the juzgado is the alcalde mayor, who is elected for one year by the voting population of the municipio, nearly all of whom are ladinos, that is, hispanicized individuals. He has two assistants, the alcalde segundo, who is also elected, and has no duties except to fill in for the first alcalde in case of his absence, and the tercer alcalde, or el regidor. The latter is appointed by the alcalde mayor and is always an Indian. He acts as an interpreter, runs errands, and conveys information and orders to the Indians in the aldeas, or Indian villages. The usual term of office is one year, but if a man proves himself particularly able, he may serve for a longer time. None of these officers receive pay; the regidor has his food furnished.

The juzgado collects fees from families who borrow the patron saint for aldea fiestas, and from Indians who sell goods in the plaza. It also collects fines for drunkenness and disorderly conduct, and failure to report for community labor. It tries all civil cases from petty quarreling to serious affairs,

¹La Farge and Beyers, op. cit.

²Wisdom, op. cit.

and may impose fines and imprisonment. The most important duty, however, is keeping the roads and public buildings in repair. Indians are requisitioned from the aldeas for this work and the soldiers direct it.

The commandancia is directed by the commandante, who is appointed and paid by the republic and who holds his position as long as he is satisfactory. In time of war, it is a military post, and at all times, it is the equivalent of a police department. The soldiers who act as civil police are Indians, and there are about ten of them. They receive no pay. The main duty of the commandancia is enforcing the orders of the juzgado. The police make arrests, keep order, maintain the jail, guard the prisoners and carry official messages.

Each aldea has its local administration modeled after that of the municipio. The auxiliar is the chief and is appointed by the municipio alcalde. He is assisted by a civil commissioner who is also appointed. They work together collecting taxes and debts, and selecting men to do the public work at the pueblo. The military commissioner is the commandancia representative in the aldea, appointed by the commandante, and he acts as a police officer. These three officers work together on everything and are not greatly differentiated. Each has assistants; the auxiliar has three, the civil commissioner has six, and the military commissioner has one. Every Saturday, one assistant from each goes to the pueblo to receive orders for the coming week. Each of the three aldea officers carries a small black cane which is the symbol of their office and authority. They are always carried when in the pueblo and when carrying on official business in the aldea. The canes are provided by the juzgado.

Every adult Indian male, except the very old, must do ten

days unpaid work on the roads of the municipio every year. In lieu of this work, a man may pay the alcalde five pesos for each of the ten days, and this sum is given to the man who takes his place. The men may also be called by the alcalde at time of crisis to repair bridges, washouts, damage to the church or other public buildings. On these occasions food is furnished. Also, every able-bodied Indian male must serve at the commandancia as a soldier for two weeks of every year. There is no pay for this and those who actually serve are the young men of large families who are not needed in the milpa. A few serve continuously and are paid about seven pesos a day. In the aldea, the families agree on the work to be done, such as opening trails and clearing the plaza. They apportion the work among themselves, and it is done in their spare time, but it must be done. If any family should not do its share, it can be reported to the auxiliar who assigns it extra work as punishment.

Panajachel¹

The political organization at Panajachel is similar to that of the Chorti in that both are overlaid by the system of the republic of Guatemala. However, at Panajachel, the officials are not elected by the voting populace but by the principales, the council of ex-officers, and the incumbent officers. The list of the officials and their duties is identical, with but one exception, to that of the Chorti. The head of the community is the alcalde who has two assistants, a secretary and the alcalde segundo. The chief duty of these officers is to represent the town, settle minor disputes, and to see that every townsman fulfills his obligation to the State by working on the roads. The young

¹This account is based on material gathered from the personal files of Mr. Sol Tax.

men who carry messages for the council and alcalde are called aguaciles.

It is difficult to separate the civil and the religious since the duties of the secular and sacred officials considerably overlap. There tends to be an alternation between secular and sacred offices; it is considered best if a man first serve in the civil administration and then in the religious, and so on until he has served in each of the offices in both organizations. The alcalde is also one of the highest religious officials and is in nominal charge of the Santo and is an authority on the conduct of the ceremonies. The principales are the highest authorities on both civil and religious matters and devote an equal amount of time to both.

Work for the community such as repairing buildings, clearing irrigation ditches and the like is done informally by the Indians and has nothing to do with the town hall. They do the necessary work in their own neighborhood at their own instigation. Every able-bodied man must work without pay on the State roads for two weeks out of the year or pay the federal government the equivalent of two dollars. It is this duty which is the chief responsibility of the civil administration since it is held responsible by the government for this work.

Yucatan

The people of Chan Kom¹ in north central Yucatan have a formal government which is an adjustment between their traditional customs and the provisions of recent Mexican law. Once a year, all adult males meet to elect a comisario, or village leader, who

¹The description that follows is paraphrased from Redfield and Villa, op. cit.

takes office on the first of January. The officers at this informal meeting are nominated by public acclamation; the incumbent comisario presiding. At this same meeting, a suplente is also elected to assist the chief and to take his place if he should not be present. The comisario's acts are largely shaped by his personal ideas, but are limited by public opinion. In matters of grave importance he calls a meeting of all former comisarios to act as an advisory body. He is the arbiter of disputes, decrees reforms, and organizes the people to accomplish them. He is the official representative of the village in all affairs involving outsiders, and within the village he is a paternalistic judge. He settles differences such as wife beating, petty theft, and gossiping. He is also responsible for enforcing communal labor.

The comisario and the suplente list all the adult men, whom they group into units of four. The oldest and most experienced man in one of the units is the sargento, who is held responsible for and directs the other three men. These units serve in rotation as policía. Their duties are much the same as those of the messenger boys of the other communities. The sargentos make up the administrative council of the village which is headed by the comisario.

Communal labor in Chan Kom is of great importance. The duties are of two sorts; regular public service in rotation, which is called guardia, and occasional special labor in which all adult males simultaneously participate; this is called fagina. Guardia provides the personal for village administration. It begins when a boy leaves school and continues until he is about forty-five years old, or until he has served as comisario. At the beginning of each year everyone subject to guardia is listed and assigned one week of duty as a member of a body of four men who are on con-

stant duty at the cuartel for this one week. These four are the guardia, and each is a policia. The sargento of the group receives official communications and informs the comisario of matters of interest. The guardia performs any public service at the order of the comisario or suplente.

Fagina is the special work; it provides for expansion. When a duty has been decided upon by the council, all the men meet at the cuartel, where roll has been called so that absentees may be noted, and from here they go in a body to the place of work. The comisario is the leader, and he and the suplente spend their time in exhorting the men to greater effort and in generally overseeing the work. All special public improvements are accomplished by means of fagina: as building public buildings, laying out streets and public roads. Fagina is a collective spurt, a work-drive. It accomplishes the extra tasks, the deviant from ordinary, everyday labor.

There are two institutions in every village which help to integrate the pueblo with the State and Nation; they are the Local Agrarian Committee and the Liga. The former is a tax collecting body and through it money is obtained for public improvements. It enforces the national law that every worker shall pay 8 per cent of the value of his crop to the committee which expends this money for the benefit of the pueblo in the form of tools and materials for fagina. A president, secretary and treasurer are elected annually. The Liga is the national political organization of all adult men. It is not of particular value or interest to the community since its only real value is that it symbolizes the community's status as a pueblo and gives it a claim on the national authorities. Five officers are elected each year; everyone tries to evade this duty since the officers must attend meetings of

Liga Central in Merida. Ten centavos a month are required as dues. The Liga Central gives a minor amount of tools to the pueblo each year.

Quintana Roo¹

The political organization of the Maya of east central Quintana Roo bears some similarities to the other groups in the Yucatan peninsula, but this culture has undergone changes and adjustments which make it unique. The military theocracy which governs it is peculiar to that region. The whole population is divided into five military bodies called Companies. Every married man belongs to one of them and is in active service. With one exception, each Company is led by three officers of graduated rank. The officers of all the Companies recognize as their superior the man occupying the highest military rank in the hierarchy, and who is thus the high chief of the group. The Companies have no special names, but are known by those of the chief of highest rank, as the "Company of the Captain Citik." The place of residence is independent of the Company to which the chief belongs; officers and members of the different Companies may be found in one settlement. There is a tendency, however, to assign to each Company a corresponding village. All the villages have at least one officer to represent them; each chief deals with his own people within the village. The authority of the chiefs is controlled and limited by public opinion. The only services which they can exact without fear of criticism are those in the public interest.

Decisions of the government are taken in the council of chiefs over which the Nohoch-Tata, or high priest, nearly always presides. Each Company is, to a certain extent, autonomous, and

¹Villa, op. cit.

the captain metes out duties and punishments within his own group. Serious matters, and those concerning the entire group, are brought to the high chief, and ultimately to the Nohoch-Tata, who pronounces sentence after he and the chiefs of all the Companies have considered the case together. For exceptional cases, an assembly of all adult males is called and all have a voice and vote. The high chief is the only man with power to convoke assemblies which must be held in the shrine village.

The Nohoch-Tata is the person occupying the highest post in the organization of the church. His principal function is to see that the religious services centering around the patron cross of the group are properly performed. However, he also has political functions in that he advises the chiefs in administrative problems, and with them, passes judgement on delinquents, and also presides over public assemblies. He thus has extraordinary prestige, a person set apart, and is supported by the community. He has two secretaries who have primarily religious functions, but who are also important in the civil administration since they are the only ones who can read and write. Thus, their presence is essential at meetings of the officers and they often assume a principal rôle.

Compulsory co-operative work is of two types, fagina and guardia. Guardia is a political-religious institution; it maintains the religious services in the chapel of La Santísima, the patron cross, and protects it from profanation. Each Company must take its turn in the town hall for a two-week period, during which the members are charged with guarding the sacred precinct. They go on duty in two-hour shifts, standing sentry at the door and challenging anyone who wishes to enter. They also give candles and offerings to those who have permission to enter the altar.

As a new sentry comes on duty he must give oath of his faithful performance of duty to the chief of the Company. The two maestros, or priests, who are attached to the Company have charge of the temple and all religious services during the period the Company is on duty. These periods of service are obligatory for all married men, and anyone refusing this duty would be excluded from the community.

Another form of co-operative labor is that which occurs when, by the initiative of the chiefs, the men of the group take part in public works, as clearing paths, building temples, and so forth. This is called fagina and is irrespective of Companies, although the men tend to work with those of their own Company. Recently fagina has been limited to only the most urgent duties and requires no great time nor effort.

Pueblo Groups of the Southwest

It may be valuable to look at an adjacent area which is closely allied to Middle America and has come under much the same foreign and native influences. This area is the Southwest of the United States. The pueblo groups of this area have much in common with the societies of Middle America, and the two institutions under discussion are found here.

In all the pueblo groups, except the Hopi among whom these institutions are not found, the secular government takes the form of a hierarchy of officials. The most respected of which are the members of the council who are former officers and who have both sacred and secular duties. The administration of the pueblo of San Juan bears the closest similarity to that organization in Middle America.¹ There is a governor and three assistants, his right

¹Elsie Clews Parsons, "The Social Organization of the Tewa

and left hand, who are called tenienti, and the awasi, who acts in the capacity of a sheriff. There are also those half-secular, half-ceremonial officers known as "War Captains," and the church officials, the pika. These are all annually elected at a public meeting. All the officers have canes as insignia of office without which they would not be acknowledged. For the installation, all the men of the community go into the "Summer Chief's" house where the canes are presented. The incoming officials kneel before the "Summer Chief" who takes the canes in his hand and makes a long prayer. Then the "Winter Chief" puts his hand on the cane and together they hand it to the new officer who offers it the sacred meal.

The duties of the governor are to represent the pueblo in its relations with outsiders, to preside at trials and mete out punishments, to oversee communal labor, and to make admonitory speeches. The "War Captains" serve as executive messengers but also have ritual functions of prayer and offerings and of guarding against witchcraft and of maintaining customs. The pika, who correspond to the fiscales of Middle America, carry the dead to the graveyard and advise young people on correct behavior. They are also responsible for church attendance and co-operative labor participation. The pika and "War Captains" are classed with the secular officers because they are elected in the same way, and eligibility and length of office holding are exactly like that of the other officials.

Among the Cochiti, there is also a governor, a lieutenant governor, a fiscale (pika), a lieutenant fiscale, and a group of six helpers, the little fiscales.¹ They all assist the governor,

of New Mexico," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, 1929, No. 36, pp. 102-3.

¹E. S. Goldfrank, "Social and Ceremonial Organization of

see that his commands are obeyed, and oversee communal work. The "War Captain" has a lieutenant and six helpers called goatcini. This group of officials is closely allied with the cacique, or religious head of the town; they carry out his orders and arrange dances and serve as guards during retreats and cures. However, they are elected in the same manner as the purely secular officials and are classed with them.

The nomination of officers is in the hands of the religious societies, especially the curing societies, and no secular officer may belong to them. The relations of the administration to the clans is of the slenderest; however, they are usually selected so that every clan has at least one representative in the governing body of the pueblo.

The pueblo groups also have a system of compulsory cooperative labor. These work parties are ordered by the town officials and all men and women must attend or be liable to punishment. The men do the work and the women provide the food. The work usually consists of labor on the irrigation ditches, plastering, repairing the church, and sweeping the pueblo.

It is obvious that these institutions are practically identical to those of Middle America in both form and function. The only local peculiarities being in the terms used for the several offices, and the nominations being in the hands of the curing societies.

DISTRIBUTION CHART

Traits	Pueblo		Terra- tumera		Yagui		Hulohol		Tepoz- lan		Chiman- teco		Mitla		Taca- tenango		Guatemala		Ghorli		Ghan Koh		Hoo Quintana	
	Southwest	Northern Mexico	Northern Mexico	Yagui	Hulohol	Tepoz- lan	Chiman- teco	Mitla	Taca- tenango	Guatemala	Ghorli	Ghan Koh	Hoo Quintana											
Canes as Symbol of Office	x		x	x	x		?	x	?	x	Yucatan	x												
Council of Ex- Officers	x		?	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x												
President	x	Gov.	x	x Gov.	x		x	x	x	x	x	x												
Secretary - 2d Assist- ant	x	Teni- enti	x	x 2d Gov.	x		x	x	x	x	x	x												
Alcalde - 3d Assist- ant		x	x	x 3d and 4th Gov.			x	x	x	x	x	x												
Jail-Keeper and Punisher	x	Awasi	x	x 5th Gov.	x		x	x	?	x	x	x												
Topiles, Errand Boys		x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x												
Special Police	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x												
Match-Maker			x				x	x																
Fiscales		Pika	x				x	x																
Musicians																								
Compulsory Labor	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x												

Key: x=Present; * =Paid; ? =Not mentioned in report; ≠ =Dual organization.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL STRUCTURE OF THE INSTITUTIONS

Elements Common to All Groups

There are certain elements of these institutions which are common to all the societies studied. Each community has certain basic civil officers who are the chief, an assistant and an advisory council. The council consists of men who have served in some official capacity and are now retired from active service. The higher officials in all instances but two are elected by the voting population of the group at a public meeting. The two exceptions are the Huichol and at Panajachel where they are selected by the respective councils; however in both instances the opinion of the group is taken into consideration. If there is too much feeling against a candidate, the council will select another to replace him. All the officials are elected to serve for one year and they must complete that term of service. Among the Huichol, Tarahumara and Chortí, they must also serve for one year but if they prove to be particularly able, they may serve for a longer period of time. An important unit in the civil administration is the group of young men who are charged with delivering the messages of the chief, maintaining order, guarding prisoners, and carrying out the orders of the administrative body. This group is reported from all the communities except Tepoztlán which does not seem to have any such organization.

The duties of the government are much the same in all the societies. The chief is the official representative of the town

and is responsible for its civic well-being. He functions in a juridical capacity, and is responsible for maintaining law and order. He is the instigator of communal labor and oversees this work. The other officials are there to advise him and carry out his orders.

In each community, the offices are ranked, the lowest being the messenger boys, and the greatest deference being paid to the chief and the council. In the majority of instances, there is no prestige value to the lower offices, whose duties are of a mechanical nature. A man is not eligible for the council if he has not served as one of the more important officials. The ideal situation is for a man to begin his service in his youth and serve in each succeeding office as he matures and takes on the full responsibilities of a member of the society. The high point of his career is when he has successfully completed his term as chief, and takes his place among the most highly respected citizens of the community. Since, in the larger groups, it is not possible for all men to attain the governorship, the vice-governor is also eligible for membership in the council.

All the societies have some form of labor for the benefit of the community which is compulsory. This takes the form of a work party made up of all the able-bodied men of the village for the purpose of building or repairing public buildings and roads, or any project which will be of benefit to the entire population. There is no remuneration for this service, and it is required of everyone except the members of the council who are exempt from the actual work; however, they must be present to offer encouragement and generally oversee the project. There is no evasion of this duty, and any attempt to evade it is punishable by fine or imprisonment, and in some cases, by the forfeiture of citizenship. It

is an important duty of the civil government to allocate and supervise this work, and to see that everyone does his share.

In all the groups previously mentioned, there is an obligatory aspect to office-holding and communal labor that is a basic principle of both institutions. It is not a question of whether a man is ambitious and desires office, or whether he is especially interested in improving his community; it is every man's duty to take part in these organizations. To be respected and to live a full life in the society, he must do his share. At Tepoztlán, communal labor is regarded as a moral obligation, and the request for one's presence is a formal statement which has assumed a ritualistic character. It is a duty that cannot be escaped at Chan Kom; a man either conforms to the pattern or is excluded from the community; it is an essential part of citizenship. If a man moves away from Chan Kom, he may not leave until he has completed his work, and if he should attempt to evade it, no other village will accept him until he has fulfilled this obligation.

Once a man has been elected to an office, he must accept it and complete his term no matter how onerous the duty may be. He may not resign until he has completed the minimum term. A few years ago at Mitla, several of the higher officers attempted to resign, and they were jailed by the police at the order of the people. After a night in jail, they resumed office, and some of them served extra terms. At Mitla, the system is undergoing a change. The young men are rebelling against the great amount of time and money expended, and claim that there should be a well-paid permanent secretary in actual control, while the rest of the officers serve chiefly as figure heads. There is a struggle going on since the older men are violently opposed to any change and the younger men complain that they have no voice in such matters

and are paying substitutes to serve for them in the system.¹

Mechanics of the Institution

The selection of candidates and the ceremony of election follows a definite pattern throughout the area. Every man is a potential officer, and selection depends chiefly on reputation; a man must be well-liked, capable and serious-minded. A previous criminal record, or a reputation for fighting or arguing practically eliminates a man's chances for official position. Nomination and election occur at one meeting of all the men of the town. This meeting is informal, and is presided over by the governor. The names of nominees are called out by the voters, and the name receiving the greatest acclaim is the one elected to office. Two exceptions to the general pattern are the Huichol and Tepoztlán: the Huichol officers are nominated by the dreams of the kawitéro, who make up the council, and who are also religious officials. Theoretically, there is no disputing their judgement, but if popular opinion is against their choice, they dream again and select a man more pleasing to the public.² At Tepoztlán, the town goes through the formality of an election but the officials are actually appointed by the Mexican authorities at Cuernavaca. This control by outsiders is due to the great power of the State political machine which endeavors to influence the smaller towns.³

The installation of officers takes place on or about the first of January and follows a definite pattern. In all cases there is a ceremony of some type which may be elaborate as with the Huichol or may be reduced to the minimum as among the Chinantec. The out-going officials are responsible for this ceremony

¹Parsons, Mitla, Town of the Souls, p. 177.

²Zingg, op. cit., p. 16.

³Redfield, op. cit., p. 66.

and in groups where there is a religious ceremony, they pay for the mass and the feast which follows. In some of the communities, such as Mitla and the Huichol, the religious service of the Catholic church is intimately associated with the inaugural and is a necessary part of the ceremony. Wherever canes are carried as the insignia of office, the essential part of the installation proceedings is the transfer of them from the old to the new officers. The transfer is usually made by the out-going chief at a public meeting. This is always a formal and serious affair since it is the climax of the inaugural in that this proceeding symbolizes the passing of governmental authority to the new administration. From the time the new officers receive the canes, they are charged with the responsibility for the secular affairs of the community.

The duties of the chief, as have already been mentioned, are fairly uniform throughout the area and the other officials serve mainly as his advisors. This latter is especially true of the council; nowhere has the council any real authority except that the opinion of the members is highly respected. In no instance has the council power to veto a ruling of the chief nor may it promulgate any laws; however, the members are consulted on all important matters and their judgement bears considerable weight.

Variations and Omissions

As I have said, the above data contain the basic elements of these two institutions. It is to be expected, studying groups extending over such a wide area, that we find many variations on this basic pattern. An important factor in this is the degree of influence the national government exerts on the society. In no

group has the system of the State entirely superseded that of the natives. By this I mean the recent provisions of the federal government in so far as they pertain to the civil administration of towns. Specifically I am referring to the laws regarding village government which went into effect after the revolution of 1910-12 in Mexico and the more recent changes in Guatemala. This is an important distinction since it is altogether probable that the institutions under discussion are not native but have been imposed by the respective governments for almost four centuries. Even where the influence is the strongest, it is an integration of the two systems, a fairly even balance between them, rather than a complete subjugation of one or the other. Where State control is strong there appears to be a lessening of the authority of the local administration, and it tends to become an organization for carrying on a tradition and form, rather than an active body. This is true at Tepoztlán,¹ while at Chan Kom, the national system is so complicated that the populace conforms to it outwardly, but ascribes to the officials the powers and duties of their own system.² In Guatemala a dual organization prevails throughout the republic. This system separates the civil and the military organizations although they work in close harmony and are mutually dependent. This system is not dissimilar to the governments of the other societies in spite of the duality. The head of the civil department, the juzgado, has the same functions as the chiefs of the other communities and the military department corresponds to the topiles. The system of selecting the officials also corresponds to the other groups. The only actual difference is that the military leader of a village is not directly respon-

¹Redfield, op. cit., p. 66.

²Redfield and Villa, op. cit.

sible to the village chief but reports to his superior in the next larger village. This however, is a minor distinction since the civil and military tend to function as a unit.

It also appears that the more urban the community the less stringent is the enforcing of the traditional mode of life. With the greater contact with outsiders seems to come a general weakening of authority; the idea of moral obligation is weakened although it still prevails, and less time is spent working for the community. Then, too, these towns tend to have a larger population, and all men do not have the opportunity to hold office, and this results in a lack of the intense interest in the government of the town, and a greater interest in individual affairs. Parsons shows in her study of Mitla that with the larger population, more traveling on the part of the townsmen and the subsequent contact with outsiders a more commercial spirit tends to prevail. She believes that due to this influence, the traditional mode of life is weakening and that this is reflected in the attitude taken by the younger men toward holding office and participating in community activity. These duties have become onerous and there is much complaining against them but the young men have not as yet reached the point where they would do away with them entirely.¹ This appears to be true also of Tepoztlán where the municipal government is expressive rather than active, compulsory communal service has been cut to the minimum, and there is no organization of official messenger boys. Public improvements are not begun by the town as a unit but by wealthy, influential citizens, those most familiar with city ways.²

¹Parsons, Mitla, Town of the Souls, pp. 20, 177 ff.

²Redfield, op. cit., pp. 66, 146.

Also widely varied are the titles and the number of officials. The titles of the officials are of Spanish origin, and a similar set of terms is used by all the communities. However, the terms are not consistently used. Thus, at Mitla, the chief of the town is the presidente, at Panajachel, he is the alcalde, and among the Yaqui, he is the gobernador. Putting it another way, alcalde designates a judge at Tepoztlán, while at Mitla, this same term is applied to a petty official who oversees the mayor-domos. This is true of the other offices as well. Mitla has the greatest number of officials with eleven, while Chan Kom has the fewest with six. However, it must not be inferred that a decrease in the number of officials means a decrease in the number of duties, since at Chan Kom, for instance, each official has a greater range of responsibilities than at Mitla. Among the Tarahumara and at Mitla, the marriage negotiator might be considered a part of the hierarchy of officials in that he marches with the others and sits with them at trials and meetings. Among the Tarahumara he carries a cane as a symbol of his office. However, as in the other groups where he has no such official status, the go-between has no real authority except in his own sphere of activity. Whenever musicians are found, they have a quasi-official position in that they march with the officers and are exempt from communal labor and do not receive pay for performing on official occasions. However, they are primarily associated with religious activities.

The authority of the officials varies considerably in the different groups. Among the Huichol, the officers have almost absolute power since they govern by the authority of the sacred canes. It is the sacredness of the canes which commands obedience rather than the officers. In most of the other societies, it is the personal characteristics of the man which are important. If

a man is well-liked, he has considerable power. Nowhere does the office itself have great power and everywhere the authority of the officials depends upon public opinion. Even at Quintana Roo which is governed by a military theocracy, a corporal may be more influential, if he enjoys greater popularity, than a lieutenant.¹

Canes as insignia of office are found in nearly all the groups, and are of a fairly uniform construction. Everywhere they command great respect and they are always carried when on official business, since without them the officers have no authority. Due to the great importance attached to the canes, it is surprising that they are not found at Tepoztlán nor Chan Kom, nor does Bevan mention them in his report on the Chinantec.

There is no payment for either office-holding nor communal labor in most instances. A major exception to this is in British Honduras, where the governor receives a salary of four dollars a month, and the police are paid twenty-five cents for every arrest that leads to a conviction.² However, this may be due to a difference in state government. Thompson does not say whether it is a provision of the colonial government or whether it is an aspect of the native organization. At Mitla, Jacaltenango, and among the Chinantec, the second-in-command, or secretary, receives a small remuneration. At Jacaltenango, he is appointed and paid by the State and is a permanent official. Among the Chinantec, he usually is a Zapotecan hired because of his familiarity with Spanish and the outside world. Thus, he is an employee of the community. In the other group, he is on constant duty, and, as a result, is

¹Villa, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

²J. Eric Thompson, *Ethnology of the Mayas of Southern and Central British Honduras* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1930), p. 78.

unable to support himself. Musicians are paid when they perform for private fiestas, but rarely when acting in their official capacity; however, they are usually provided with food and for a particularly long ceremonial, they may be presented with gifts. The only instance of payment for communal labor is among the Chorti where a man may pay someone to substitute for him. This, however, is not actually payment for a duty since it is not paid by the community which exacts service from all men; a man must complete his service without pay and then may do someone else's work and be paid for it by that person.

The Maya of Quintana Roo are unique in that they are governed by a military theocracy. This militarism is due to the constant state of war with the Mexican government which ended in 1915, and was revived when the chicle industry seemed to threaten the society. In order to keep their lands to themselves and maintain their integrity, the Indians organized these military Companies which are still in active force, both as a protective agency and as an administrative body.

Although accepting an office or participating in communal labor is obligatory in the majority of instances, at Panajachel there is a pattern of ceremonially refusing office. When a person is nominated for one of the higher positions, it is customary for him to make excuses and claim that he is not competent for the undertaking. There is the proper amount of argument in which his objections are refuted and he accepts the office. The only case of actual refusal is when a man feels he is being selected out of turn and shows that someone else is being neglected. At Panajachel office-holding entails the expenditure of a large sum of money and an office may be refused if a man convinces the officials that he has insufficient means, and promises to take it

at some future date.¹

Sacred Aspects

Having discussed the general variations, we may now consider a variation of a different order. These institutions have chiefly secular functions, and by this criterion, may be differentiated from the organizations which have sacred functions. In three instances, however, the organizations are closely connected with the religious bodies. The most notable example of this is the close affinity between secular and sacred institutions among the Huichol. In this group, religious symbolism is stressed, and the primary functions of the community groups are religious; they find their greatest expression in the foreign religion introduced by the Catholic missionaries. The ritual of the Catholic Church is intimately connected with the political organization, and, as Zingg says: ". . . it is clear that the chief function of the Catholic religion is to bolster up and reinforce the political system of ecclesiastico-civil officers which governs the community."² Mystical participation is the norm of this culture, and this is evinced in the elaborated and highly symbolic ceremonies concerning the civil officers. Among the Huichol, the union of the church and state is complete. The community never gathers save during the Christian cycle of ceremonies and for that purpose. The cycle begins January first, and continues through Holy Week. During this time the political organization functions and holds the ceremony of installation; this, however, is only incidental to the religious cycle of ceremonies. That it is impossible to separate the civil from the religious is seen in the se-

¹From conversation with Mr. Sol Tax.

²Zingg, *op. cit.*, p. xxx.

lection and inauguration of officers. The highest religious officials, the kawitéro, are responsible for choosing the candidates and they and the mayordomo of the Santo Cristo are the most important figures of the inaugural ceremony. The altar and representations of the Christ and the Virgin are here necessary equipment. The canes of office are especially sacred; they are kept in the "sacred box" along with the other paraphernalia of the Santo Cristo, and are offered incense and receive the prayers of the people. In the first part of the inaugural ceremony the officers kneel before them, cross themselves, and make offerings of incense, candles and flowers, and repeat in Spanish: "Por la senal de la Santa Cruz en el nombre del Padre, el Hijo, y el Espiritu Santo" (by the sign of the holy cross, in the name of the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost).¹ The officials spend a night and morning acquiring a sufficient amount of sacredness to enable them to touch the canes without danger. The functions of the civil officials are mainly secular, although they do have certain minor religious duties. The chief connection with the religion is seen in the ceremonies and in the fact that the primary function of the Catholic religion is to enhance and maintain the authority and prestige of these officials. The paraphernalia of the officers are sacred and ritually treated; and in this way they are endowed with authority. The community is kept in order by this sacred power as much as by the fear of punishment.

In Quintana Roo, the connection with the religious organization is seen in the political functions of religious officers rather than in the ritual duties of the administration. The Nohoch-Tata, the highest religious official, and the two secretaries,

¹Ibid., p. 43.

who act as the mouthpiece of God, are important and influential members of the council. All matters of grave import are brought to the attention of the Nohoch-Tata, and his advice is greatly respected. Guardia, the compulsory co-operative work, is a political-religious institution, since it maintains the religious services in the Chapel, and protects it from profanation. The raison d'être of the military companies is the protection of the cult of the talking cross and their administrative function is merely an adjunct to this primary function.

At Panajachel, it is also difficult to separate the civil from religious elements. The civil officers take an important part in the religious ceremonies. They are the honored guests at such ceremonies where the alcalde acts as the representative of the town and accepts the offerings and makes a speech of gratitude. The alcalde is also one of the highest religious officials; he gives advice on how to conduct ceremonies, and is responsible for the patron saint of the town. The principales as members of the council have the final authority on both civil and religious affairs. There tends to be an alternation between secular and sacred offices. The proper procedure is for a man to serve in a secular office, as that of aguacil, and then to take a sacred office such as that of mayor-domo.

CHAPTER III

RÔLE IN THE COMMUNITY AND THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Communal labor and office-holding are two of the most important institutions for promoting social solidarity in Middle America. A notable example of their efficacy in performing this function is shown among the Tarahumara and Huichol. The culture of these two groups follows a basic pattern of isolation; individual families live on isolated rancherias with little or no contact with the other members of the society. The community meets as a group only for religious or civil functions. According to Zingg, both the Tarahumara and Huichol have the "common tradition of the hispanic communal organization of ecclesiastico-civil officers which provides a solidarity for all of the isolated rancherias within walking distance of a Catholic church or a communal building."¹ Among the Tarahumara, the group functions every Sunday, and this is an important factor in drawing the community together and giving it a feeling of unity. Another important factor in this is the rôle played by the messenger boys. They help to unify the group, in that part of their duty is to see that every isolated family is aware of all important events and current news concerning the group.

In the other societies which have a town organization, these institutions serve as a centralizing influence in that they demand the active service of all members of the group. This par-

¹Zingg, op. cit., p. xxviii.

ticipation in community affairs more closely identifies the individual with the group, and gives him a feeling of security. Communal labor not only brings all the men into a closer relationship, but an even more important element is that in working for the good of the community as a whole, it gives them a common interest and a unity of purpose. In Quintana Roo, according to Villa, ". . . the institution of the Guardia tends to maintain the cohesion of the group by virtue of the sentiments of solidarity aroused by the cult of the common symbol and by the co-operative practices and offerings which attend it."¹

These activities tend to strengthen specific social ties, the most obvious of which is the emphasis on conjugality. Probably in most instances the wives of the officials assist them in the fulfillment of their obligations and share in the prestige which accrues to their husbands. But in some groups the women actually figure with their husbands in the ceremonies. Among the Huichol the women actively participate and are an important figure in the installation proceedings. They, as well as the men, must acquire the requisite degree of sacredness for the ceremony and the canes are presented to the husband and wife as a couple. At Panajachel, the wives have definite duties which derive from their husband's offices.

Individual participation in group activity is more clearly evinced in the civil administration. Every man serves in some official capacity and thus feels that he has a part in government. In none of these communities is there such a thing as a detached or objective view of the government. At Mitla, where the system is in the process of changing, even those who are rebelling against these duties are intensely interested in them and seem to

¹Villa, op. cit., p. 21.

feel that these offices are a necessary part of life, even though the rebels are proposing that the duties of office be lightened. It is not possible for a man to feel that his opinion is of little import in these matters since he has a voice in the nomination and election of officers, and has been serving in some capacity since his early youth. He feels the full weight of responsibility for both the past and the future of the town, to the well-functioning of which he is dedicating a portion of his life. These two institutions are largely responsible for a sense of group unity, and village pride is chiefly expressed through them. In a progressive town such as Chan Kom, fagina is the means of carrying out improvements and, although it entails a great expenditure of time and effort, it is permeated with a cheerful enthusiasm.

The institutions also have a socializing influence. They offer a reason for large gatherings which are not altogether devoted to work or ceremony. Among the Tarahumara, the tesguinadas have work for an excuse, but they are also festive occasions; it is a social as well as an economic enterprise. They are held frequently and are the greatest socializing influence in that the usual silent reserve is broken and it is a local affair thus drawing neighboring families into a closer relationship. The inaugural ceremonies of the officials is also a festivity. The ceremony itself is in the nature of a pageant, and is always attended by a fiesta with food and drink furnished by the administration.

The civil administration is an important agency for control aside from the fact that the governor has the power of arrest and punishment. The Tarahumara governor gives a speech every Sunday morning and in this speech he gives advice on many subjects. He not only speaks of the work to be done, but also discusses the actions of the people, commends them if they have been

living properly, or rebukes them if that is necessary. He delivers sermons on the duties of children to their parents, and gives advice to couples contemplating marriage. In all groups, a sermon from the governor is a much dreaded means of punishment. The open trial is also a medium of control, since it serves as an example, and the governor's lecture is addressed to the audience as much as to the culprit. The topiles have much the same function that the police in our society have, and are thus an important force for keeping order. One of the main duties of the government is to look after the well-being of the group, and thus it is vitally concerned in seeing that the community is not endangered by actions which are contrary to the traditional mode of behavior.

These institutions have a great significance to the individual in that they provide the participant with socially-sanctioned mechanisms whereby the horizons of his life and interests are both charted and widened in his rôle as town representative. The administration is the official representative of the town, and in that capacity the high officers receive guests and are in charge of all negotiations with the national government. This brings them into contact with outsiders and requires, in many instances, that they travel to the state capitals. These contacts help to acquaint them with the outside world, and this familiarity with foreign ways is socially desirable in several of the groups. At Mitla, Tepoztlán and among the Chorti, this ability to deal with outsiders has a high prestige value. Office-holding is also important to the individual in that it is largely responsible for the regulation of his activities. From earliest childhood, a boy is taught that he has an obligation to the community which he must fulfil by serving first as a laborer and later in an official capacity. These duties take up a good part of his time from youth

to old age, and during this period his efforts are largely directed toward the discharging of these responsibilities. In accepting the obligation to serve in an official capacity, the individual upholds the local mores, expressing and reinforcing by overt behavior his convictions in regard to civic duty and upholding the values of the group in this respect. In a number of the groups, namely Mitla, Panajachel and the Huichol, and to a lesser extent in the other societies, the official comes into close contact with the religious officials, bringing him into specific new relations with them. By this he must come to a more personal realization of the important rôles of these men and the social force they exert in the society. Through this, he becomes a more mature member of the community with an increased interest in the maintenance of these customs. In most instances, as a man works his way up through the hierarchy of town officials, he accedes to certain religious positions, usually a mayordomia, and this also gives him a greater realization and interest in this aspect of the life of his community.

Holding office is not an easy task; it requires a lot of work and much time spent away from one's own interests, and it also entails the outlay of a considerable sum of money. However, in spite of all of this, an individual is eager for office in order to be regarded as a person of importance, that he may be active in the community, and have a degree of authority.

It has been stressed in all of the reports that holding office is not an exceptional achievement, but that it is something expected of every man and thus does not give any prestige. However, these reports all state that an official is respected, not only because of the office, but because he is worthy of respect since he has lived a proper life and has fulfilled his duty to

the community. It is also stated that his family shares in this prestige. Parsons says:

There is neither personal gain nor prestige in holding of-
fice. You may be able to do little favors for your relatives
and *compadres* and stand by them in time of need, but that is
all there is in it, save for the satisfaction of feeling that
you are leading a properly rounded life. Communal service
. . . . is the underlying principle of town organization.¹

However, she also states that on all public occasions the offi-
cials attend in a body and receive the respect of the people.²

Wisdom says that among the Chorti, while the duty is expected
of all, certain men, because of ability and willingness, are ap-
pointed year after year and thus have great prestige and author-
ity.³ Bennett says of the Tarahumara:

The officials do not receive particular deference as in-
dividuals. . . . It is the officer, not the man, who is
treated with special consideration. In fact, it is the so-
cial position which an office gives the individual that leads
him to accept such an office. The honor is the sole remunera-
tion.⁴

Eggan suggests that among the Pueblo groups of the Southwest where
all the important positions are hereditary, the governmental of-
fices are one of the few means by which men, not in line for other
positions, may gain prestige.

It is this honor which accrues to office-holding that
causes a man to seek office. Prestige is the sole pay. While
holding office is often an arduous duty, it is nevertheless a
satisfying experience, either because of its prestige value or
because it is a service expected by the community. In the larger
communities where men do not merely serve in rotation, it is an
accomplishment to be selected for an important office. A man re-

¹Parsons, Mitla, Town of the Souls, p. 164.

²Ibid., p. 158. ³Wisdom, op. cit., p. 161.

⁴Bennett and Zingg, op. cit., p. 201.

ceives the respect of his fellow townsmen as a substantial citizen who has fulfilled his civic and religious duties, and who has lived a full life in accordance with the beliefs of his society.

The relationship of these institutions of public service to other aspects of the social organization is interesting in that the institutions do not seem to be intimately associated with any of them. By this I mean that while the political organization touches certain aspects of the economic order, the family and the social life, still it does not play an important rôle in any of them. As we have seen, the primary duty of the government is to insure the well-being of the town; in order to accomplish this, the officials hear trials concerning disputes over debts, inheritance, land, conjugal troubles, and anything else which might be cause for friction. As far as has been reported, the officials are not active in promulgating laws and innovations, but they are chiefly interested in seeing that the townspeople conduct themselves properly in their relationships with one another. This is best shown, perhaps, in the part played by the officials in family life. They play no part in the marriage itself except in the case of the Tarahumara and at Mitla. In these groups, the marriage negotiator is listed as a member of the hierarchy; however, in both cases, he is a quasi-official and primarily a religious functionary with no official power. At no time is there any interference in the relations of the couple unless someone complains to the officers of wife-beating or infidelity; in such a case the offender is brought to trial. If the couple separate or divorce, there is no resort to the municipality although in several of the towns a formal separation may be registered in the office of the alcalde, but this is voluntary and not required. In Mitla, the general opinion is that marriage is a

family, not a town concern.¹

Communal labor may be of little importance in the general economic scheme, since it is chiefly concerned with public improvements such as repairing public buildings and roads. Where there is irrigation, it is more important since that becomes one of the necessary duties. The government has no authority in matters of debt and land tenure unless it is appealed to by one of the parties involved. At Mitla and Tepoztlán, the permission of the governor is necessary before starting a new milpa; this is due to the fact that the town theoretically owns all uncultivated land and also to prevent any future dispute. Matters of inheritance do not come before the court unless a dispute arises, but the officers advocate being consulted before any dispute comes about in order to prevent any serious quarrels. Wherever traders come to a town, the village officials collect a small tax from them.

The rôle that these officers play in religion has been mentioned, and it is interesting to note that they are active only in the Catholic religion; there is no mention of their taking part in the Indian ceremonies in an official capacity. In the majority of instances, as at Panajachel, the governor and the others attend the ceremonies in a body and act as the representatives of the community. They do not take any active part in the ritual but receive offerings in the name of the town. Among the Huichol, they go through an elaborate ceremony at the time of installation but do not at any other time participate other than they would as private citizens.

An important duty of the political organization is to

¹Parsons, Mitla, Town of the Souls, p. 115.

represent the community in its contacts with outsiders. The governor receives visitors on behalf of the town and the topiles care for their comfort. More important, however, is the governor's duty in regard to the national government. He is responsible to it for the conduct of the town, and the townsmen expect him to represent them and gain all possible benefits for them from the state. In any negotiations with other towns, the governor and his advisers are responsible for striking the best possible bargain. In any quarrel with a neighboring town the respective governors meet and attempt to settle the difficulty. At inter-pueblo affairs, such as sports events or festivals, the governmental body acts as host to the visiting officials.

CHAPTER IV

SOME HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Though the emphasis of this paper is not on historical reconstruction, it may be well to touch on several points of possible interest. For a considerable period of time many ethnologists have attempted to distinguish the basic Indian culture from overlays of and mixtures with foreign influences. This problem is difficult, and no definite statement is possible because the data are not sufficient. The consensus of opinion concerning the origin of office-holding and communal labor seems to be that it is of native origin with a Spanish and Mexican overlay.

Parsons claims that the auxiliares organization at Mitla which is chosen by barrio may show some historical connection with the Aztec military organization of the town which was selected from the calpulli.¹ She also points out that the name for communal work is a hispanicized Aztec term, tequio, from the Aztec tequitl. The Spanish had a system of compulsory service, but the Aztecs also had one; as Sahagun mentions a year's service required of all men. As confirmation of her belief that communal labor is an Indian trait, Parsons says that the social attitude toward tequio seems Indian. It is a part of the life, and no special distinction accrues from it. Redfield says that co-operative labor probably is a heritage from pre-Columbian times. According to him, "Fagina has a Spanish name and has early European parallels, however, it is easy to think that it is also a survival

¹Parsons, Mitla, Town of the Souls.

of a system of contribution of a part of the individual's time to public improvements which made possible the construction of the old sacred city-shrines."¹

The government of Chan Kom is an adjustment between traditional ideas and the provisions of recent Mexican law. Before 1910, the village had its traditional officers, a chief who served for life and a council of elders. At the present time they have the officials designated by the State, but attribute to them the traditional powers and duties. Bevan agrees that the municipal organization of the Chinantec is a "combination of a pre-Cortesian communal system, the old Spanish form of village government, and that of a modern district council."² Although the political organization of the Maya of Quintana Roo in certain respects suggests that of the ancient Maya, it does not seem to be either a revival or survival of that organization. It is an organization peculiar to that region which arose from the need for the protection of their land and culture. The structure embodies many elements of the ancient organization, but its outward form is alien. Zingg, in his discussion of the Tarahumara, states that the system of officials is probably native with a thin veneer of the old Spanish system. In his report on the Huichol, who are closely allied with the Tarahumara, he states that "both the government and religion were introduced by Catholic missionaries and thus it is a foreign assimilation to the culture."³

These writers agree that the political organization is a mixture of Indian and Spanish elements. I would go farther and say that it is almost entirely of Spanish origin but that the In-

¹Redfield, op. cit., p. 76.

²Bevan, op. cit., p. 5.

³Zingg, op. cit., p. 66.

dians have transferred from their own system certain attitudes and characteristics. This area has been under foreign domination for over three hundred years and, as we know, the government is usually the first institution to be affected by the conquerors. Bandelier states that in 1620 the king of Spain decreed that annually, on the first day of January, an election should be held in every Indian village of a governor, alcaldes, fiscales, and so forth, without any royal representative or any ecclesiastic being present.¹ Redfield states that Tepoztlán formerly had a cacique who served for life, and that Chan Kom had a batab who also served for life. According to these statements, it seems altogether probable that the Indian method was a chief with a council of old men as advisers, and that the Spanish imposed their own village system on all the groups with whom they came into contact. This last statement is strengthened by the fact that the Hopi who were less influenced by the Spanish than any other group, who since the rebellion of 1680 had practically no contact with the conquerors, have no such political organization. "The political functions of the Hopi village are entirely in the hands of the hierarchy . . . the hereditary body of priests. The Hopi differ from most of the other pueblos in that they have no annually elected secular government."²

Another point is that nowhere in the mythology or folklore is there reference to this type of government except in tales concerning fairly recent events. Also, as has been indicated, where there is any religious service connected with the political hier-

¹A. F. Bandelier, Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Part I (Cambridge, 1890), p. 200.

²F. R. Eggan, Kinship System and Social Organization of the Western Pueblos (MS, University of Chicago: 1933), p. 162.

archy, it is always that of the Catholic church and never the Indian religion. Among the Huichol, where the kawitéro are associated with the installation proceedings, the ritual is that of the Christian religion. In none of the accounts of the native rituals are the officers mentioned as playing an official rôle. Among the Aztecs government was more ritualistic than political and was intimately associated with the religion.

Thus it would seem that the form of government was imposed by the Spanish replacing the Indian system of a chief and council of elders. However, it also seems that to this new form of government, the Indians ascribed some of the duties and attitudes of their own system. This is particularly true of the primary duty of the official body--to be concerned with the well-being of the town, and to be on guard against anything that might disturb the euphoria of the community. In conducting trials, settling disputes, allocating work, the governor plays the rôle of a paternalistic judge, concerned only with the welfare of the group. This is a far cry from the attitude of the Spanish colonial administrator and seems to be more like that of a village chieftain. Neither is there any ostentation nor encouragement for personal preëminence on the part of the officials. They carry on the occupations of ordinary life and are not distinguishable from the other townsmen, save that on official occasions they carry the canes of office. This attitude is very much like that which prevails among the pueblos of the Southwest, and like an attitude we are given a glimpse of in Aztec sermons. It is very likely that the use of youths as executive messengers is an Indian character. We know that the Aztecs had such an organization, and the term topile, according to Bandelier, is from the Nahuatl topilli, staff-bearers. Starr derives the term from teotl, divine, and pilli,

child.¹

Thus it would seem that the governmental organization is of Spanish origin but with certain Indian characteristics added to it. On the other hand, it seems that compulsory communal labor might be of Indian origin and reinforced by the Spanish. We know that the church imposed a system of communal church work upon the Indian communities, but we have noted that the term for such work is a hispanicized Aztec term, and that the Aztecs also had a work system. The idea of moral obligation which attaches to this work and to office-holding is more of an Indian characteristic. The government and communal labor are closely affiliated, indeed one of the major duties of the officials is to instigate this work, and this, perhaps, was also one of the duties of the chief. However, even where the governmental system is undergoing a change or where it has been weakened, as at Mitla and Tepoztlán, the system of communal labor has lost none of its power or importance.

¹Frederick Starr, Notes on the Ethnography of Southern Mexico (Davenport: Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences), III, 131.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

To summarize the material presented in this paper: these compulsory organizations with chiefly secular functions are of great importance in Middle America. They represent a pattern which is found in most Indian communities in this area. They have a basic structure and function which are common to all the groups in which they are found. Many variations on this foundation are noted but they are relatively slight when the organization is viewed as a whole. The major difference is the religious emphasis found in certain societies, notably the Huichol and to a lesser extent Quintana Roo and Panajachel.

They are important agencies for promoting social solidarity and as a means of social control. The chief duty of the village administration is to serve as a judiciary body and to maintain the laws and customs of the group. Service to the community as an officer and participation in the communal work-parties helps to identify the individual with the group and to bring about a feeling of cohesiveness and unity.

These institutions are of great significance in the lives of the participants who find that their lives are not only charted but that the welcome sanction of public approval attaches to the discharging of their responsibilities. The institutions contribute toward providing the individual with a pattern for living and toward an integration of his interests with those of the other members of the community.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the organizations is their obligatory nature which exemplifies the automatic and generally compulsory character of life in these societies. The individual must participate in these activities; it is a way of life and is expected of every person. No particular distinction results from serving the group except that if a man has served faithfully, he feels that he has lived a well-rounded life and he is respected as a person who has fulfilled all his obligations.

An interesting feature of the political organization is that it does not seem to be intimately associated with the other aspects of the social organization. It appears rather as an overlay, touching them but not of vital importance to them.

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RITUAL KINSHIP: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
GODPARENTHOOD IN MIDDLE AMERICA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY
BENJAMIN DAVID PAUL

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INTRODUCTION

With the appearance of Morgan's Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity¹ in 1871 attention suddenly became centered on kinship as a key to the study of comparative sociology. The investigations and polemics thus stimulated led to the discovery of both corroborative and qualifying evidence. As a major qualification, the publication of Schurtz's Alterklassen und Männerbünde² in 1902 for the first time brought into focus the importance among primitive peoples of associational activities independent of kinship; this led to further studies along related lines by Webster, van Gennep, Wedgwood, and Lowie.³ On the side of confirmation, the researches of Rivers⁴ revived interest in the study of kinship terms and usages, which had fallen into disrepute as a result of Morgan's more extravagant claims.

The present paper seeks to establish ritual kinship as a branch of comparative sociology ranking alongside associations and kinship proper. In so doing, it both modifies and sustains the position taken by Morgan with respect to the paramount significance of kinship. In one sense, the presence of still another

¹Lewis H. Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity in the Human Family (Washington, 1871).

²Heinrich Schurtz, Alterklassen und Männerbünde (Berlin, 1902).

³Hutton Webster, Primitive Secret Societies (New York, 1908). Arnold van Gennep, Les Rites de Passage (Paris, 1909). Camilla Wedgwood, "The Nature and Functions of Secret Societies," Oceania, I (1930), 129-45. Robert H. Lowie, Primitive Society (New York: Horace Liveright, 1920).

⁴W. H. R. Rivers, Kinship and Social Organization (London, 1914); Social Organization (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1924).

category of social organization reduces the relative importance of kinship in the patterning of social structure. But in the sense that imitation is the best flattery, ritual kinship emphasizes the importance of the kinship nexus among primitive peoples by borrowing both its form and its function.

As conceived in this paper, the term "ritual kinship" comprehends all those instances of artificial relationship growing out of a ritual compact and obligating the contracting parties to behave as kinsmen to each other and to the members of each other's families. The need for such a concept in social research is suggested by two recent monographs. One of these is Pascua.¹ In this book Spicer devotes a chapter² to the intricate operation of ceremonial sponsorship, which is just as basic to Pascua social organization as are kinship and ceremonial associations, and which outranks affinal kinship as a mechanism for group integration. In appraising Spicer's analysis and drawing attention to a neglected field of investigation, Beals comments:

Especially to be praised is the recognition and brilliant analysis of the relationships between godparents and godparents and children, referred to by Spicer as "ceremonial sponsorship." This is a system general to Mexico and probably in Latin America, although naturally with many local variations, but Spicer is the first to give it adequate treatment.³

The second monograph is Dahomey⁴ in which Herskovits regards institutionalized friendship as the most fundamental grouping based on free association, outweighing secret-societies and association in importance. Herskovits adds that friendship is the aspect of

¹Edward Spicer, Pascua, a Yaqui Village (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940).

²Ibid., pp. 91-116.

³Ralph R. Beals, reviewing Pascua in American Anthropologist, XLIII (1941), 440.

⁴Melville J. Herskovits, Dahomey, an Ancient West African Kingdom (2 vols.; New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938), I, 239-42.

social organization that is "most neglected by anthropologists."

The neglect to which Beals and Herskovits refer is partly due to the absence of a suggestive concept to guide workers in the field. However, some of the neglect is more apparent than real, for the essential homogeneity of numerous social phenomena has been masked by a heterogeneity of terms. Thus, to cite only several examples, a striking set of identical features characterizes the institution of best-friend among the Dahomey, the blood-brother among the Zande, the artificial friend of Nepal, the mundu partner of the Banaro, the comrade of the American Plains, and the compadre of Middle America. All are kinlike bonds of special obligation assumed by nonrelated individuals and sanctified by rite. The present essay proposes a classification of ritual kinship which will order the cases mentioned and others to be mentioned into several typological categories and subcategories. It is hoped that such an integrating set of concepts will facilitate comparative analysis and delimit new areas for research.

As proposed, the category of ritual kinship comprehends two related classes of social relationships, each simulating one of the basic relationships present in the primary family. Ritual parenthood simulates the father-child bond; ritual brotherhood simulates the bond between brothers. Each of these classes of ritual kinship consists of a variety of subtypes, some of which are suggested in the paper.

Whether ritual kinship is to be regarded as a subdivision of kinship or to be distinguished from it, is not a problem of significance. Of more importance for purposes of directing research is the awareness that instead of the two conventional divisions of kinship, three are to be recognized: consanguineal, affinal, and ritual.

Less universal than the other two forms, ritual kinship nevertheless needs to be thrust upon the attention of students of social organization, just as the study of associations was brought into prominence by Schurtz. An examination of references on comparative sociology reveals that the topic of ritual kinship tends to be completely overlooked. A conspicuous exception is found in the human society series by Thurnwald, which includes a ten-page chapter on artificial relationships (künstliche Verwandtschaft).¹ Thurnwald treats this category under three headings: adoption, milk-relationship, blood-brotherhood. Though pointing out that marriage restrictions accompany pseudo-kinship, just as they do genuine kinship, Thurnwald devotes most of his pages to a description of the ritualism that underlies blood brotherhood and the meaning of this symbolism in the native thinking. The present paper tries to build upon this beginning, placing primary emphasis upon the institutional and sociological aspects of ritual kinship rather than the formal acts by which it is set in action.

The organization of this paper is patterned on the principle of expanding generality, specific case material leading into conceptual analysis. Taking its cue from Beals, it begins by bringing together the existing material on ceremonial sponsorship in Mexico and Guatemala, with a view to establishing one particular type of ritual kinship in one particular area. The second part of the essay consists of an effort to relate Middle American godparenthood to the wider concept of ritual parenthood; to relate this, in turn, to ritual brotherhood; and, finally, to demonstrate the utility of subsuming both under the rubric of ritual kinship, by presenting a number of research problems that grow out of such

¹Richard Thurnwald, Die menschliche Gesellschaft (5 vols.; Berlin: J. J. Augustin, 1932), II, Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung von Familie, Verwandtschaft und Bündnis, 181-90.

a conceptualization.

The term "ritual kinship" has been used as a matter of expedience; "ceremonial kinship" might serve as a suitable alternative. Use of the word "ritual" in this designation does not imply that the relationship consists exclusively of ritual behavior; it means only that ritual kinship is that type of kinship which is brought into being by a ritual act.

CHAPTER I

GODPARENTHOOD AMONG NATIVE GROUPS OF MEXICO AND GUATEMALA

Language and location.--The material dealing with godparent practices among the various tribes and communities of Mexico and Guatemala has been conveniently ordered according to considerations of language and location. Beginning with the more northerly groups the discussion proceeds in a southward direction in the main. But the primary basis of arrangement has been that of linguistic affiliation. Accordingly, first consideration is given to those members of the Uto-Aztecan stock for which relevant data are available. Next presented is the material on the Oto-Manguen, Tarascan, and Zapotec peoples of central and southern Mexico. The chapter ends with an account of the godparent usages found among various members of the Maya family of Guatemala and southern Mexico. Aside from several remarks on the Pipil of San Salvador, no effort is made to extend the survey to Central American tribes located below Guatemala. The existing literature dealing with these little-studied Central American tribes gives no promise that comparative godparental material is to be encountered in this direction.

Table 1 lists the tribes in the order in which they are reviewed, and indicates the larger linguistic groupings within which they are comprehended, according to the classification offered by Mason.¹ For location of Middle American native peoples,

¹J. Alden Mason, "The Native Languages of Middle America," The Maya and Their Neighbors (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940), p. 52.

TABLE 1
LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION, LOCATION, AND POPULATION
OF GROUPS REVIEWED IN STUDY

Linguistic Stock and Tribe ^a	Location	Popula- tion	Percentage of Monolinguals
<u>Uto-Aztecan</u>			
Yaqui	No. Mex. (and Ariz.)	7,000 ^b	30%
Tarahumara	Northern Mexico	27,000	53
Huichol	West-cen. Mexico	4,000	51
Nahuatl	Central Mexico	671,000	53
Pipil	San Salvador	.....	...
<u>Oto-Mangusan</u>			
Otomí	Central Mexico	219,000	43
Mazahua	Central Mexico	78,000	38
Mazatec	Gen. and Sou. Mexico	55,000	82
<u>Tarascan</u>			
Tarascan	Central Mexico	44,000	34
<u>Zapotec</u>			
Zapotec	Southern Mexico	217,000	52
<u>Mixe-Zoque-Huave</u>			
Mixe	Southern Mexico	32,000	76
Zoque	Southern Mexico	21,000	44
Huave	Southern Mexico	4,000	57
<u>Maya</u>			
Huastec	East-cen. Mexico	41,000	51
Yucatec	Yucatan	280,000	47
Tzeltal	Southern Mexico	40,000	80
Tzotzil	Southern Mexico	34,000	77
Chañabal	Southern Mexico	.....	...
Jacalteco	Western Guatemala	.....	...
Mam (of Mex.)	Southern Mexico	22,000	16
Quiché	West-cen. Guat.	.....	...
Cakchiquel	West-cen. Guat.	.....	...
Zutuhil	West-Cen. Guat.	.....	...
Chorti	Eastern Guatemala	.....	...

^aSimplified from classification given in Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-87.

^bDoes not include Arizona Yaqui.

the reader is referred to the linguistic map prepared by Johnson¹ in a companion article to that of Mason. Estimates of the present-day population of the respective groups, presented in Table 1, are based on the Mexican census of 1930.² The proportion of a tribal or linguistic group that speaks no Spanish may serve as a rough index of the degree to which the group has resisted acculturative influences. This percentage appears in the last column of the table. The people speaking languages of the Mayan stock constitute a greater aggregate than those comprised by any other linguistic grouping, but this is not evident in the table, owing to the absence of figures for Guatemala.

The entries in Table 1 do not exhaust the existing tribes in Mexico and Guatemala. Only those are shown for which material on godparent practices is to be found. Among the most important omissions, in terms of population, are the Mixtec (172,000), Totonac (90,000), Mazatec (55,000), Chinantec (24,000), and Tlapanec (16,000).³ For these tribes ethnographic accounts are either absent or contain no information relative to the present study.

The Yaqui of Pascua.--The greater part of the present-day Yaqui population remains in its aboriginal habitat of the Yaqui River region of the Sonoran mountains. In the course of the last sixty years, however, considerable numbers have left their Mexican locale to take up residence in various parts of southern Arizona where they subsist today as laborers. One of these transplanted communities is Pascua Village, totaling sixty native households

¹Frederick Johnson, "The Linguistic Map of Mexico and Central America," *ibid.*, pp. 88-114.

²Mexico en Cifras, Atlas Estadístico (Mexico, 1934).

³Source for population figures: *ibid.*

and constituting part of the modern city of Tucson. Spicer's intensive study of Pascua social organization¹ provides us with much more material than is accessible for the parent Yaqui of Sonora. As a matter of fact, the data pertaining to godparent practices in Pascua rank in richness above all other reports on similar institutions in the various Middle American communities for which descriptions are available. The paragraphs that follow are based on Spicer's monograph and apply specifically to Pascua Village.

Yaqui godfathers are known by the Spanish term padrino, and godmothers by the term madrina. A godchild is an ahijado or ahijada, depending on its sex. A person calls his godfather nino and his godmother nina, but refers to them as padrino and madrina, respectively. Parents and grandparents call the godparents of their child by the reciprocal terms compadre and comadre.² The wife of a compadre is always addressed as comadre and the husband of a comadre is always a compadre. Moreover, all people who are godparents to a given individual likewise greet each other as compadre and comadre. Thus if a child at baptism acquires a godfather and a godmother, both of whom are married but not to each other, and if the parents and grandparents of the child are living, a total of ten adults find themselves bound together by the mutual use of compadre-comadre terms of address and by the duties

¹Spicer, op. cit., pp. 91-116.

²Except for the familiar terms of address, nino and nina, the foregoing Spanish terms recur throughout the entire Catholicized area under consideration. The words are all derivatives of the Spanish terms for the primary family relationships. According to the conventions of Spanish speech, plurals of mixed gender are rendered in the masculine form. Thus the plural for compadre and comadre is compadres (co-parents). As an inclusive term for the various orders of godparental relationship it is convenient to use padrinos. The Yaqui have a set of native equivalents for the Spanish terms and are said to use both sets in daily discourse.

implied in the designation. This is only the beginning, however, for the child secures additional sets of godparents as it grows older, so that the original group of ceremonially-related adults is swelled to an impressive figure.

Godparents are successively acquired as the ceremonial sponsors of the individual who is undergoing any of a culturally-defined series of personal crises which usher the initiate into new levels of social participation. The crises which are unavoidable and which bring with them new godparents are baptism--which takes place shortly after birth--confirmation of rosary, and marriage. In addition, most individuals experience confirmation in the Catholic church; the ceremony of the hábito, which is designed to overcome a stubborn illness; and confirmation in joining a ceremonial society, to which some women and most men belong. Each of these ceremonies introduces a new pair of sponsors, except that confirmation in the Catholic church and marriage add but a single sponsor each, a madrina in the case of a girl and a padrino in the case of a boy. Once acquired, a godparent becomes a permanent ritual relative, so to speak, standing in special relationship to the godchild, to the parents, and to other godparents of the child. The sponsorship obligations end with the death of the sponsored person, but those between comadres and compadres, established through the godchild, continue after the death of the latter. A person may have as few as five godparents and as many as fifteen, the normal complement of ceremonial sponsors being ten.

Ordinarily the selection of godparents is the task of the child's parents. Those most often selected are not otherwise related to the family, although relatives are not debarred. In most cases an already existing bond of friendship is formalized into a compadre relationship. Parents and child pay a visit to

the godparents-elect, informing them of their purpose and frequently bearing gifts. In reciprocation the godparents incur some of the expenses at the time of the subsequent ceremony. Sometimes sponsors are sought outside the village of Pascua or even among the non-Yaqui population of Tucson.

Baptismal godparents, selected immediately after the child is born, take the infant to be baptized in the church in Tucson, pay the necessary fee, and return the child to its parents, who may or may not have accompanied the party to town. The sponsors, and perhaps some of their relatives, are then feasted at the home of the parents. After the feast, a brief ceremony takes place in which the maestro (native priest-surrogate) delivers a sermon in which mutual obligations established between sponsors and family are recited in detail. He has occasion to re-emphasize these obligations on the occasion of confirmation by rosary when the child receives his Christian name in the local church; and is shown by his sponsors how to kneel before the altar, how to cross himself, and how to treat the images on the altar. In this case no feast follows the church ceremony.

Confirmation of the hábito is a resort to divine assistance in event of sickness and cannot be accomplished without a specially chosen padrino and madrina who take the afflicted child to church and clothe it in a vestment or hábito which is worn as penance until it wears out.

Upon marriage, each bride has a newly elected madrina who remains constantly with the bride until, following the church formalities, the groom and his marriage padrino effect a ceremonial capture of the bride. The two godparents of marriage, who are selected from separate families, play active roles in making preparations for the wedding ceremonies, and it is at their re-

spective houses that their wards remain before the wedding. These sponsors sit at the table with the two groups of affinal relatives during the concluding festivities.

The various ceremonies mark the establishment of well-defined obligations between the persons involved. An ahijado treats his padrino with deference and in other respects "like a father"; he comes to him when in need of food, money, or advice. The padrino, on his part, has a permanent interest in the welfare of the ahijado, particularly in matters of health and of proper religious deportment. A needy padrino may as readily call upon his ahijado, and the assistance of ahijados and other ceremonial kinsmen is as frequently sought as that of close relatives. The madrina-ahijado relationship is parallel.

Compadres always address each other by the reciprocal term. The relationship is as important as that of padrino-ahijado. Mutual economic assistance, hospitality, and friendship characterize the compadre relationship. Padrinos of baptism stand in a special relationship to the parents of their godchild; for if the latter should die unmarried these padrinos are obligated to give a feast to the parents of the deceased ahijado. This is thought of as return payment for the feast given the sponsors when the child was baptized. It is regarded as the essence of the relationship between parents and baptismal godparents. The funeral feast takes place at the padrinos' home. But if the ahijado dies after marriage, the baptismal sponsors merely offer assistance at the funeral feast in common with the other padrinos of the deceased.

Since it is improper for the mourning relatives to carry out the details of burying one of their own number, the duties of preparing a dead man for the grave and the next world are performed

by the ritual sponsors. Each man must have three padrinos and three madrinas to officiate at his death. This group of ritual kinsmen that unites to function at a funeral is called a compañía. Ideally it should include a padrino and madrina of the rosary and should be headed by the baptismal godparents. In case a man is not survived by his padrinos or madrinas, the compañía is made up of ahijados or compadres or a combination of these. At the funeral the relatives formally thank the ritual kinsmen on behalf of the deceased. After the speeches, each member of the compañía touches the shoulder and hand of each of the relatives, uttering a greeting on doing so. This ritual is thrice repeated. Etiquette prescribes similar behavior on other ceremonial occasions in which the padrino-group participates.

Ceremonial sponsorship is a fundamental factor in the social integration of Pascua and ranks at least on a par with kinship and ceremonial societies in welding individuals into a cooperative social body. Ceremonial kinship supplements the Yaqui family in its function of furthering the vertical integration of society. Moreover the compadre relationship promotes horizontal integration by uniting family groups one with the other. At Pascua the padrino structure is as clearly formulated as is the elementary family, but it "is much more complex than is the kinship structure." Persons involved in a padrino group ". . . are linked by relationships of the same general kind as those involved in a kinship structure, both economic and ritual. The emphasis, however, is on ritual relations in the padrino structures, while in the families the emphasis is on economic obligations."¹

Ceremonial sponsorship in Pascua is not limited to humans. Certain Catholic images are attended by a padrino and a madrina

¹Spicer, op. cit., p. 115.

who are required to give the annual fiesta (celebration) in honor of their image.

It is possible that the extreme proliferation of the Pascua padrino pattern is a recent development stimulated by the new social conditions encountered in the shift from a peasant economy to precarious dependence on the labor market. Yet the recency of the migration would seem to argue against such an interpretation. The problem thus presented can be resolved only by reference to the customs of the parent Yaqui of Sonora.

The Yaqui of Sonora.--Writing on the Mexican Yaqui, Holden tells us merely that "when ten to twelve days old the child is taken to the church where it is baptized and christened by the maestro. It is given the name of the godfather or godmother, in either case a good friend . . . of the parents."¹ González Bonilla devotes only a few sentences to the subject but fortunately his brief description is pertinent to our inquiry. Unlike kinship, which is said to be of little service in regulating relations within the group, godparenthood among the Yaqui of Sonora is "a veritable spiritual bond that ties together the entire native population of the village."² González Bonilla explains that there are various classes of godparents and that the most important of these are the sponsors of baptism. He adds that the Yaqui are so eager to integrate every being in the community by means of the godparent medium that they even encourage minors to become godfathers. Amity to strangers is demonstrated by addressing them as compadres. These observations strongly suggest that the

¹William Curry Holden, "Marriage, Child Rearing and Education," Studies of the Yaqui Indians of Sonora, Mexico (Texas Technological College Bulletin, XII [1935]) 30.

²Luis A. González Bonilla, "Los Yaquis," Revista Mexicana de Sociología, II, No. 1 (Mexico, D. F., 1940), 61.

presence of a highly elaborated padrino system in Pascua is to be attributed more to historical influences than to the pressure of new needs encountered in alien surroundings.¹

Though the Huichol are more distant from the Yaqui than are the Tarahumara, it is convenient to review the Huichol data before touching on the Tarahumara.

The Huichol.--Both Klineberg and Zingg make observations concerning godparents among the Huichol. According to Klineberg, the infant is first given a native name by the maternal grandmother who washes it on the sixth day. The godparents tend to the baptism of the baby whenever the Mexican priest pays one of his infrequent visits. On this occasion the godparents give the child its Christian name. But it happens that many children never receive baptism, and so it must be presumed that not all persons have godparents.² Nevertheless, Zingg asserts that "the Mexican social relationship of padrino and compadre has come to have considerable influence in Huichol social organization."³

Reporting on one observed case of baptism, Zingg writes that the parents and padrino appear in the god-house, in company with the madrina, who carries the child. All kneel at the altar, including the maestro, who gazes at the suspended picture of

¹In a foreword to Spicer's book, Robert Redfield writes: "The hypothesis may be entertained that the extension of the sponsor system to include all the community may have been a response to a need for solidarity in a new and alien world--a speculation with which Dr. Spicer may not agree." (Spicer, *op. cit.*, p. ix.) It may be noted, however, that at the time Redfield wrote, the information supplied by González Bonilla had not yet appeared in print. Since both González Bonilla and Spicer published in the same year (1940) it is evident that neither was stimulated nor influenced by the other in concluding that godparents were of paramount importance in the respective Yaqui communities.

²Otto Klineberg, "Notes on the Huichols," American Anthropologist, XXXVI (1934), 454.

³Robert M. Zingg, The Huichols: Primitive Artists (University of Denver Contributions to the Ethnography, I [1938]), 56.

Joseph and the Christ child. He crosses himself and begins to pray in Spanish: "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost" His words trail off, probably because he is at a loss to go on, according to Zingg. Most of the elements of the ritual that follow this prayer are Christian. The bowl of holy water, however, is first offered to the pagan gods of the four directions. Finally the madrina, who is the wife of the padrino, ". . . performs a pretty ceremony. She climbs up on the altar with the child in her arms and offers it personally and closely to the pictures of San José and Guadalupe. Then she gives the child to its mother."¹ At this point mother and godmother ceremoniously kiss each other's hand, while their husbands embrace each other in the Mexican manner. These symbolic expressions of a newly formed relationship are made very solemnly and with deep feeling. At the conclusion of the ceremony the spectators join in "jovial laughter."

Klineberg notes that some marriages are performed by the priest and take place in the presence of godparents as well as relatives and friends.² But in many cases marriage is a very simple affair at which a shaman sanctifies the union by the application of holy water, singing out the appropriate myths for a fee.³

Zingg avers that the compadre relationship ". . . unquestionably strengthens Huichol social organization outside the family, which is not strong. Though compadres are not under economic bonds to each other, the injunction to be kind and friendly prevents drunken fights and brawls, which is the greatest source of weakness in Huichol society."⁴ It is believed that if compadres should get angry with each other, their candles would go out during

¹Ibid., pp. 56-57. ²Klineberg, op. cit., p. 456.

³Zingg, op. cit., pp. 130-31. ⁴Ibid., p. 57.

ceremonies and they would die.¹

The sale of cattle between Huichols can take place only after the interested parties have established between themselves the special social status of compadres. The seller and his wife, together with the buyer and his wife, pray before an altar amidst lighted candles. Thereupon the two groups drink from a single bowl of tesguino (native beer), over which a short prayer has been recited. This ritual consummates the compadre relationship and opens the way for the livestock transaction. Furthermore, a man must call upon his compadre to brand his cattle. The branding takes place at the time of the annual rain ceremony when the corn and cattle are blessed to insure their abundance. The branding iron, which is applied to the animal to the tune of guitar and violin, becomes a sacred item and is placed upon the altar after it is used. The Huichols regard cattle and other animals as tribesmen who have "changed their clothes."²

The Tarahumara.--The Tarahumara, located northward of the Huichol, appear to have a related institution for regulating relations between buyer and seller. But in this case the word compadre is not used; trading partners are termed noráwa. Bennett and Zingg³ suggest that the term is derived from the Tarahumara word for son, and that it connotes "the cementing-together of two people who have traded with each other." Once formed, the relationship entails reciprocal favors and duties:

One Indian gives his noráwa a small olla of tesguino, as well as food on occasion. When they visit one another, the guest is honored by having a stool . . . or goatskin offered him, and the best place by the fire. Failure to do this would be noticed and resented, exposing the host of the house to witch-

¹Ibid., p. 718.

²Ibid., pp. 448, 718.

³Wendell C. Bennett and Robert M. Zingg, The Tarahumara, an Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936).

craft ("thinking bad" against him, resulting in his illness or some other misfortune). Any failure to perform the rites of hospitality is bad, but any offense against one's norawa is considered doubly bad.¹

Bennett and Zingg write that "the Christian Tarahumaras follow the Mexican baptism customs of padrinos and the correlated relation of compadres." It is stated that godparents fall within the incest group and that under certain circumstances men inherit from their padrinos.²

The Nahua.--Studies suitable to our interests are available for three Nahuatl-speaking villages located near Mexico City. One of these is San José Miautitlán³ in the state of Puebla. The others are Tepoztlán in Morelos and San Juan Teotihuacán in the state of Mexico. Although the reports on the last two communities stress different aspects of the godparent institution, the patterns seem to be similar. It is therefore possible to deal with them simultaneously, reserving the more archaic customs of San José for subsequent treatment.

Both Redfield⁴ and Gamio⁵ state that baptism is sought soon after birth. Tepoztlán parents may even bring their infant to be baptized on the very day of birth.⁶ Expectant parents in San Juan choose godparents before the baby is born. Gamio says this is done to reduce the likelihood that the child be consigned

¹Ibid., p. 158.

²Ibid., pp. 190-91, 223, 228.

³It is assumed that this is a Nahua town. It is possible, however, that the inhabitants speak Popolocan. If so, they may be linguistically related to the Oto-Manguenan peoples. (Cf. Table 1, p. 7.)

⁴Robert Redfield, Tepoztlán, a Mexican Village (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

⁵Manuel Gamio, La Población del Valle de Teotihuacán (3 vols.; Mexico, 1922), Vol. III.

⁶Redfield, Tepoztlán, p. 137.

to limbo in event of early death. As soon as the prospective padrino is selected, he begins to arrange the things necessary for baptism of the baby about to be born. Gamio adds that the infant is generally given the name of its padrino.¹

Gamio indicates that the selection of honorable and reliable godparents is a solemn duty. In an article on the modern Aztecs, Martínez² states that it is common to choose relatives and intimate friends of the parents to act as padrinos.

In Tepoztlán, "one of the most important occasions in the life of the child," takes place when it is forty days old. The mother decks the baby in new clothes. She and the child attend mass, in company with the godparents. This ceremony, called sacamisa in Tepoztlán, is duplicated in San Juan. Here the child wears a special garment prepared by the madrina. Redfield states that the sacamisa, held after the mother has undergone forty days of purification, serves the double purpose of introducing the child and reintroducing the mother into the community.³ Gamio remarks that the ceremony is a means of solemnizing the selection of the godparents.⁴

As at Pascua, the funeral of a child is sharply distinguished from that of an adult. The deceased child is an "angel" and the occasion is theoretically a happy one. Neither monograph mentions whether or not the godparents assume special responsibilities at the wake of a godchild.

Redfield writes that confirmation takes place at about

¹Gamio, op. cit., p. 243.

²Raúl Martínez G., "Los Aztecas," Revista Mexicana de Sociología, I, No. 3 (1939), 60.

³Redfield, Tepoztlán, p. 137.

⁴Gamio, op. cit., p. 243.

eight years,¹ but nothing is stated about godparents in this connection.

Gamio characterizes the relation obtaining between parents and godparents of baptism as more sincere than the relationship between actual brothers. Competition for the division of food and farm lands breeds distrust between brothers, according to Gamio. On the other hand, a man can always rely on his compadre in case of a crisis of any kind. No crime is as reprehensible as adultery between two persons united by the sacred bond of godparenthood. The respect shown to godparents is second only to that accorded parents. When a child is left without a father, his godfather is obligated to take him into his own home and to care for him until he is able to work on his own behalf.² Redfield acknowledges that compadres and padrinos are of similar importance in Tepoztlán.³

In both villages the godparents figure prominently in the formal visits and consultations that precede marriage. The parents and godparents of the groom provide the wedding costume of the bride and serve as hosts at a feast following the wedding. Presumably referring to godparents of baptism, Redfield writes:

The marriage is in part a recognition of the new relationship between two families: between the parents and godparents of the bride and those of the groom. All these people are now compadres, a very close and intimate relationship characteristic of the peasant peoples of Catholic South Europe.⁴

While Tepoztlán is noncommittal on the question, it is evident that in San Juan special marriage sponsors, in addition to baptismal godparents, participate in church weddings. The sponsoring

¹Redfield, Tepoztlán, p. 139.

²Gamio, op. cit., pp. 242-43.

³Redfield, Tepoztlán, p. 141.

⁴Ibid., p. 141.

couple seems to concern itself principally with the bride. Four days before the wedding they bring her to their home. There the wedding madrina lectures her on matters of love, chastity, jealousy, and all that relates to married life. The bride remains with her marriage godparents until the morning after the day of the church services, when she is yielded up to the groom.¹ But church weddings are by no means universal in San Juan nor in Tepoztlán; frequent unions occur without the benefit of wedding godparents.

The Puebla village of San José Miautitlán contrasts with those described, according to Colín,² in retaining more of the pre-conquest marriage customs. Unions in San José are negotiated by a much respected personage known as the tetlale or "ambassador of love." He and his wife make a series of formal visits to the parents of the prospective bride. He plays the part of master-of-ceremonies during the preliminary and final arrangements of the wedding. The tetlale couple does not replace the godparents of marriage, however. It is the duty of these special padrinos to serve a breakfast for the newly married pair and their guests after the church ceremony and to provide wedding attire for bride and groom. These clothes are not worn to church but are donned afterwards. On the third day following the wedding, the padrinos of marriage invite the marriage company to a special meal.

But the most important sponsors in San José are the godparents of baptism. Of these Colín relates:

A person assumes the responsibility of a close relative when he becomes the sponsor of a child. Among the duties is the obligation to present the little one with an outfit consisting of a coat, shoes and a bright colored handkerchief. This

¹Gamio, op. cit., p. 246.

²J. Paredes Colín, "Marriage Customs of San Juan Miautitlán," Mexican Magazine, III (1927), 213-20.

gift must be made when the godchild is one or two years old.¹ Failure to provide a clothing gift would render the godfather responsible for any illness that befell the godchild. ✓

Starr² supplies us with a few notes on the customs of the Tlaxcalan Indians who live in the vicinity of the other Nahuatl communities we have been discussing. He writes that the grandparents go out to find a sponsor as soon as the child is born. They make known their request by bringing flowers and candles. According to Starr, these are symbols of the newly born child and of the illuminating religious doctrine, respectively. In accepting, the godparent replies, "It is God's will; we must perform it." In no event may one refuse to be a godfather. A christening party is held at the home of the parents. Guests bring presents to the mother and to the godparents. When their godchild marries, godparents serve refreshments to the bridal party.

The Pipil.--Detached from the main body of Nahuatl-speaking peoples are the Pipil Indians enclaved in San Salvador. Schultze Jena³ makes brief mention of marriage godparents among these people. He relates that the father of the groom consults the father of the girl regarding the selection of three compadres and three comadres. One of the comadres escorts the bride to the wedding ceremony. The oldest of the three compadres deflowers the maiden. As the natives would have it, he knocks out the vaginal tooth. For one month he lives with the bride. All this is done in the interests of the inexperienced bridegroom. The god-

¹Ibid., p. 220.

²Frederick Starr, Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico (Davenport, Iowa: Putnam Memorial Publication Fund, 1900-02), pp. 23-24.

³Leonhard Schultze Jena, Indiana (3 vols.; Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1933), Vol. II, Die Pipil von Izalco in El Salvador.

parents are in reality marriage helpers; for, in addition to the services mentioned, they stand ready to be consulted by the couple and to aid them in their marriage relationship.¹

This is not the only case of defloration by a ritual specialist recorded for the Middle American area. Lumholtz reports that among the non-Christian Tarahumara "the shamans avail themselves of jus primae noctis."² While the Pipil and the Tarahumara speak somewhat related languages, the two tribes are situated at pole ends of the entire area under consideration. The alleged Pipil practice departs too sharply from the known customs of their neighbors to make Schultze Jena's data ring true. Nor does the unexpected reference to three male and three female sponsors strengthen the case. The author derives his data from a text supplied by a "reliable informant." It is possible that he relied too readily on what may merely have been a myth or an old man's fancy.

The Otomi.--The large block of Otomi-speaking Indians of central Mexico lies immediately to the north and west of the Mexican capital. A full ethnographic study of this important group apparently remains to be written. Meantime we have the few remarks made by Soustelle at the conclusion of his monograph on the Otomi-Pame linguistic family.³ Soustelle explains that the head of each family maintains a compadre relationship with the tutelary saints and idols enthroned in the family oratory adjoining the dwelling unit.⁴ By celebrating family fiestas in honor of a saint

¹Ibid., pp. 135, 145.

²Carl Lumholtz, Unknown Mexico (2 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), I, 270.

³Jacques Soustelle, La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central (Paris: Institut d'ethnologie, 1937), p. 544.

⁴Only some Otomi villages assign custody of the saints to individual families and these are the villages in which a high

or by placing food offerings in the mouth of a baked-clay image, the head of the household commits the sacred representation to reciprocate in equal or greater measure. The compadre link that relates man to the supernatural is said to be patterned on the practice of holiday gift-exchange prevailing between family heads who likewise call each other compadre. More concerned with cult and ceremonial than with social organization, Soustelle says no more about the meaning of the compadre relationship.¹ It is a reasonable inference, however, that the compadre bond among the Catholicized Otomi, as elsewhere, springs from baptismal sponsorship.

The Mazahua.--Distinguished from the Otomi proper only by a variation in dialect, the Mazahua Indians inhabit the same general region and, according to Soustelle, subscribe to the same compadre usages mentioned for the Otomi. Rojas González writes that the Mazahua hold the "spiritual relationship" of compadre in high respect and that men so related avoid all friction, living up to the letter of the Catholic edict that commits them to close co-operation and forbids them to marry.² He speaks of a padrino who officiates at weddings, offering words of warning and advice to the newlyweds.³ Apparently the reference here is to a marriage

degree of family autonomy is coupled with a feeble feeling of village solidarity. In other Otomi villages the cult of the saints is sustained by revolving cofradías (Catholic confraternities). Soustelle terms this latter an organized, public type of religious system, and deduces that it developed out of the system of small familial cults. (Ibid., p. 547.)

¹The original reads in part: "En espagnol, les Otomis et les Mazahuas désignent du nom de 'compadre' les chefs de famille qui sont liés par la reciprocité obligatoire des cadeaux dan les fêtes, et on donnait le même nom aux tidada [familial saints]." (Ibid., p. 544.)

²Francisco Rojas González, "Los Mazahuas," Revista Mexicana de Sociología, I, Nos. 4 and 5 (1939), 102.

³Ibid., p. 106.

padrino.

The Mazatec.--Like the Otomi, the Mazatec of Oaxaca belong to the Oto-Manguean linguistic grouping. Starr writes that after a Mazatec baby is born, the godparents may not wash their hands until the Catholic christening takes place. At the celebration that follows the christening the sponsors cleanse their hands in a manner prescribed by ritual. In preparation for marriage, the godmother of the bridegroom washes him as though he were an infant, the godmother of the bride doing the same for her.¹

The Tarascans.--Of independent linguistic affiliation, the extensive body of Tarascan Indians shares central Mexico with the Otomian groups. In his monograph on the Tarascans Mendieta y Nuñez states only that the natives regard godparents and godchildren as a class of kinsmen, according them a high degree of deference and consideration.² In the course of his travels through Mexico, Lumholtz had occasion to observe of the Tarascans that "an elderly woman, generally an aunt of the bridegroom, is selected as madrina, or guardian of the bridal couple. In the evening she spreads a white sheet over the petate or straw mat that is to serve as the nuptial couch, then discreetly retires."³ The continuation of the marriage feast and the happiness of the Tarascan bride for years to come depend upon the verdict of the madrina who inspects the sheet the following morning.

The Zapotecs.--Several hundred miles removed from the Tarascans and speaking an unrelated language, the Zapotecs of Tehuantepec and Juchitan nevertheless maintain a marriage custom

¹Starr, op. cit., p. 79.

²Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez, Los Tarascos (Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1940), p. 47.

³Lumholtz, op. cit., II, 419.

similar to the one just described. According to Starr, on the morning after the nuptial night an old woman parades through the village at the head of a company of friends and music-makers, exhibiting the stained sheet. She goes first to the home of the bride's mother, then to the girl's godmother where the mark of virginity is triumphantly displayed.¹ In contrast to the Tarascan case, there is no statement that the old woman is called a madrina.

By all odds, the most complete account of the godparent institution among Zapotecan peoples is to be found in Parsons' monograph on the town of Mitla in the state of Oaxaca.² In the multiplicity of godparents an individual normally annexes as he grows to maturity, Mitla is much like Pascua. Mitla children call their godparents padrino and madrina; godchildren are hijados. Parents and godparents address each other as compadres and comadres. All the adult members of the family of one's compadre or comadre are called compadre or comadre as well. Moreover these terms may be extended to any adult as a mark of respect. There are Zapotecan equivalents for the Spanish terms.

Padrinos of baptism play a very significant part in the life of every individual. Within a week or two after birth, an infant is carried to the church by the midwife where it is handed over to the godmother during the religious ceremony, the godfather paying the fee. Parents and godparents then join in a feast. If the child should die young, a "little angel," the godmother would supply the coffin and the dress.³ At the wake held for a child, gay music is played and fandangos are danced, the mother dancing

¹Starr, op. cit.

²Elsie Clews Parsons, Mitla, Town of the Souls (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936).

³Ibid., pp. 30-32.

with the godfather of the child, the father with the godmother.¹ Ordinarily the same godparents serve for the first three children; then new godparents are chosen.²

The child is confirmed any time between the ages of one month and adolescence, depending on episcopal³ visitations which may be years apart. At this time the child customarily acquires a godparent of like sex, though on occasion a godmother serves for a boy. The padrino or madrina of confirmation conducts the child during the church ritual, pays the necessary fee, and treats the child to sweets after the service. In return, the godparent receives from the child's parents either a present of food or an invitation to share food and drink at the home of the parents.

First communion is a rite distinguished from confirmation and brings with it another godmother or godfather. This godparent gives the child the candle held as he kneels before the altar rail. First communion occurs between the ages of seven and twelve.⁴

When a child is seriously ill it is assigned a candle godmother (madrina de vela). The sponsor selected is one who has been of great service in sickness, having administered a successful remedy. The candle godmother takes the sick child to church, burns candles for its recovery, and places a red ribbon or medal around its neck as it kneels. If the ailing child is a boy, a candle godfather may be chosen, although a godmother would serve as well.⁵

¹Ibid., p. 148.

²Ibid., p. 395.

³Standard Catholic practice requires that a bishop administer the sacrament of confirmation, which confers grace on baptized persons, "strengthening them for the duty of professing the Christian faith," according to Rev. John F. Sullivan, The Visible Church (New York: P. J. Kennedy and Sons, 1920), p. 47.

⁴Ibid., pp. 90-91.

⁵Ibid., pp. 69, 131, 395.

To arrange a marriage, the parents of the boy obtain the services of a professional go-between (huehuete) who pays three or four visits to the home of the bride-elect, at intervals of a month. Within a few days after the acceptance, the mother of the girl invites the relatives and the compadres to drink chocolate and eat tamales. Kindred and compadres contribute to the evening's entertainment, the guests reciprocating whenever a subsequent occasion permits. The various godparents are assigned different duties at the wedding. The godparents of baptism provide the bride with her trunk, the item of furniture next in importance to the altar table. The godmother of confirmation gives the bride her grinding-stones, thereupon becoming the madrina of the metate. In addition, godparents of marriage are present; these play a major part in the wedding ceremonies. They pay the marriage fee; rent the bride's wedding outfit; and entertain bride, groom, and musicians at a wedding breakfast. There may be two sets of marriage godparents, in which case the second pair furnishes the candles and pays for the hire of the wedding chain, which the groom wears for three days and then returns.¹ At a ceremony called "the reception of the bride," one of the godfathers of marriage counsels the groom:

He is not to abandon his parents or his wife. He is to safeguard the house. He is to work. He is not to loaf in the streets. After the godfather gives his blessing, the groom's father admonishes the groom to give heed to his godfather. He gives his blessing and the groom's mother gives hers.²

But "mostly there is no wedding at all," and hence no marriage sponsors. Parsons makes no mention of a virginity test, as noted for the Zapotecs of Tehuantepec by Starr.³

Summarizing the importance of godparents, Parsons writes:

¹Ibid., pp. 68, 90, 99, 102, 513.

²Ibid., p. 111.

³Supra, p. 26.

At all entertainment by the family, more especially weddings, mayordomias, and wakes, the godparents or compadres of two or more generations and the hijados, the godchildren, are expected to attend and in one way or another co-operate or contribute. In sickness or in any unforeseen emergency the tie will also hold. It is well to have rich and distinguished persons among your compadres.¹

Many families of Mitla have compadres in neighboring towns; these serve as hosts whenever one has occasion to travel. Itinerant merchants or "travellers" make particular use of out-of-town compadres.²

The concept of compadre may extend beyond family life. For each player in a ring-catching sport there is appointed a "madrina of the ring." Likewise, the five members of a winning basketball team are presented ribbon bandoliers by five "madrinas of the ribbon." moreover, the fee of the priest for blessing the cross for a new house is paid for by a specially designated padrino of the cross.³

Although Parsons does not evaluate the relative importance of the various sets of godparents, it is evident that those of baptism and of marriage rank above the rest, inasmuch as the taboo against marrying into the family of a godparent is most severe in the case of the godparents mentioned.⁴ Parsons reports that the godparent complex is weaker among the Zapotec of Tehuantepec, where only the children of baptismal godparents are debarred as marriage partners. Contrasting Mitla severity with Tehuantepec laxity, Parsons quotes an informant who remarks: "Here, after you burn a candle (as madrina de vela) people would think it bad for you to marry."⁵ This statement indicates the extent to which godparents and their families are assumed to fall within the sphere of exogamy.

¹Parsons, Mitla, p. 69.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 94.

⁵Ibid., p. 441.

The Mixe.--It is generally conceded that the Mixe-Zoque-Huave peoples of southern Mexico comprise a single language family. Less established is the suggested relationship to Penutian of California and to the Mayan stock adjoining them to the east.¹ Summary articles on the Mixe, Zoque, and Huave appear in the Revista Mexicana de Sociología; these make passing reference to godparenthood. De la Cerda Silva writes of the Mixe² that they baptize their children in great numbers only when the parson delivers a harangue. No special fiesta attends baptism. Still, the compadre relationship is rather important among the Mixe, according to the same authority, who adds that padrinos and compadres are second only to parents as protectors of the home.³

Marriage godparents, as well as the sponsors of baptism, figure in the conventionalities of courtship and marriage. After the father of the groom obtains the consent of the girl's father, a woman called a calendaria establishes the dates on which three successive ceremonial expenditures are to be made for the benefit of the bride's family. The kinds and quantities of tamales and meats are specified for each occasion. The baptismal padrino of the bride, who figures as a special relative, gets a generous share of the ritual food. On the following day the girl is conducted to the church by her wedding padrinos who pray for her future welfare. The bride and groom continue to live apart for another month; then the second ceremony takes place. This time the food offerings brought by the boy are received by the wedding padrinos acting for the family of the bride. On the third occa-

¹Mason, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

²Roberto de la Cerda Silva, "Los Mixes," Revista Mexicana de Sociología, II, No. 2 (1940), 63-113.

³Ibid., p. 97.

sion, which coincides with a full moon, the godparents escort the bashful bride to the home of the boy, where both sets of relatives participate in the food and festivities. In some Mixe localities, the three pre-nuptial overtures are made by the godparents of the boy. On the third occasion the godparents of the girl and those of the boy arrange the separate routes by which they will conduct their respective charges to a meeting point where the couple will join hands and be escorted to the house of the groom, while the sponsors lecture them on the duties that lie ahead.¹

The Popoluca of Vera Cruz, who speak a Mixe dialect, are described by Foster² as being nominal Catholics who always baptize their children, although they complain that the two-peso fee is excessive. Foster makes no reference to godparents.

Of the Huave, De la Cerda Silva writes merely that baptism calls for no festivity and that godparents are chosen from among the family members.³

The Zoque.--Unlike the Mixe, the cognate Zoque of Tabasco, Chiapas, and Oaxaca are described by the same authority as celebrating the occasion of baptism.⁴ The padrinos play host at the fiesta. Here the godparental bond is said to outweigh any other: in choosing a marriage partner it is more readily taken into consideration than is relationship of consanguinity or affinity. An orphaned child may come under the protection of its godfather.

The Yucatec.--The concentrated Mayan family occupies all

¹Ibid., pp. 93-94.

²George M. Foster, Jr., Notes on the Popoluca of Vera Cruz (Mexico, D. F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1940), p. 21.

³Roberto de la Cerda Silva, "Los Huave," Revista Mexicana de Sociología, III, No. 1 (1941), 102.

⁴De la Cerda Silva, "Los Zoque," ibid., II, No. 4 (1940), 87, 89.

of Guatemala, British Honduras, the peninsula of Yucatan, the state of Chiapas, and part of Tabasco. The only detached group are the Huastec Indians of east-central Mexico, for which we have only the bare statement that godparents are equated with close kinsmen.¹ Information on the godparent complex in Yucatan is contained in the accounts of Saville,² Thompson,³ and Cruz.⁴ The most adequate treatment, however, appears in the monograph on the village of Chan Kom by Redfield and Villa;⁵ it is on this report that the following paragraphs are based.

It is stated that godparents of baptism are of the greatest significance in the life of an unmarried individual. Children in Chan Kom are baptized soon after they are born; for if a child dies unbaptized it is converted into a death-dealing bird that hovers between the worlds of the dead and the living. Often the person asked to serve as godfather is already a good friend of the family. In case of a first or second child it is a mark of respect to ask an older brother of the father or one of the child's grandfathers to accept the office. The wife of the godfather becomes the godmother. Children address their godparents as padrino and madrina; parents and godparents use the reciprocal terms compadre and comadre. But in the case of kinsmen who act as sponsors, the regular kinship terms are retained as terms of address.

¹Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Los Huastecos," ibid., I, No. 2 (1939), 36.

²M. E. Saville, Reports on the Maya Indians of Yucatan (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1921).

³J. Eric Thompson, Ethnology of the Mayas of Southern and Central British Honduras (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1930).

⁴Pacheco Cruz, Estudio Etnográfico de los Mayas de Exteritorio Quintana Roo (Mérida, 1934).

⁵Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa R., Chan Kom, a Maya Village (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1934), pp. 98-100, 184-90, 194-98.

In petitioning for godparents, the parents obtain the services of an intermediary, so solemn is the occasion and so important is the lasting relationship about to be contracted. The intermediary is some mature and respected friend who accompanies the parents on their formal visit to the prospective compadre and who acts as spokesman, presenting the request in stylized speech. The agreement reached is later sealed by an offering of food which the friend and the father deliver to the home of the godparents. The godparents fix the day of baptism, the godmother making ready the clothes the child is to wear. The fee of the priest is paid by the godfather. The child is carried to the baptismal font by the godparent of the same sex.

When the child is about one year old, the godparents of baptism are invited to the home of the parents to participate in a hand-washing ritual by means of which the godparents acknowledge their gratitude to their compadres. Hosts and guests each have on hand a friend to act as spokesman. The wives of the spokesmen are present as well. The parents kneel before the godparents and their witnesses, kissing their hands and pronouncing greetings. Then each parent washes the hand of the other four. Thereupon cigarettes, rum, and perhaps food are served; and the conventional offering of a cooked turkey is formally presented to the godparents. The two spokesmen exchange speeches on behalf of their principals. As part of the ceremonies, the godchild is placed in the arms of its godparents. If old enough, it embraces them. Customarily the godfather presents a cash gift to each brother or sister of the godchild. The wife of the spokesman for the compadres gives several small food items to the mother on behalf of the godchild.

The godparental relationship is one of intimacy and of

respect on both sides, although the parent accords more deference to his compadre than he receives in return. Compadres are generally older. Redfield and Villa describe the relationship:

"My son treats his godparent like another father. And I treat my compadre like a father. Whatever he says, I do not deny. Maybe I do not like what he says, but I do not discuss it. I must treat him with much respect. It is not the same with him; he may differ with what I say." The godparent has conferred a favor upon the parents by assuming the sponsorship of the child¹

Godparents stand responsible for the child, consulting with the parents on matters concerning its welfare and taking over complete care of the child if circumstances demand. They participate in the consultations that precede marriage, the godmother often giving clothes to the bride. On his part, a godchild owes great respect to his godparents, greeting them with extreme courtesy when they pass on the street and deferring to their judgment. If he captures game, he gives a portion to his godfather.

When a child is four months old--three months, if a girl--it acquires a second pair of godparents in a hetzmeke ceremony when the child is placed astride the hip for the first time. This is to insure that the child grows up to be a useful member of the community. Usually a man and wife act as sponsors of the hetzmeke, but if only one godparent is involved, he or she is of the same sex as the child. In performing the ceremony, the godfather circles a table nine times, handing the child astride his hip a different symbolic object taken from the table each time he makes the circuit. With each object he makes an appropriate commentary. Thus he may say: "Here you have a hatchet. Take it so that you may learn to fell bush." When the godfather is done he hands the baby to the godmother who places it astride her hip and circles

¹Ibid., p. 98.

the table nine more times.¹ The objects are symbolic of the various duties and activities to which the child will fall heir when it matures. Accordingly, the objects for a baby girl are different from those handed a boy.²

Sponsors of the hetzmeek incur the same rights and obligations to the child and its parents as do the sponsors of baptism, although the latter continue to be the more important. Both of these offices are more significant than that of marriage sponsorship. The responsibility of marriage godparents begins and virtually ends with the wedding, though they may sometimes be called upon to compose discord arising between husband and wife. Marriage sponsors are usually a married couple appointed by the father of the groom; the godfather assumes charge of the bridegroom; the godmother, of the bride. Their period of counsel, instruction, and responsibility runs from the date on which the marriage gift is delivered to the family of the bride in consummation of the courtship, to the day of the wedding. During the concluding festivities, the girl's father directs the marriage padrino to deliver a formal speech explaining to the couple their mutual duties and responsibilities.³

Baptismal godparents are included in the consultations preceding betrothal but they do not enter into the actual negoti-

¹Ibid., p. 189. Cruz describes a similar hetzmeek ceremony for Quintana Roo, adding that the godmother goes around the table in the direction opposite to that of the godfather. If the child is a girl the godmother has her turn first. Cruz says the circuits are seven rather than nine in number. (Op. cit., p. 62.)

²Additional descriptions of the hetzmeek ceremony are to be found in Saville, op. cit., p. 187; and Thompson, op. cit., pp. 110-11.

³Marriage proceedings and the activity of godparents are described by Santiago Mendez, "The Maya Indians of Yucatan in 1861," reprinted in Indian Notes and Monographs, ed. F. W. Hodge (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1921), IX, 182.

ations. Nor do the parents of the groom, even though they are usually the ones who decide upon the prospective bride and initiate the discussions. This task is given over to a functionary known as the casamentero or professional marriage negotiator. He lauds the virtues of the groom to the parents of the bride-elect and arranges with them the details of the bride-gift. The casamentero must be a virtuous elder esteemed for his biblical learning. That he becomes something of a ritual kinsman himself is indicated by the following.

He is likely to assume some later responsibility for the success of the marriage; commonly before they marry, he advises the boy and girl as to their duties and responsibilities, and if discords arise between them after marriage, he will often intercede to repair the breach. For his services he collects no fee, but the bridegroom maintains an attitude of respectful obligation to him and not uncommonly gives him some assistance in working his milpa.¹

It would be of interest to know whether disapproval attaches to a marriage between the offspring of a couple and of their casamentero. We do know that sex relations between compadres and comadres are barred in Chan Kom, that neither may marry the child of the other, and that their respective children may not intermarry.²

Chan Kom is one of four communities of Yucatan which Redfield has selected for comparative study,³ each community representing a different level in a folk-to-urban gradient. Chan Kom is near the lower end of this range, approximating a folk rather than an urban community. It is exceeded in this respect only by the tribal village of Tusik, in the hinterlands of Quintana Roo, which stands at greatest remove from the urban pole.

Both baptism and the hetzmeek are solemn events in Tusik,⁴

¹Redfield and Villa, op. cit., p. 74.

²Statement by Robert Redfield, personal interview.

³Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

⁴Alfonso Villa R., "The Maya of East Central Quintana Roo" (MS).

but here one pair of godparents functions for both occasions, one of the godparents sponsoring the baptism and the other the hetzmek. The sponsors are usually man and wife and they act for all children born in one family; for it is considered sinful to change godparents on each occasion. Godparents are arranged for before the child is born. If either pair of grandparents is alive (preferably the paternal grandparents), these are the first choice; otherwise chiefs or other persons of high moral integrity are chosen. If the sponsors are not relatives they are called compadre and comadre as soon as they accept their charge. Their godchildren use the same terms in addressing them as in addressing their own parents.

As soon as their godchild is born, the sponsors provide it with shirts and diapers, and leave to consult the scribe about a name. They pay the scribe for reading out the saints' names listed in the almanac for the day on which the child was born, and they decide on one of the names. There is no mention of a baptism fee. Godparents offer care and counsel to their godchildren and take them into their home if they lose their parents. In the case of an illegitimate child, it is not unusual for a godfather to lend the child his surname. If a child is about to die, the godparents are called into attendance to deliver prayers in order that the child may "die well." They arrange the child in its coffin and place a red paper crown on its head as token of its innocence. The godparents buy the necessary red paper in advance of the godchild's birth in order to be prepared in the event of an emergency.

Men may not marry their comadres; nor may the children of compadres intermarry. There are godparents of marriage, but these have limited responsibilities, occasionally acting to avert strife

between the marriage partners.

In the more secular town of Dzitas, as contrasted with the villages of Tusik and Chan Kom, the forms of godparenthood are the same, but are endowed with less significance. Compadres are frequently selected for practical advantage, a well-to-do and respected vecino (non-Indian) often acting as godfather to more children than he can accord proper respect and attention. Hetzmek is halfheartedly performed, and the hetzmek godparents are soon forgotten. There is no effort to maintain the hand-washing ceremony which, in the more remote villages, reaffirms the binding relationship between parents and godparents contracted at baptism.

Beyond Dzitas lies Mérida, largest and most urban of the four Yucatan communities in Redfield's series. As in Dzitas, godparent practices depart from the ideal, but the extent of the departure is greater. Baptism itself may be put off for over a year. Godparents of wealth and power are sought, other considerations often being excluded. Relationships between parent and godparent and between child and godparent tend to become impersonal. A case is reported of a man with over a thousand godchildren. When Dr. and Mrs. Hansen arrived in Mérida they were asked to become godparents by people who knew nothing about them except that they had money enough to pay the fees.¹ However, there are still padrinos of the old style who take their responsibilities very seriously, even in Mérida. So it sometimes happens that old-fashioned padrinos are drawn more closely to their godchildren and compadres than are the actual kinsmen who affect more urban ways. A person with a "lower class" compadre must be careful to address him by this term; for if he fails to do so, the compadre may take offense at the implication that he is ashamed to acknowledge the

¹Asael Hansen, field notes on Mérida.

relationship.

Even though they are not always realized, the expectations in Mérida are that both a padrino and a madrina should baptize the baby. Padrinos of baptism may be man and wife, or man and daughter, or friends who are not related, according to Hansen. An essential consideration is that the persons selected be practicing Catholics. That is the recognized ideal. If there is only one baptismal godparent it should be a man for a boy-child, a woman for a girl-child. Godparents should supply the baptismal outfit and pay the priest. In practice, the parents may be more well-to-do than the godparents and may therefore assume the expenses incident to baptism. In such cases the feeling of obligation runs from the godparents to the parents rather than the reverse. This conflicts with expectations. For the rite of confirmation one godparent suffices. This sponsor should be of the same sex as the child and should be other than the child's godparent of baptism.

The Tzeltal.--The Mayan Indians of Chiapas speak several closely related languages affiliated to the lowland Maya of Yucatan. Under the head of Tzeltal may conveniently be lumped a number of linguistic names which are either slightly differentiated (Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Chañabal) or purely synonymous (Chañabal and Tojolabal). Of this greater Tzeltal group, named Chañabaloid by Mason,¹ nearly nothing is known. The meager data bearing on godparents may be set forth in quick order.

Basauri states that orphaned children of the Tojolabal (Chañabal) occasionally come under the care of the madrina.²

¹Mason, op. cit., p. 71.

²Carlos Basauri, Tojolabales, Tzeltales y Mayas (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1931), p. 41.

Among some of the Tzeltal, matrimonial arrangements are made by a mediator acting on behalf of the boy. At the concluding ceremony at the home of the girl, the bride and groom kneel behind their parents and are flanked by the padrinos, one of whom is usually the mediator.¹

The basic motive of baptism among the Tzotzil is to establish godparental relations, which are of great importance in the lives of the natives, according to Rojas Gonzalez and De la Cerda Silva.² Tzotzil compadres are under obligation to render mutual assistance, and they hold each other in high esteem. On meeting, the younger compadre bares his head and kneels before the older, who places his right hand on his companion's head. On death, the corpse is laid out by compadres and relatives.

The Jacalteco.--In the highlands of Huehuetenango across the Guatemalan border are located the Jacalteco Maya whose language seems to tie in closely with Tzeltal. La Farge and Byers write of Jacaltenango that "baptism is obtained whenever the priest may come to the village," but present no data on godparents.³ Siegel states that in the Jacalteco town of San Miguel Acatán the priest performs baptismal rites on one of two annual visits.⁴ In San Miguel, most children are brought to be baptized when they are one or two years old.⁵ In part this is attributable to the in-

¹Ibid., pp. 116, 118.

²Francisco Rojas González y Roberto de la Cerda Silva, "Los Tzotziles," Revista Mexicana de Sociología, III, No. 3 (1941), 136.

³Oliver La Farge and Douglas Byers, The Yearbearer's People (New Orleans: Tulane University of Louisiana Middle American Research Series, 1931).

⁴Morris Siegel, "Religion in Western Guatemala: A Product of Acculturation," American Anthropologist, XLIII (1941), 68.

⁵This statement and those that follow were obtained from Morris Siegel by personal interview.

frequent visits of the priest. There is no fear for the fate of a child that dies unbaptized. The godparents are responsible for the fee and a gift to the child--a total expenditure amounting to more than one dollar. Because they can better afford it, Indians often invite Ladinos (non-Indians), with whom they come in contact on coffee plantations, to sponsor the baptism of their children. But owing to the small Ladino-Indian ratio, many natives must look to Indian neighbors for godparents. Siegel adds that there are no festivities in connection with baptism and that the godparental relationship is virtually meaningless. Parents greet their compadres as such but they do not ask them for medical aid nor expect them to be responsible for the child in any way.

The Mam of Mexico.--Prompted by a suggestion of Kroeber, Mason has tentatively divided the host of Mayan languages into two basic substocks, the Mayoid and Quichoid.¹ The Guatemalan highlands are the home of the Quichoid branch which consists largely of the Quiché cluster (Quiché proper, Cakchiquel and Zutuhil) and of the Mam dialects which spill over into Chiapas.² Reference to godparents among the Mam occurs only for the Mexican branch. De la Cerda Silva³ records that baptism is effected a long time after birth and that the event is occasionally marked by a modest celebration. In contrast to other Indians, he writes, the Mam treat godparental ties very lightly. For godparents they look to relatives, natives of influence, and plantation owners.

¹Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 71. This classification is admittedly tentative. A revised classification of the Mayan languages is apparently emerging from A. M. Halpern's analysis of Manuel Andrade's material (unpublished).

²Other linguistic members of the Quichoid branch are Ixil, Kekchi and Pokomam, according to Mason (*op. cit.*, p. 71). Data on these groups are virtually nonexistent.

³De la Cerda Silva, "Los Mame," Revista Mexicana de Sociología, II, No. 3 (1940), 84, 88.

The Quiché.--For the Quiché of midwestern Guatemala there is the report on the municipality of Chichicastenango by Bunzel,¹ which provides detailed material on the ceremonial aspect of godparenthood. According to Bunzel, "the term compadre is used reciprocally between a man and his godfather, and the godfather of his child or godchild; the compadre grande is the paternal grandfather of the infant. The wives of these men use comadre as a reciprocal."²

In Chichicastenango the office of godparent is not one that any adult is qualified to hold. One must be a specialist in godparenthood, so to speak, having acquired a knowledge of the special forms and usages from an older and professional padrino. This brings it about that a handful of padrinos are godfathers to hundreds of children, as well as compadres to numerous parents and grandparents. A Chichicastenango specialist may sponsor so many baptisms that he loses count of the relationships contracted.³

A child is not baptized until it is about six months old. The parents feel no anxiety for the welfare of its soul. Since the fee is borne by the family, they prefer to wait until the child survives its first few months before investing in its baptism, according to Bunzel.

When the time comes for the baby to be baptized, the parents and grandparents agree on the choice of a godfather.⁴ One

¹Ruth Bunzel, "A Guatemalan Village" (MS).

²Ibid. If this quotation means that a youth addresses his godfather as compadre rather than padrino, as is true elsewhere, this may possibly be explained by the reasoning that the term padrino is reserved for reference, not to one's own godfather, but to one of a group of respected elders with special knowledge who act as godfathers for all children of Chichicastenango. However, it is likely that only a typographical error accounts for the anomaly.

³According to Sol Tax, field notes on Chichicastenango.

⁴The description that follows is summarized from MS by Bunzel.

of the grandfathers presents the request to the godfather. Both exchange set speeches. The paternal grandfather provides the money with which the godfather is to pay the priest. The petitioner arranges with his compadre to arrive at the house on Saturday to bless the child in preparation for the Sunday ceremony. The midwife bathes the baby for the occasion.

The compadre arrives on the appointed Saturday. He recites prayers over the child and talks in a religious vein to the head of the house, preferring to speak to the grandfather or even to the uncle of the child rather than directly to the youthful father. If the child is a boy he prays aloud, requesting the interested powers to see that he grows up to be a staunch member of the community, that he acquit himself well and willingly in each of the public offices he will be called upon to serve, that he become a good worker or a good merchant or the like, and that it may perhaps be his good lot to become a compadre, a shaman, or some other sacred professional. If the child is a girl, the godfather prays that she may share with her future husband all the public duties which will be his lot, that she be a good weaver and a good tender of animals, and that she may perhaps become a diviner or midwife. ". . . . And also perhaps it will be your destiny to serve as holy comadre, holder and bearer of infants before the presence of our priest in the Holy Church." All the expectations and possibilities of female adulthood are enumerated in the greatest detail by the compadre. He repeatedly invokes the name of Christ; alludes to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; speaks of the sacred mountain that serves as the shrine for occult worship.

The godfather next describes in detail the events that will take place in church the following day. Then the grandfather,

with the aid of the child's mother, offers the godfather water with which to wash his hands. Ceremonial food and drink is set before the godfather. He blesses the food; some of this is taken back into the kitchen where each member of the family eats a portion. Incense is burned for the dead, more food is brought in, and blessings and rituals and speeches continue. After eating alone, the godfather delivers his gift of clothing for the baby, but not without more stylized speech-making to the effect that the ancestors did it this way, and thus must it now be done. The gift is received by the grandfather who calls upon the parents to come and behold the magnificent present (usually a small article of baby clothes). The parents kneel, offer thanks, and receive the godfather's blessing. Finally the godfather thanks the grandmother for the food, exchanges long and varied greetings with all concerned, and departs, followed by a messenger bearing more food.

On the next day the child is dressed in fresh clothes. The godfather calls for the child and, together with the compadre grande and the baby's mother, proceeds to church. At each corner on the way the compadres halt to exchange stylized greetings. This is repeated on the way home. Since the padrino is a specialist, he may stand sponsor for more than one child on the same day. If this is the case, he slips out of the church as soon as the priest has passed with the holy oil, returning the child to its mother and reappearing with the second child.

Assuming that the godfather is committed to only one baptism on a given day, he returns the child to the home where he is refreshed with more food. Just before departing he delivers a speech, saying in part:

Our daughter has received her baptism. I leave my daughter in good health. Compadre, you are the head of the family . . . Will you have the kindness to tell my comadre that she should not let her cry; that she should care for her by night

in order that nothing may happen to bring the spirit of death, for often this happens, compadre.¹

Formal and effusive greetings are exchanged. The baptism is over. Thereafter, if the child is sick, the parents or grandparents may come to the compadre to ask for medicines. And sometimes the compadre sends presents to his godchild on the day of his saint.

If it is a first child, a friend or acquaintance who is qualified as a padrino is selected. Otherwise, if he is still alive, the godfather of the first child is asked to baptize subsequent children.² In this case the padrino only gives a gift when baptizing the first child. Sometimes there is one godfather for all the boys and another for all the girls of a family. An individual in Chichicastenango has but one godfather and one godmother, the latter being the wife of the former. Subsequent life crises bring with them no new sponsors. Courtship is initiated by the parents of the groom and is carried out under the supervision of a spokesman called a chinimital.³

The Cakchiquel.--Close to the Quiché, linguistically and geographically, are the Zutuhil and Cakchiquel language groups. Most systematically studied of the Cakchiquel communities is the town of Panajachel located on the shore of Lake Atitlán. Here godparents do not constitute a professional class, as in Chichicastenango, but are picked with an eye to improving the lot of a child, in a material rather than spiritual sense, according to Tax.⁴ Children call their godparents padrino and madrina; parents

¹Ibid. ²Sol Tax, field notes on Chichicastenango.

³Leonhard Schultze Jena, op. cit., I, Die Quiché von Guatemala, 2. According to the author, the presence of a chinimital serves to establish formally that both sides have acted with free will, thus forestalling any subsequent reproaches and disputes.

⁴Sol Tax, field notes on Panajachel.

and godparents address each other as compadre and comadre, although, as elsewhere, these terms can be extended to others as a mark of respect.

Since the godparents buy gifts on occasion and are helpful in providing medicines for the child, it is advantageous to select godparents of means. As a rule, the ladino residents of Panajachel have more money than the natives. For this reason Ladinos are often approached to sponsor Indian infants. This inclination contrasts with the Chichicastenango tendency where the choice is confined to native specialists. In Panajachel the priest is paid by the godparents. The latter present items of clothing to the godchild and receive food gifts in return. The parents accompany the godparents to church. If the child is a boy, the godmother holds it at the font. If it is a girl, the godfather presents it for baptism. According to Tax, the baby and the godparent of opposite sex are spoken of as "married." Baptism is generally delayed until the baby is several months old.

As in most places, the godparents in Panajachel are normally a married couple, but it sometimes happens that a desirable or accessible godparent has no husband or wife. In this case the child remains with one godparent. As at Chichicastenango, the same godparents are preferred for successive children. Should several children die, however, the parents might seek a change in sponsors for forthcoming offspring. Tax describes the native view:

The godparents are the "luck" or destiny of the child, and if the child lives, they get the credit. They are interested in the child and especially are supposed to help cure it when it gets sick. When the child grows up, it is supposed to respect godparents, visit them, offer them drinks, etc. The godparents call the godchildren "child" or "spouse" and call godchildren's child "grandchild."

As a rule, children of Panajachel have but one set of god-

parents, those acquired at baptism. Sometimes, however, at about the age of six a child attends a church rite entailing additional sponsors who are known as godparents of evangelio. Church weddings are rare but when they occur new godparents are acquired, in accordance with Catholic dictates.

The ideal in Panajachel is for godparents to treat their godchildren as their own children and for children to treat their godparents as their own parents. Compadres and comadres may not marry, nor may either marry a godchild. A godchild may not wed the offspring of its godparents, but the siblings of the godchild are not similarly debarred.

The Cakchiquel Indians of San Antonio Palopó, located only a few miles beyond Panajachel on Lake Atitlán, have quite similar godparent customs, according to Redfield.¹ Children are baptized late and ordinarily acquire no additional godparents after baptism. Though rarely exercised, it is the theoretical duty of the godparents to teach the child the prescribed prayers. Children may not marry godparents nor the offspring of godparents. Though some ladina women serve as godmothers, they are outnumbered by Indian godmothers. Apparently the number of approachable ladina women in San Antonio is not as great as in Panajachel. Redfield records several cases of ladino godparents assuming temporary custody of an orphaned Indian godchild. In one case the child was taken into the home and reared as a Ladino.

In the Zutuhil town of Santiago Atitlán, across the lake from Panajachel, it frequently occurs that one godparent, rather than a couple, is selected. There is a strong tendency to ask women, usually Ladinas, to sponsor native children of either sex,

¹Redfield, field notes on San Antonio Palopó.

according to Tax.¹ Moreover, parents tend to pick different godparents for successive children.²

The Chorti.--The Chorti Indians comprise the most easterly branch of the Mayan stock, occupying an area that falls mostly within the eastern limits of Guatemala and partly within Honduras. Not located in the lowlands, they are nevertheless regarded as linguistically akin to the Mayoid or lowland Maya.³ An account of the Chorti sponsor system is to be found in the monograph by Wisdom,⁴ who refers to godfathers as padrinos and to godmothers merely as the wives of padrinos.⁵

A few days before the baby is expected, a member of the family presents a roast chicken to the couple sought as sponsors. Ordinarily a padrino may not refuse the request. He considers it his duty to accept and to aid in the subsequent rearing of the child. A second roast chicken is sent on the day the child is actually born. Forty days later the mother, child, and godparents assemble at the village church. The padrino pays the priest and holds the child at the font. Following the ceremony, the parents provide a dinner for the godparents who bring gifts and ornaments for the godchild.

For the next eight days a baptismal festival may be held at the country residence of the parents, the godparents participating only if they happen to live conveniently close. On the ninth day the mother sends the godparents cooked male and female

¹Sol Tax, field notes.

²For the treatment of godparent customs in the Zutuhil village of San Pedro de Laguna, another of the Lake Atitlan communities, see infra, pp. 88 ff.

³Mason, op. cit., p. 71.

⁴Charles Wisdom, A Chorti Village of Guatemala (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940).

⁵The term madrina is not reported to be in use.

turkeys and other foods. In return the godparents send back food and baby-clothing, as well as a cash gift to be used in buying necessities for the child. After about six months the mother and child pay a visit to the godparents for a day, bringing along a cooked chicken. The godmother prepares a feast for the guests. Sometimes the godfather presents the child with a tiny chicken as a parting gift.¹

The social utility of godparenthood is summarized in the following passage.

The godfather often acts in every way as the actual father in the event of the latter's death. He gives his ward advice, gets him out of difficulties, sometimes trains him in a man's work, and may act as his parent when he marries. The same is done by the godmother for her female godchild. If both parents die, and the godchild is young, the godparents may receive that portion of the property which the child inherited and put it to his own use, in return for which he must bring up the child as one of his own family. As soon as the young man or woman becomes eighteen years of age, his inheritance is made up to him by his godfather. Where there is more than one minor child, each godfather² receives his ward's share out of the total property, each child going to live in the home of its own godfather, leaving the adult children in their own home. If the children are more than eighteen years old at the time of the parents' death, the godparents take no hand in the matter, as each son and daughter receives his own inheritance. Matters relating to the wardship of orphaned children by godparents are arranged by agreement between the latter and the children's relatives.³

Marriages are arranged by parents or grandparents. If these are not living, the godfather serves in their stead, requesting the marriage or acceding to it.⁴ The godparents attend on the first day of an eight-day feast that follows the Catholic marriage ceremony. During the evening accordion music is provided, and "the godfather dances with the bride, the godmother with the groom,

¹Ibid., pp. 291-93.

²Note implication that separate padrinos serve for successive children.

³Ibid., pp. 293-94.

⁴Ibid., p. 254.

and the two visiting parents with each other. After a time everyone joins in, although at no time during the dance does anyone else dance with these six principals."¹

A respect in which the Chorti differ from other peoples is that the meaning of the term padrino is not limited to "god-father." Members of the native priesthood are likewise designated "padrinos." More or less distinguished from diviners and curers, these sacred professionals are of several classes, the most important of which is the class of rain-making padrinos. In one Chorti locality the padrinos elect a captain as steward of the village saint for the year. The keeper of the church, called mayordomo, is also considered a padrino. In fact, "almost any old man who is much respected in his community and whose moral life is acceptable can consider himself and be considered a padrino."²

If priests and godparents are both padrinos, is the inference to be drawn that godparents are exclusively chosen from among the priests? Although Wisdom himself is silent on the point, he is cited by Parsons who writes of the Chorti that "the rain priest and his wife are baptismal and wedding godparents for all the villages."³ If this is true, the Chorti case resembles that of Chichicastenango in that both limit the selection of godparents to a small group of esoteric specialists. As in Chichicastenango, it would follow that each padrino tends to have a host of godchildren. Yet the fact that the Chorti godparent is described as assuming a high degree of responsibility towards his ward would

¹Ibid., pp. 301-2. Since reference is made, in another connection, to the "marriage padrino," who pays for the marriage license, the implication is present that the godparents mentioned in this quotation are those of marriage rather than of baptism. There is nothing to indicate that marriage sponsors are more than of passing importance.

²Ibid., p. 373.

³Parsons, Mitla, p. 524.

appear to militate against such an interpretation. It is conceivable that godparents and priests are separate persons despite the ambiguity of reference, and that Parsons gratuitously inferred a fusion to support a historical hypothesis linking some of the present godparent functions to those of aboriginal shamans.

A padrino and his wife officiate at the completion of a new Chorti house "for the purpose of accepting it into the community and driving evil spirits out of it."¹ But it seems that "padrino" here has reference to shaman rather than godparent.²

¹Wisdom, op. cit., p. 130.

²A priest or shaman similarly officiates in Chichicastenango where the event is called "baptizing a new house," according to Sol Tax, on Chichicastenango.

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA ON GODPARENTHOOD

General features of the godparental complex.--In the present chapter the material on godparent practices in the various communities of Mexico and Guatemala is condensed and analytically reordered. In the paragraphs that follow, documentation of recurrent cultural features by reference to several local instances, is not to be understood as meaning that the feature is present in only the instances cited. In most cases, it means only that published information on the specific topic is lacking for other communities. The preceding chapter has made it evident that the literature on Middle American godparental systems is of very uneven character. Considerable variation is apparent in the quantity of information available for the respective communities, in the features emphasized, and in the aspects unrecorded. This makes it difficult to decide whether a brief treatment appearing in a publication reflects an attenuated godparental complex or merely bespeaks passing interest on the part of the investigator. Handicaps of this order are by no means unique to the study of godparenthood, but the limitations of the literature must be borne in mind in reading the analysis of Middle American godparenthood that follows.

Throughout Middle America, godparental terminology is patterned on kinship terminology. A child addresses his baptismal godparents as padrino and madrina, and these are the terms by which the community refers to godparents. The words are based on

the Spanish words for father and mother. Yaqui children address their godfather as nino and their godmother as nina; these are Spanish terms of respect or affection.¹ The term of reference for godchild is ahijado or ahijada, depending on its sex.² These are derived from the Spanish words for son and daughter. A godparent uses these terms in referring or speaking to his godchild, although he may say "my son" or "my daughter," to betoken greater intimacy.

Compadre and comadre are the Spanish words for co-father and co-mother.³ Without exception these are the terms of address used between the parents and the godparents of a child. Characteristically a set of compadres is a married couple. If the grandparents are living it is customary that these, as well as the parents, are addressed as compadres by the godparents. In Chichicastenango the godparents call the paternal grandfather of their godchild compadre grande. Thus as many as eight adults--godparents, parents, and two sets of grandparents--may be bound together

¹Though not specifically reported for other Middle American communities, these terms are probably common in many Hispanicized areas. Thus among the Chamorro of Guam, "the child calls his godfather patlino or nino for short; his godmother matlina or nina," according to Laura Thompson, Guam and Its People (San Francisco: American Council Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941), p. 41.

²The slightly variant terms hijado and hijada, reported to be in use in Mitla, constitute inconsequential exceptions.

³The Spanish godparental terms, together with the Spanish kinship terms on which they are based, can be summarized as follows:

godson	:	<u>ahijado</u>	(from <u>hijo</u> , son)
goddaughter:		<u>ahijada</u>	(from <u>hija</u> , daughter)
godfather	:	<u>padrino</u>	(from <u>padre</u> , father)
godmother	:	<u>madrina</u>	(from <u>madre</u> , mother)
co-father	:	<u>compadre</u>	(from <u>padre</u> , father)
co-mother	:	<u>comadre</u>	(from <u>madre</u> , mother)

Masculine plurals serve also for plurals of mixed gender; thus godchildren in Spanish are ahijados; godparents, padrinos; co-parents, compadres.

by compadre-comadre terms of address and by the mutual amenities and duties they imply. In Mitla all the adult members of a compadre's family are called compadre and comadre. Better stated, compadre ties in most instances are not so much between individuals as between two families.

Occasionally the institution of baptismal sponsorship brings members of more than two families into relationship. This is brought about by the selection of the compadre in one family and the complementary comadre in another. There is no evidence that this is a regular practice in any community. Cases of separate selection sometimes occur among the Arizona Yaqui, for example, and in such instances the spouse of each co-parent is called compadre or comadre as well. In the more secular community of Mérida the co-parents likewise may be unrelated to each other but in this case it is not certain that the spouses of the respective sponsors are called compadre or comadre. Sometimes split selection is occasioned by the fact that a person chosen as godparent has no wife or husband, or has a non-Catholic spouse. A more common way of handling such a circumstance is to provide the child with only the one godparent. This often happens in the Lake Atitlán villages of the Guatemalan Highlands. A less frequent resort consists in designating a relative other than the spouse as the complementary godparent. Thus a widower and his daughter may serve as a set of baptismal godparents. Hensen mentions such a possibility for Mérida. However, cases in which combinations other than married couples serve as baptismal sponsors, appear to be exceptions to the rule and to occur more often in those communities in which the godparent complex is relatively weak, as in Mérida or in the Laká Atitlán region of Guatemala.

In Tepoztlán, in Mitla, and among the Yaqui of Pascua

there exists a set of native equivalents for the Spanish godparental terms discussed above. In Tepoztlán, the native terms are used more seldom than the Spanish.

The Catholic rite of baptism¹ is the occasion on which a child is provided with its most important set of godparents, or with its only godparents. In Mérida, godparenthood and baptism are so lightly regarded that the ceremony may be put off for over a year. In Chichicastenango baptism may be delayed for six months. Bunzel suggests that this reflects a reluctance to assume the costs involved in baptism until the chances are good that the child will survive. Delayed baptism is also customary among the Mam of Mexico, as well as in San Miguel Acatán and in the Lake Atitlán area. But in all other instances for which specific information is available infants are provided with baptismal godparents within the first days or weeks succeeding birth. In Tepoztlán a child may be presented at the baptismal font on the same day it is presented to the world. In some communities godparents are secured before the child is born. This is so in the Mexican town of San Juan Teotihuacán, in the Yucatecan village of Tusik, and among the Chorti of eastern Guatemala. Whether godparents are chosen just before or just after birth, baptism takes place shortly after their selection. In general it is regarded to be sinful to permit the child to die unbaptized.

Only in the case of the Chorti is there an appreciable time interval between selection of godparents and baptism of the baby. Although the godparents are arranged for before the baby is born, Wisdom writes that the child is not baptized until it is

¹In the official Catholic view, "baptism is a sacrament which cleanses us from original sin, and makes us Christians," according to Rev. John F. Sullivan, The Visible Church (New York: P. J. Kennedy and Sons, 1900), p. 39.

forty days old.¹ It happens that in Tepoztlán and in San Juan Teotihuacán, in both of which baptism takes place as soon after birth as possible, it is likewise on the fortieth day that "one of the most important occasions in the life of the child" takes place. In these Mexican villages, infant, mother, and godparents appear in church on the fortieth day to celebrate the sacamisá. This occasion serves the sociological purpose of introducing the child and reintroducing the mother into the community, as well as solemnizing the new godparent-godchild relationship.

As a species of artificial kinship, ceremonial sponsorship operates to extend the number of formalized personal relationships. On the other hand, it may serve to intensify the relationships already established. Godparent practices in the various communities in Mexico and Guatemala may be ranged with reference to the degree in which they stress one or the other of these two principles: extension or intensification. One mechanism for extension is the selection of new sets of baptismal godparents for successive children. In this manner a couple with five children can establish compadre relationships with five families. Such may be the practice in the village of Atitlán and among the Chorti Indians. In most communities the multiplication of new relationships is limited in the interest of reinforcing the co-parental bond created in the baptizing of the first child. Thus in Panajachel and Tusik there is a tendency to change godparents only when the original ones have been removed by death or (in Panajachel) when their sponsorship appears to be attended by repeated ill luck.

¹Wisdom suggests that the forty-day period preceding baptism among the Chorti "may be a vestige of the use of the ancient Maya calendar, intended to represent two months each of twenty days; it may be the Pentecostal period which precedes Easter; or it may be the forty-day period which must elapse in Catholic countries between birth and churching." Charles Wisdom, A Chorti Village of Guatemala (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), p. 292.

The intensification motive achieves its logical limit among those peoples who restrict the selection of godparents to kinsmen. This is stated to be the regular practice among the Huave. It is irregularly true among the Mam of Mexico, and occasionally occurs among the Yaqui of Pascua. In the villages of Yucatan grandparents or uncles are preferred as godparents, at least for the first child or two. In all these instances godparenthood acts to strengthen the ties of kinship rather than supplement them, as is more generally the case.

A balance between intensification and extension appears to be struck in Mitla where godparents are changed after three children, according to Parsons. In Chichicasteango it is sometimes arranged that one pair of sponsors officiate for all the sons in a family while another pair serves for the daughters.

Another avenue for maximizing relationships is the acquisition of supplemental sets of godparents in the course of successive life crises. Everywhere baptismal sponsorship is the fundamental form of the godparental structure. In Chichicasteango and generally among the inhabitants of the Lake Atitlán villages, godparents of baptism remain the only sponsors; but occasionally there are evangelio godparents in Panajachel. The rite of confirmation brings with it a single sponsor in Mérida. In Mitla a new godparent is added not only on confirmation but also upon first communion. In addition there may be a "candle godmother" in the event of illness. Pascua, however, attains a record for the number of new ceremonial sponsors an individual may successively acquire. Ordinarily he secures ten godparents in the course of being baptized, being cured of a stubborn ailment, upon confirmation of rosary, confirmation in the Catholic church, upon joining one or more ceremonial societies, and upon getting married. In

Chan Kom a child is given a second pair of sponsors (or a single sponsor) in the native hetzmek ceremony a few months following baptism.¹

Matrimonial godparents constitute the form of secondary sponsorship that is common to the greatest number of societies under discussion. There is probably no Catholic village in Middle America in which such sponsorship is unknown. But the sociological significance of this sponsorship is sharply reduced by the relative rarity with which formal church weddings take place.

More often than not secondary sponsorships introduce but a single godparent rather than a pair, as is customary in baptism. Lone sponsors are the rule for rites of confirmation,² communion, and marriage.³ In these instances there is a tendency for the godparent to be of the same sex as the child.⁴

Sponsorship at baptism may be said to perform two functions; it dramatizes the social value of the ritual occasion and

¹In Tusik hetzmek is recognized as an early life crisis but the same godparents sponsor both baptism and hetzmek. Since these are often close kinsmen to begin with, it will be seen that Tusik contrasts with Pascua and Mitla in its aim to limit the formation of new relationships.

²Rev. John F. Sullivan writes (*op. cit.*, p. 49): "The person confirmed is usually, among us, about twelve or thirteen years of age. . . . A sponsor is required at Confirmation, just as at Baptism. . . . Since Pentecost, 1918, there is no matrimonial impediment resulting from this sponsorship. It is usual to have one sponsor only, of the same sex as the person confirmed."

³Normally a couple act as sponsors of marriage, the padrino acting on behalf of the groom, and the madrina on behalf of the bride. In San Juan Teotihuacan the sponsoring couple assumes custody of the bride, apparently disregarding the groom. Sometimes marriage godparents appear to be sponsors of the occasion rather than of the couple. In such a case it is feasible to have several sets of marriage sponsors, as may occur in Mitla where the two couples assume responsibility for furnishing separate items necessary for the wedding.

⁴A deviation from this principle is represented in the pattern prevailing in Panajachel and San Antonio Palopo where it is expected that the godparent of opposite sex hold the infant during baptism.

it inaugurates enduring relationships. But sponsorship at subsequent occasions fulfills the first function almost to the exclusion of the second in most of the communities under review. Thus the presence of marriage godparents may augment the meaning of marriage as a rite of transition, but the importance of the sponsors virtually disappears with the conclusion of the wedding festivities. The participation of ritual sponsors in confirmations, communions, and curing rites, likewise serves essentially to solemnize the rites of passage imposed upon the individual by the particular culture. But it may not be said that secondary sponsorships are of passing importance in all of the areas under discussion. Hetznek godparents in Chan Kom retain their influence and responsibility until the godchild is married, just as godparents of baptism do. The Yaqui seize upon all manner of auxiliary sponsorships for the formation of social relationships of more than temporary duration. To a lesser extent the same may be said of Mitla.

If godparents are regarded of service in validating a conventional change in personal status, they may likewise prove useful in less orthodox status transitions. Thus Parsons¹ relates that when a native of Santa Ana Xalmimilulco is released from his first imprisonment, he seeks a "godfather" to rub salt into his body and to pass a lighted candle over him.² This procedure is thought to forestall a quick return to prison. The ritual cleansing at the hands of the "godfather" may be regarded as sponsoring

¹Elsie Clews Parsons, "Folk Lore from Santa Ana Xalmimilulco, Puebla, Mexico," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLV (1932), 339.

²The application of salt and the use of lighted candles constitute regular elements in the Catholic ritual of baptism. Salt is said to denote "wisdom, purification and preservation from corruption," while the candle "symbolizes the light of faith and the flame of charity." (Rev. John F. Sullivan, op. cit., p. 42.)

the transition from a status of ritual impurity to a status of social acceptability. Ritual sponsorship may serve to validate events of nonhuman character, such as the inauguration of a new house. In Mitla a special "godfather" is present at the blessing of a house; in Chichicasteango the house-blessing is viewed as a type of baptism.¹ In Pascua the couple responsible for organizing the annual fiesta appropriate to a certain saint or religious symbol, are regarded as the padrinos of the image in their custody. Some of the Otomi address the familial saints and idols as compadres in expectation of receiving return considerations for their offerings and adulations.

Introduced along with baptism at the time of the Spanish conquest of Middle America, the godparent complex has come to be invested with the wealth of local legend and mythical beliefs that attaches itself to many aspects of culture in folk societies. The sacred character of baptism and sponsorship in Chichicasteango is sustained by the myth that the first ancestors observed these practices and ordained that they must be observed through the generations. In Panajachel primordial baptism and godparenthood are woven into a local version of the Adam and Eve creation story.² The Chan Kom myth that the souls of unbaptized babies are transformed into monstrous birds that prey upon the souls of living children, lends an awesome character to the sacrament of baptism. The rite is surrounded by a sacred aura among the Mazatec through the injunction that godparents may not wash their hands until their godchild has received baptism. Tlaxcalan Indians may not refuse to serve as godparents under pain of mortal sin, for it is

¹This may be general Catholic practice, the priest specifying that a padrino be present at the benediction of the house.

²Sol Tax, field notes on Panajachel.

regarded as the will of God.

Similar sacred attitudes enforce the observance of certain acknowledging ceremonies such as the hand-washing rite in Yucatan. In the village of Tusik it is thought that failure to perform this ritual will bring grief to the slighted godparents whose hands will suffer torments in the world beyond. In the Nahuatl town of San José Miautitlán a godparent who fails to provide a present when his godchild reaches the age of one or two years, is subject to the recriminations of society which charges him with the responsibility of whatever illness may befall his ward.

Stories that stress the proper behavior towards compadres are numerous. Anecdotes that end in an evil fate for men who act in bad faith, frequently are couched in compadre terms. Tax records a Panajachel story relating how a rich man tricked his poor compadre into slaying his only cow on the false assurance of realizing a fabulous income on the hide and how poetic justice finally turned the scales against the scheming rich man.¹ The same plot concerning rich and poor compadres is recorded for San Antonio Palopó in Guatemala² and for the Huave of southern Mexico.³ Amicable relations between Huichol compadres are encouraged by the belief that if compadres become enraged at each other their candles will go out during ceremonies and they will die. Failure to extend hospitality to one's norawa, the Tarahumara equivalent of a Huichol trading compadre, exposes the host to witchcraft. A myth that runs from Mexico through all of highland Guatemala recounts that an ancient compadre and comadre were turned to stone

¹Ibid.

²Robert Redfield, field notes on San Antonio Palopó.

³Paul Radin, "Huave Texts," International Journal of American Linguistics, V (1929), 3.

when they broke the incest prohibition. The people of Mitla point to certain pinnacles called piedra compadre and piedra comadre as embodiments of this supernatural punishment.¹ The natives of Guatemala similarly allude to stones near the town of Esquipulas as petrified compadres.²

Role in life of the individual.--Common concern for the welfare of a child or godchild motivates the exchange of special amenities between compadres. Except for communities in which godparent usages have been reduced to almost meaningless routine, the exchange of gifts and formal visits begins shortly before or after the birth of the child that is to serve as the link between the two families. Parents often announce their intentions to a pair of godparents-elect in the symbolic idiom of gift-giving. Or the petition may be solemnly presented by the grandfather of the infant, as in Chichicastenango. In Chan Kom the solemnity of the godparental bond is accentuated by resort to an intermediary who negotiates what amounts to a ritual connubium between the families of the parents and the godparents.

In all societies, one of the godparents presents the child for baptism before the priest. Generally the sponsoring couple is served a ceremonial meal at the home of the parents as soon as the church ritual is performed--the day preceding the baptism, in the case of Chichicastenango. The padrinos customarily bring a gift for the child immediately before or after the administration of the baptismal sacrament. The godfather may use this opportunity to rehearse in stylized speech the new godparental and co-parental relationships.

¹Elsie Clews Parsons, Mitla, Town of the Souls (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), p. 94.

²Sol Tax, field notes on Panajachel; Benjamin Paul, field notes on San Pedro la Laguna. Many Guatemalan Ladinos likewise believe the sinful-compadre origin of the Esquipulas stones.

Frequently there are formal occasions for reaffirming and reinforcing the godparental ties some months after they are initiated. According to Gamio, the sacamisa ceremony of San Juan Teotihuacán (and Tepoztlán) is an occasion for such confirmation. So far as the Chorti are concerned, the act of baptism itself serves as a reaffirmation occasion, inasmuch as the selection of the godparents is formalized forty days in advance. Chorti ritual ties are further strengthened when the child, on reaching six months of age, is taken by its mother to an intimate feast held at the home of the godparents. In Tusik the hetzmok ritual that takes place when the child is three or four months old certifies the godparental bond begun at baptism. This bond is recertified by a handwashing ceremony at the home of the parents when the child, in Tusik, as well as in Chan Kom, is one year old. In the village of San José Miautitlán the godparents give renewed acknowledgment of their responsibility by bestowing an outfit of clothing on their godchild when it reaches the age of one or two years. In San Antonio Palopó "proper" parents send bread to compadres on the child's first birthday.

Joint concern for the child or godchild continues to bring the two families into close relationship for longer than the period of the child's infancy. Gifts are exchanged on holidays and presents may be sent the godchild each year on the day of its saint. Parents and godparents share their anxieties and pool their counsels when the child becomes seriously ill or undergoes other crises. Should the child die, the godparents of baptism in some societies assume a special responsibility in the funeral activities. The padrinos of a deceased Yaqui child provide a feast for the bereaved parents. At Mitla the godparents furnish the burial garment and the coffin, and dance with the parents at the wake. In

Tusik, the sponsors hasten to the side of a dying godchild to offer prayers for the swift ascension of the spirit. In San Juan Teotihuacán, as in Mitla and among the Yaqui, the funeral of a child is theoretically a happy occasion since its untarnished soul ascends directly into heaven.

Interfamilial concern and consultations over the welfare of the child or godchild do not come to an end until after the marriage of the latter, in the majority of societies reviewed. It is customary for the godparents of baptism to offer their advice in the negotiations that precede a marriage. They may enter actively into the wedding formalities, as in Mitla where the baptismal padrinos present the bride with her trunk; or among the Mazatec where the bride and groom submit to a ritual hair-washing by their respective godmothers. However, in the case of church weddings, chief responsibility falls upon the godparents of marriage, who are especially designated for the occasion and whose responsibility is of short duration, although in some communities they may be called in to compose discords between the new couple.

The relationship of superordination and subordination obtaining between godparent and godchild entails a wide range of mutual duties and obligations. The child accords his godparents deference, symbolized in deed and gesture. He greets his godparent by the special term of padrino or madrina (or a local equivalent). He kneels or kisses the hand of the elder on every encounter, according to the prevailing etiquette. He may present his godfather with a portion of the game he kills. He will listen to his advice with respect and will come to his aid in emergency. Among the Arizona Yaqui a padrino will call upon his godson for financial or other assistance as readily as the godson will call upon the godfather.

On his part the padrino is generally expected to help the child during critical circumstances and to exert a beneficial influence upon his development. As sponsor of baptism, he acts as society's representative in conferring on the infant the status of membership within the social group. The obligations he assumes in his role as padrino are both material and magical. As a rule he pays the baptismal fee,¹ provides the godchild with articles of clothing, presents him with gifts on subsequent occasions, procures remedies in case of stubborn illness, lends him his counsel and even his cash.

In most communities the padrinos are looked upon as a set of parents in reserve. Should a child lose its parents, the godparents may assume responsibility for him. Orphaned children among the Zoque and Mixe may be taken into the homes of the godparents. The madrina may take the place of a mother in the case of the Tojolabal (Chañabal). Godparents likewise take charge of needy godchildren in San Juan Teotihuacán, Chan Kom, Tusik, and among the Chorti; and doubtless in the case of the Yaqui and at Mitla, as well. In such cases the children are generally cared for until they are old enough to support themselves. If there is property to be conserved it may pass under the wardship of the godfather. If Chorti parents die, the share of the inheritance belonging to each minor is placed in the custody of the several padrinos who work the land in return for supporting the godchildren. Among the Tarahumara a godchild may fall heir to the inheritance of his godfather under certain circumstances.

In a measure, the character and the destiny of the god-

¹Some of the Highland Mayan communities are exceptions; here the fee is paid by the family of the child. The weak godparental systems of these communities depart from the prevailing pattern in other respects as well.

parent is felt to affect the character and destiny of his godchild. This is one of the motives for approaching persons who command respect in the community to act as godfather. In Chichicasteñango the padrino makes supernatural intercession for the successful future of the infant in a lengthy prayer offered on the day before the baptism, in which the occult powers are beseeched to confer upon the new member the requisite skills and responsibilities of adulthood. Godparents in Chan Kom and Tusik seek magical insurance for the child's future in the hetzmek performance. Among the Yaqui of Sonora and in San Juan Teotihuacán the magical linkage between sponsor and sponsored is expressed in the custom of naming the child after its godfather or godmother.¹ Should several children within a family die, the parents, at least in Panajachel, may seek a change of luck by changing godparents. On the other hand, if the child lives his godparents are given the credit.²

The manifest justification for the compadre relationship is common interest in a child or godchild. While it is true that the real and spiritual crises of the child form the basis for bringing parent and godparent into formal, friendly and frequent contact, it is equally true that the compadre bond entails mutual attitudes and obligations that make no direct reference to the needs of the child. This is sharply illustrated in the case of the Arizona Yaqui where the compadre relationship remains active

¹This does not appear to be orthodox Catholic practice. Rev. John F. Sullivan writes that "the name of a saint is usually given in Baptism, that the person baptized may have that saint as his intercessor and model. This practice is recommended by the Church, although it is not a strict obligation." (Op. cit., p. 43.)

²The feeling that the luck of the individual resides in his sponsor may underlie the Mitla practice of providing sports contestants with girl sponsors known as "godmothers of the ribbon" and "godmothers of the ring." In this connection it may be mentioned that seconds in Spanish duels are called padrinos.

even after the death of the child for whose welfare the bond was originally brought into being.¹

Intimacy, respect, and mutual assistance characterize the co-parental relationship. The persons involved seldom fail to address each other as compadre and comadre. A visiting compadre is extended special courtesies and refreshments. On ceremonial occasions gifts are exchanged. One may expect compadres, along with kinsmen, to share the heavy expenses of a celebration or entertainment, or to lend their labor in a co-operative house-building. A padrino or an ahijado may be expected to give similar assistance. Ideally, compadres should behave towards each other like older and younger brothers, just as it is felt that the godparent-godchild relationship should be modelled on the bond between parent and offspring. Like their kinship analogues, the co-parental and the godparental relationships are characterized by a sex prohibition. In San Juan Teotihuacán no crime is as reprehensible as adultery between a compadre and a comadre. It is stated that sex relations between compadres and comadres are prohibited in Mitla, Chan Kom, Tusik, Panajachel, and San Antonio Palopó. No doubt this restriction applies to virtually every Christianized community in Mexico and Guatemala. In the villages just enumerated, sex relations between godparents and godchildren is a sin of equal magnitude; and this must be true in the other communities, as well. A person is barred from marrying not only

¹This may also be the case in other communities in which the compadre bond is highly regarded, but information on this score is lacking in the available Middle American literature. Redfield records a persisting compadre relationship among the rural Ladinos of the region of San Antonio Palopó. Although the godchild had died, and although the father and godfather had a private quarrel, they continued to address each other as compadre in public and to maintain respect behavior (field notes on San Antonio Palopó).

a godparent but also an offspring of the godparent.¹ This is specifically asserted for the aforementioned villages and is presumptive for other areas. But in San Antonio Palopó and in Panajachel the siblings of the godchild are free to marry the offspring of the godparents unless, of course, all the children share the same set of godparents. The literature is least specific with respect to incest prohibitions in connection with sponsors other than of baptism, and with the families of these secondary sponsors. Only in the case of Mitla is it certain that marriage godparents fall under the incest taboo.

The relationship between compadres may actually be more fraternal than the relationship between real siblings. Gamio asserts that this is so in the village of San Juan Teotihuacán where inheritance rivalry places a barrier of distrust and suspicion between brothers. In some villages compadres owe each other ritual obligations which kinsmen are barred from fulfilling. Thus the Yaqui of Arizona consider that only ritual sponsors of the deceased may properly take charge of his burial. Ideally the Yaqui compañía or burial group should consist of three men and three women all of whom are either godparents, godchildren, or

¹Rev. John F. Sullivan explains the official Catholic view with regard to incest: "A spiritual relationship is contracted by the sponsor with the person baptized, and this relationship is a diriment impediment to marriage between them, unless a dispensation is obtained. . . . Formerly this impediment extended to the parents of the person baptized; but this was abolished by the new code of Church law (in effect at Pentecost, 1918). The sponsors at a baptism contract no impediment whatever in regard to each other." (Op. cit., p. 45.) The new code permitting compadres to marry has not altered the native thinking. How stern this prohibition was formerly regarded by the Church is illustrated in an incident that occurred in Mexico in 1822. A widower who sought to marry the sister of his deceased wife incurred strong opposition from the Church, not because of the kinship connection, but because the sister-in-law had stood sponsor at the baptism of four of the widower's children. (Ernest Gruening, Mexico and Its Heritage [New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936], p. 260.)

co-parents.¹ Among the Tzotzil ritual sponsors join the relatives in laying out the corpse. In Mitla both kinsmen and sponsors participate in wakes.

Role in integrating the group.--A human society may be thought of as an organization of relationships. Organization implies that the interests of the various individuals living together in time and space must be sufficiently adjusted to one another in order that the group as such survive. This may be thought of as horizontal integration. Organization also implies that mechanisms exist for regulating behavior between the old and the young for the maintenance of cultural continuity from generation to generation. This aspect constitutes vertical integration. The most important and universal agency of vertical integration is the biological and extended family. Affinal kinship and associations are among the main agencies for effecting horizontal integration.

Godparenthood as it exists among the folk societies of Middle America serves as an instrumentality both of vertical and of horizontal integration. On the vertical side, this institution does two things. It formalizes relationships between generations and it plays a part in the transmission of the cultural heritage of the society. The same person who is a godchild to begin with becomes in turn a godfather as he matures. Thus a channel of interaction is established between members of three successive generations. Godparents supplement parents in their role of socializing and providing security for the younger members. In times of crises when parental resources fail, the godparents stand ready to repair the breach, even to the point of rearing the child if need be.

¹A quite parallel practice is to be found among the Zande or the Dahomey of Africa where a man is buried by the family of his ceremonial brother.

In addition to their function as secondary parents, padrinos serve as a primary vehicle for certain phases of cultural inculcation, notably those which may be termed the religious mores. The peculiar efficacy of godparents in this regard may possibly be explained by reference to some of the conclusions reached by Pettitt in his study of primitive education in North America:

The salient characteristic of primitive disciplinary procedures for children, in the area studied, is the relegation of them to some agency outside of the immediate parent-child group. Evidence is cited to show that the mother's brother and father's sister play an important role as mentors and disciplinarians.¹

Pettitt argues that because certain disciplinary tasks are not compatible with the intimacy prevailing between parent and child these duties are more effectively discharged by others and with less strain on the parent-child relationship. The fact that the avunculate and amitate are of reduced importance in Middle America, encourages the speculation that godparents in this area assume a somewhat analogous role, so far as moral and religious inculcation is concerned.

Pettitt also points to the frequency with which ^{great} godparents, as respected and powerful members of the community, serve as assistants and consultants in the socialization of the Indian child in North America. Grandparents in Middle America presumably discharge the same functions. But in this area they are assisted in their disciplinary duties by the godparents who normally command the same high respect. The functional equivalence of grandparent and godparent is attested by the Yucatan tendency to fuse the two relationships. Whether the godparents in Chan Kom and Tusik are grandparents or nonrelatives, they characteristically reside out-

¹G. A. Pettitt, "Primitive Education in North America" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1940), chap. ii, p. 40.

side the household of the godchild.¹ According to the Pettitt hypothesis, this circumstance is the efficacious feature in effecting certain controls or forms of inculcation. To the extent that the villagers of Yucatan confine their choice of godparents to kinsmen, they forego the opportunity to widen the web of social relationships. But in the same measure that godparenthood fails as an agency for promoting horizontal integration within the society, it succeeds the more effectively in its role of achieving vertical integration. For it may be argued that the fusion of kinsman and godparent in Yucatan heightens the reverence with which the elder is regarded by the child, and that in this way the disciplinary influence at his disposal is augmented.

In most of Middle America a multiplicity of compadre bonds links together the separate clusters of families and kinsmen. Relationships of affinity likewise extend lateral integration but sometimes to a lesser degree than does the godparent system. This is stated to be true among the Yaqui of Arizona where the compadre and padrino ties between individuals of distinct families and households are more formalized than the relationships formed by marriage and are therefore more effective channels for regulating social behavior on a horizontal level. The state of the existing literature does not permit an appraisal of the relative social effectiveness of the affinal and the godparental bonds in other Middle American communities. But the agency of ritual sponsorship, in providing patterns for interfamilial co-operation, seems to be an important factor in all those Catholicized communities in Middle America in which social conduct is predominantly governed by sacred

¹That grandparents generally live apart in Yucatan is indicated by the table of household composition in Alfonso Villa R., "The Maya of East Central Quintana Roo" (MS); and by Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa R., Chan Kom, a Maya Village (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1934), p. 94.

sanctions. The godparent systems of Pascua and Mitla, which involve multiple godparents for each individual, provide a maximum degree of social cohesion. Towards the lower end of the scale of integrative efficiency might be placed the padrino systems of Chichicastenango and of the Chorti. In these communities the limited number of godfather specialists are linked to all the other families, but the majority of families are not interwoven by the compadre bonds.¹ The compadre relationships radiate outward from a small focus of ritual experts rather than crisscross the entire society as in Mitla and Pascua.

Unlike the involuntary ties of kinship those of ritual sponsorship are formed on the basis of choice. This enables godparenthood to serve as the social link connecting divergent income groups, disparate social strata, and separated localities. Affinity too may cut across class and locality through the practices of hypergamy and intermarriage. But the frequency with which such irregular forms of marriage occur throughout the world is sharply limited by strong social pressures operating to keep the unions within the class or community. This is understandable in view of the fact that marriage is the means by which the in-group perpetuates itself. Because no such considerations of social recruitment impede the formation of godparent bonds between persons of different social strata,² godparenthood more readily

¹Although comparable in this regard, the Chorti and Chichicastenango godparent complexes diverge in important respects. While Chorti padrinos stand ready to supplement or replace the parents in caring for a godchild, it appears that Chichicastenango padrinos take little concern in the practical or spiritual welfare of their wards once the baptismal ceremonies are concluded.

²However, the case of Chichicastenango ranks as an exception. The Indians seem anxious to avoid unnecessary contact with Ladinos. The necessity of calling in a native specialist to act as godfather insures against contracting compadre relationships with Ladinos.

serves as a mechanism for intergroup integration. The greater flexibility of godparenthood apparently arises from two circumstances.

One such circumstance is the fact that the compadre relationship characteristically includes an element of superordination and subordination arising out of an age differential between the two sets of compadres. Parents of growing children are relatively youthful adults. On the other hand those that are most sought out as padrinos are respected elders. While both compadres address each other by a reciprocal term and oblige themselves to reciprocal assistance and respect, it is nevertheless prevailingly true that the father feels himself in debt to the godfather of his child. The relationship of parent to godparent may be likened to the relationship of a younger to an older brother. Redfield puts it more strongly for Chan Kom: "I treat my compadre like a father." The fact that ritual co-parentage is compatible with a patronizing attitude on the part of the senior member, permits a wealthy Ladino, for example, to accept a native laborer or neighbor as compadre without feeling that his superior social status is thereby compromised.

The second favoring circumstance is the fact that the participants tend to regard the godparental obligation as essentially a religious rather than a social commitment. Nearly every inhabitant of Middle America, whatever his class or color, sees himself as belonging to the community of Catholicism. It is the participation in a common religion that permits a person to ally himself with a social or cultural inferior by the act of standing sponsor at the baptism of his child.

In principle one is expected to select a ritual sponsor who best embodies the moral values of the community. It may be

that this ideal motivates most of the godparental choices made in the area under consideration. But the instances in which calculating parents take advantage of the cited circumstances to improve the lot of their child are sufficiently numerous to qualify godparenthood as an important medium of extending and standardizing relationships that reach beyond class and locality. Where natives and whites live close together the social gap between the two racial groups may conveniently be bridged by the sacred bond of co-parenthood. Spicer records the occasional Yaqui practice of seeking compadres beyond Pasoua among the non-Yaqui citizens of adjoining Tucson. Redfield writes of the tendency in Dzitaa for practical-minded natives to select wealthy and respected whites to serve as godfathers for their children. This secular trend reaches its limit in urban Mérida where Hansen reports the case of a financially desirable godfather with a thousand godchildren. This extreme profaning of an originally sacred relationship does not completely deprive the institution of its function of regulating social intercourse. Hansen adds that if a man of prestige in Mérida has lower class compadres he feels himself constrained to treat them circumspectly lest they take offense.

In plantation areas Indian workers are in a position to ask ladino supervisors to sponsor their children. Such is the case in San Miguel Acatán and among the Mam in the coffee regions. The natives in the villages on Lake Atitlán similarly exploit the presence of Ladinos. In Panajachel, San Antonio, and Atitlán, the more influential Ladinos are frequently asked to become compadres and comadres. This may provide the godchildren with better gifts and greater medical resources. It also may give the native parents better access to the homes of the white compadres. That interracial godparent linkages may have far-reaching effects on

the acculturation process, is suggested by Redfield's observation that orphaned Indian children of San Antonio Palopó are occasionally brought into the household of their ladino godparents. In cases of this kind the Indian child learns Spanish and is provided with European clothes. "He becomes one of those individuals who is at once a Ladino by habit but an Indian by ancestry."¹

Where itinerant trade is common, godparenthood can be directed towards the establishment of hospitality posts in outlying villages. Parsons writes that many Mitla families have compadres in neighboring towns. It well may be that the hospitality arrangement precedes the compadre bid. But it is also likely that a traveling merchant, in casting about for a compadre, overlooks a next-door friend in favor of formalizing a useful acquaintanceship in the next village. The Huichol establish compadre ties for purposes of facilitating trade in cattle, which may be branded only by the compadre of the owner.²

Regional aspects.--For purposes of wider comparison, the Middle American sponsorship complex may be considered a unit only in a geographic sense and in a historical sense. But it may not be regarded as a unit in a taxonomic sense since it would be difficult to advance criteria which at once characterize all the manifestations of the complex in Middle America, and yet distinguish it from sponsorships encountered in all other regions. In other words some of the variations within the area under consideration are greater than the differences between certain of the

¹Robert Redfield, field notes on San Antonio Palopó. Unfortunately comparable data for other communities are not available.

²Although analogous to godparenthood in its function of furthering horizontal integration, the Huichol bond of cattle-compadre appears to be more akin, typologically speaking, to ritual brotherhood.

included instances, on the one hand, and certain instances occurring in other provinces. Thus, to pick a random example, the superficial data available indicate that the godparent practices of the Huichol of Mexico may have less in common with the system of Mitla or Tusik, likewise in Mexico, than they have with godparenthood among the Cayapa Indians of Ecuador. Distinguishing criteria may, however, be advanced for the category of ritual parenthood defined in chapter iv as a class of social organization which comprehends cases of godparenthood wherever found, in addition to the more exotic forms of sponsorship possessing similar sociological roles.

Two reasons may be suggested to account for the difficulty of making critical generalizations for all the instances of godparenthood in Mexico and Guatemala. One reason is the inadequacy of the data. More needs to be known about most of the Middle American cases and especially about a considerable number of instances outside of Middle America, before a set of differentiae can be expected to emerge. The second reason is the likelihood that Mexico and Guatemala comprise too much territory to encourage the hope that a significant number of pervasive features are to be found. This brings up the possibility of defining subareas within the greater Middle American theatre. Limitations in the data hinder such an attempt. Nevertheless, three circumscribed godparent regions can be tentatively defined within the Middle American area.

One such region is Yucatan where godparent practices seem to be distinctive in two respects: (1) incorporation of the pre-conquest hetzme sponsorship within the godparental framework, and (2) preference for close kinsmen as godparents.

The highlands of Guatemala constitute a second region.

The distinctive feature in this case appears to be the low vitality of the godparent complex, as exhibited in delayed baptism, relative unimportance of reaffirmation rituals, virtual absence of secondary sponsorships, and the frequency with which godparents are casually contracted and casually regarded. A tendency to look to Ladinos as sponsors of native children may also be characteristic of the highlands and this may correlate with the relative casualness of the godparental bond. The region so characterized runs from Lake Atitlán to the Mam of Mexican Chiapas, so far as scanty references (mostly unpublished) indicate. As a case-study for this region the godparental structure of San Pedro la Laguna is examined in the succeeding chapter, although it is not certain that it is completely typical.

The northern periphery of the Middle American area suggests itself as a third region, distinguished by the presence of societal sponsorship as a component of the godparental complex. The Pascua practice of acquiring godparents in connection with induction into a ceremonial society, seems to be related to similar customs in the Pueblos and possibly to societal sponsorship in the Plains, as well. But if societal sponsorship is not indigenous to the Sonoran Yaqui and to other tribes of Northern Mexico--and this may well be the case--then this third region is not really a Middle American but a North American province.

It will be noted that the three tentative regions skirt the perimeter of Middle America, leaving the central sector out of account. With respect to this large and diversified zone it can only be said that Mitla, located at the heart of the Middle American area, possesses a godparent system which might well serve as an ideal type for the entire area under discussion. It embodies a majority of the characters common to all the other instances and

yet is nearly free of the peculiar traits that distinguish the three peripheral regions enumerated in the foregoing paragraphs.

Résumé.---In Mexico and Guatemala the institution of godparenthood is a means of creating special kinlike relationships within and between the generations. Established and sustained by religious belief, ritual kinship contributes towards the security of the individual and the persistence of the existing social system.

Godparent relationships are like those of kinship in the following respects: (1) they involve defined and reciprocal rights and obligations supported by sacred attitudes; (2) they provide patterns for regulating social behavior; (3) they provide security for the child and assist in its proper upbringing; (4) the terminology is similar or identical to that of kinship; (5) incest prohibitions accompany the relationships.

Godparenthood differs from kinship in that (1) the relationships are subject to mutual arrangement and (2) in the fact that the bonds are sealed by a sacred act.

The identities and differences may be summarized in the statement that godparental ties are status relationships established by ritual contract. This statement applies equally well to the broader category of ritual parenthood which subsumes godparenthood and allied instances of sponsorship.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY AND FUNCTION

The argument.--It is not enough to state that godparenthood has become an important institution in native Middle America because of the impact of Catholicism in the sixteenth century, with the arrival of the Spanish conquerors. There is abundant evidence that elements of European origin have experienced differential success in becoming established in the emergent amalgam of Spanish-Indian culture. Wisdom remarks that "Catholic elements seem to have been accepted or rejected on the basis of their degree of similarity to correspondong native elements."¹ In her essay entitled "Indian or Spanish?" Parsons speaks of "change by substitution" as an acculturative process whereby ". . . new traits tend to be welcomed . . . if they have something in common with pre-existent traits to take the edge off their unfamiliarity."² In other words, the selective nature of diffusion implies that innovations are accepted in the degree to which they are compatible with existing cultural configurations. This theme may be documented in two ways. On the one hand it may be shown that Catholic godparenthood in general is congruent with pre-Columbian institutions--that it constitutes a change in form but a continuity of function. On the other hand it can be demonstrated that godparenthood fails to impress itself upon a culture when it

¹Wisdom, op. cit., p. 370.

²Parsons, Mitla, p. 521.

is not congruent with the character of the social controls of that culture. In illustration of this point the negative case of San Pedro la Laguna is presented in the last part of the present chapter. Initial consideration is given to the historical circumstances that favored the acceptance of baptism and godparenthood.

Aboriginal forms of baptism.--Both the Mayas and the Aztecs had rites of transit paralleling Christian baptism. According to an eyewitness description by Sahagún,¹ independently confirmed by Zuazo,² the Aztecs held a baptismal ceremony in the courtyard of the house on the fourth day after the child was born. With appropriate speeches and invocations, the midwife presented the infant to the gods. She sprinkled water on its lips, breast, head, and body,³ and passed it over the fire four times. Next the child was presented with miniature weapons if a boy, or miniature weaving sticks if a girl. Finally it was given a name--usually that of the day of its birth.⁴ This solemn rite was performed in the presence of friends and relatives.

Early missionaries were so struck with the similarities between native baptism among the ancient Maya of Yucatan and Christian baptism that "some of our Spaniards have taken occasion to persuade themselves and believe that in times past some of the apostles or a successor to them passed over to the West Indies and

¹Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España (Mexico, 1829), Bk. VI, sec. 37.

²"Carta MS," cited by William H. Prescott, History of the Conquest of Mexico (Chicago: Thompson and Thomas, 1843), p. 67.

³Sahagún adds that the holy drops were designed to wash away its original sin so that the child might be born anew. This may be a gratuitous interpretation; there is no good evidence to indicate that the doctrine of original sin did or does exist among the Indians of Middle America.

⁴Naming according to the native calendar may have been a predisposing factor in accepting the Catholic practice of naming according to the almanac.

that ultimately those Indians were preached to."¹ According to the account supplied by Landa,² baptism was compulsory and took place between the ages of three and twelve, being a precondition for marriage. On an auspicious day, and assisted by four old and honorable men called Chacs, the priest appeared in the courtyard where all the children to be baptized had assembled. Boys and girls were aligned in separate rows. "They placed over them as godparents an old woman for the girls and a man for the boys, who should have charge of them." Thereupon the priest sanctified the dwelling by driving out the demons. As part of the purification rites he placed a little ground maize and incense into the hands of each of the children. This they threw into a burning brazier.

In the course of other acts of ritualism, the priest withdrew and reappeared in raiments fashioned of brilliant feathers, carrying a hyssop made of finely worked wood and "hairs" made of the tails of certain serpents.

The Chacs at once approached the children and placed on the heads of both sexes pieces of white cloth which their mothers had brought for this purpose. They asked those who were rather large, whether they had committed any sin or obscene act, and if they had done so they confessed it and were separated from the others. This ended, the priest began to bless the children with many prayers, and to bless them with his aspergillum. . . . Then the principal whom the fathers of the children had chosen for this festival, rose and, armed with a bone, which the priest had given him, he went over to the boys and threatened to strike each one in turn on the forehead with the bone nine times. Then he wet it in a vessel of a certain water which he carried in his hand, and anointed them on their foreheads and the features of their faces, as well as the spaces between the fingers and toes of all of them. . . . After this anointment, the priest arose and took off from their heads the white linen which had been put upon them. . . . And immediately the priest cut off with a stone knife the bead which the little boys wore stuck on their heads. . . . The young girls were first dismissed; and their mothers

¹Tomas Lopez Medel, "Relación (1612)," reproduced in Landa's Relación de las Cosas de Yucatan, trans. Alfred M. Tozzer (Cambridge: Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. XVIII, 1941), p. 227.

²Landa's Relación, trans. Tozzer, pp. 102-6.

went up to them to take off the cords, which they had worn up to that time around their loins and the little shell, which they wore as a token of their purity. This was, as it were, a license allowing them to marry whenever it should please their fathers. Afterwards they dismissed the boys by themselves. . . . [The parents] finished the feast with eating and deep drinking.¹

Aboriginal forms of sponsorship.--The evidence for aboriginal sponsorship in Middle America is less detailed. It is clear that sponsors officiated during certain rites of transit but it is not clear whether they entered into enduring relationships with the persons for whom they stood sponsor. Thus in describing an Aztec feast held every four years in honor of the fire god Xiuhtecutli, Sahagún writes:

The parents of children this day selected godfathers and godmothers for their children, giving them presents. These godparents had to carry their godchildren on their backs to the temple of the god of fire . . . ; there, in the temple, in front of the god, they perforated the children's ears in the presence of the godparents. . . . After this ceremony all, parents, godparents, and the children, ate together.²

On the strength of this evidence, Parsons believes it ". . . probable that these 'godparents' were sponsors for the child in his later ceremonial life."³ This surmise finds inferential confirmation in the present Pueblo pattern of retaining native forms of sponsorships alongside Catholic godparenthood⁴ and in the preservation of the Yucatan hetzmek sponsorship which makes use of miniature implements in the same symbolic manner as has already been described in connection with the ancient Aztec rite of infant baptism.

¹Ibid., pp. 105-6. In his extended footnote commentaries, Tozzer cites a number of chroniclers to indicate that there is no agreement regarding the age at which baptism customarily took place. The ascribed ages range from "soon after birth" to fifteen years (ibid., p. 102).

²Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, A History of Ancient Mexico, trans. Fanny R. Bandelier (Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1932), pp. 34-35.

³Parsons, Mitla, p. 521.

⁴Infra, p. 107.

Godparents as successors to sacred professionals.--In addition to such things as group sponsorship for Mayan baptism and assignment of "godparents" at the Aztec four-year fire ceremony, the Catholic godparent complex may have been anticipated in some measure by midwives, shamans, and marriage brokers, officiating in connection with initiations. A few remarks may be made about each of these functionaries.

The ritual role of the Aztec midwife brings to mind the present-day activity of midwives in several Middle American communities. Although the Mitla midwife does not officiate at baptism as in the Aztec case, it is nevertheless of interest that it is she who brings the baby to the church where she hands it over to the madrina to baptize.¹ In the village of San Pedro la Laguna, baptism takes place too late to encourage similar co-operation on the part of the midwife. But the latter remains in charge of rituals of her own. On the eighth day after delivery, when the mother is readmitted to secular life, the midwife performs three ritual acts. She purifies the house by sweeping it, wafting incense into the four corners, and offering prayers as she does so. She entrusts the baby to the hammock for the first time, whipping the hammock before doing so, and invoking the protection of the deity that owns the hammock. Finally she reintroduces the mother to the mundane world by washing her hair in the courtyard of the home.² Among the pagan Miskito the midwife becomes a ceremonial kinswoman of the child, as well as the equivalent of a comadre to the parents.

The introduced office of godparent may have fallen heir to functions previously discharged by shamans. This is suggested by certain convergences of function among present-day peoples and by

¹Parsons, Mitla, p. 81.

²Benjamin Paul, field notes on San Pedro la Laguna.

certain coincidences of terminology. Brinton records that among the native population of the state of Vera Cruz and elsewhere in southern Mexico, shamans (called zahoris locally) ". . . go by the name of padrinos, godfathers, and are looked upon with a mixture of fear and respect."¹ It will be recalled that shamans are likewise called padrinos among the Chorti.² A Quiché shaman appealing to the souls of the dead on behalf of a client refers to himself as "I who appoint myself godfather and godmother," according to an 1854 record cited by Brinton.³ Among the present-day Quiché of Chichicastenango, godparents are selected from a group of professionals,⁴ but it is not clear whether these are also shamans, as in the case of the Chorti. Schultze Jena writes that an old Quiché shaman and his young apprentice regularly call each other compadre and that their wives call each other comadre.⁵

In general the role of the shaman is to act as medium between man and the forces of destiny. In so far as Catholic godparents have come to be regarded as influencing the destiny of the godchild,⁶ they approach the character of shamans in native evaluation. The Yaqui of Sonora and the inhabitants of San Juan Teotihuacán name their children after godparents, just as anxious residents of San Pedro la Laguna name children after the family shaman if previous children have repeatedly died. On the other hand, the presence of curing godparents at Mitla and at Pascua constitutes

¹Daniel G. Brinton, "Nahualism," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, XXXIII (1894), 34.

²Supra, p. 50.

³Brinton, op. cit., p. 59.

⁴Supra, p. 42.

⁵Schultze Jena, Die Quiché, p. 5.

⁶Supra, p. 66.

a displacement onto godparents of functions normally associated with shamans.

Perhaps the most transparent substitution has been that of marriage godparents for any of a series of professional specialists of native origin. This is most readily attested by those instances in which the substitution has not taken place. Often where godparents of marriage are not used there are native equivalents to function in their stead. Sometimes the two co-exist, as in San José Miautitlán where the tetlale and his wife negotiate the match while the godparents of marriage supply the wedding garments and provide a festive breakfast.¹ In Tepoztlán, on the other hand, "the godfather has taken the place of the professional cihuatlangue."² Conversely, at Chichicasterango marriages are arranged by a sacred professional called a chinimital, but marriage godparents do not exist. Nor do they occur in San Pedro where neighbors of dignified reputation are called in to act as witnesses in cases of formal weddings. These witnesses deliver stylized speeches to the bride and groom, just as marriage padrinos do at Mitla,³ where matches are negotiated by a professional hueshuete. At Pascua the marriage godparents allow the maestro to do the speech-making. Among the Tarascans the madrina inspects the nuptial bed sheet to certify the virginity of the bride.⁴ But the woman who performs the same task among the Zapotecs of Tehuantepec goes by no such title. Apparently the Tarascans have given a Catholic title to an ancient office.

Godparenthood as successor to formal friendship.--Schultze Jena writes that the historical root of the Quiché compadre relationship--and presumably of other Middle American native peoples--

¹Supra, p. 21.

²Redfield, Tepoztlán, p. 140.

³Parsons, Mitla, p. 28.

⁴Supra, p. 25.

is an old form of Indian friendship which has become merged with the custom of ecclesiastical baptism.¹ For proof he offers the observation that this voluntary bond is sometimes arranged without regard to godchildren, and cites the use of compadre and comadre terms between a shaman, his apprentice, and their wives. The evidence is weak, especially since the relationship cited is not one of companionship--as might be expected in a case of formal or ceremonial friendship--but of superordination and subordination, such as in inheres in all teacher-student situations. In spite of his uncritical reasoning, however, Schultze Jena appears to have made a valid observation. Formal friendships are not absent in Middle America. Commercial relations among the Tarahumara give rise to permanent noráwa bonds. The Huichol similarly establish ritual trading friendships, but go one step further by extending the term compadre to cover these instances.² Since the Huichol and some of the Tarahumara have adopted baptism and godparental sponsorship, the inference is strong that an aboriginal form of ceremonial friendship is now in the process of being incorporated into the godparent system of northern Mexican tribes.

It is not unlikely that cases of formal friendship or ceremonial brotherhood formerly existing elsewhere in Mexico and Guatemala have been assimilated by the compadre aspect of the Catholic godparental complex. A comparison of the behavior expected of compadres (chapter ii) with that expected of ceremonial brothers in various regions of the world (chapter v) lends weight to this speculation. In view of the fact that the relationship between compadres is sometimes more substantial than the bond between actual brothers, as in the case of San Juan Teotihuacán,

¹Schultze Jena, Die Quiché, p. 4.

²Supra, pp. 17-18.

it seems likely that some aboriginal agency or agencies serving similar functions antedated the present compadre usages predicated on baptismal sponsorship. Formal friendship institutions are found at present at both extremes of the Middle American area;¹ they may once have been more widespread.

The relation of godparenthood to kinship.--On the basis of her observations at Mitla, Parsons declares that the early Zapotecs probably ". . . had a more comprehensive kinship system, as their classificatory application of kinship terms suggests, and godparent functions took the place of kinship functions" ² The temporary madrinas assigned to Mitla sports contestants, Parsons finds reminiscent of "the temporary 'aunts,' the 'aunts' by fiction, women of the paternal clan, whom the Pueblos appoint on certain ceremonial occasions." ³ These statements imply the proposition that the growth of the godparent complex is achieved at the expense of the kinship system, that ramified godparental systems are inversely proportional to the virility of the kinship structure. A review of the material on Middle America does not confirm such an interpretation. An opposite formulation appears to conform more closely to the facts: godparent systems undergo development in societies with extensive kinship cultures; real kinship, being complex, provides a pattern of complexity for the borrowed ritual kinship. Thus the Pueblo societies, with their pervasive kinship systems, have a relatively rich development of ritual kinship;⁴ while San Pedro la Laguna, which has a restricted kinship structure, has a nearly nonexistent system of ritual kinship.

¹Cf. kihe bond of Zuñi (infra, p. 133) and lapyá relationship of Miskito (infra, p. 134).

²Parsons, Mitla, p. 524.

³Ibid., p. 69.

⁴Infra, pp. 105 ff.

The case of San Pedro thus constitutes a useful negative case and may be considered in greater detail.

The case of San Pedro la Laguna.--The village of San Pedro la Laguna, situated on Lake Atitlán in highland Guatemala, is like other Middle American communities in the following respects: It is a small, illiterate, homogeneous, and relatively isolated society; its people speak an Indian language, practice hoe agriculture, and possess a primitive outlook on life;¹ it is nominally Catholic and is visited regularly by a priest. But San Pedro diverges in the important respect that its social controls are predominantly formal and secular rather than familial and sacred. This is tantamount to the statement that kinship occupies a relatively subordinate position in the total social system of San Pedro, much as kinship does in our own urban society. It will be seen that ritual kinship, far from compensating for the simplified familial pattern, exerts only a nominal influence in regulating social control. Some of the respects in which more dynamic kinship and ritual kinship structures would prove inconsistent with the totality of San Pedro social organization will become manifest in the course of the following paragraphs.

In San Pedro all children are baptized and acquire godparents in connection with this rite. Beyond this, the generalizations that can be made concerning the nature of the San Pedro godparent system run mostly to negative statements. No ceremony surrounds the selection of godparents. They are never arranged for in advance of birth, as among the Chorti or in San Juan Teotihuacán. Sometimes the villagers wait until the very day of baptism to make the godparent solicitation. Children are not baptized soon after

¹For a characterization of the world-view shared by the natives of highland Guatemala, see Sol Tax, "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala," American Anthropologist, XLIII (1941), 27-42.

birth. The range runs from a month to a year; prevailingly the ceremony takes place at the age of five or six months. Baptism is similarly postponed in the neighboring communities of Panajachel and San Antonio Palopó, at Chichicastenango, and at San Miguel Acatán--and among the Mam across the Mexican border.¹ In this respect the highlands of Guatemala stand in sharp contrast to the Middle American area as a whole. The natives are aware, however, that delayed baptism departs from the Catholic ideal.

The explanation most often given for tardy baptism--in response to questioning--is the lack of money. The fee in San Pedro is fifty-two cents and this is the equivalent of three days' wages. But finances do not constitute a sufficient reason. Those who have more money do not baptize their infants earlier and those who have less do not forego the obligation completely. Moreover, the village of San Pedro appears to be relatively richer than many Middle American communities practicing early baptism.

Another explanation encountered is the fear that the newborn infant is not strong enough to withstand exposure to the public, that it may succumb to the magical disease of evil-eye induced by the glances of the populace in general and pregnant women in particular. This is probably the more basic reason. But fear of evil-eye is not a complete explanation, for the same fear operates with equal force in Yucatan and other parts of Mexico where children are nevertheless taken to church very early. It appears, therefore, that in Yucatan and elsewhere the sacred character of baptism is strong enough to override monetary and magical misgivings, while in the highlands of Guatemala the importance of the rite is sufficiently reduced to permit these same deterrents to

¹This may apply to the Mam of Guatemala, as well, but data are lacking.

prevail.

The relative unimportance of baptism is attested not only by the willingness to defer the ritual but also by the general absence of sanctioning myths. In Chan Kom failure to provide early baptism exposes the child to the dire risk of becoming a mythical bird that preys upon living babies. But in San Pedro the number of children that die before baptism is great--yet little anxiety is felt about their destiny. The admission can be forced that unbaptized children are supposedly excluded from heaven, but the concept of heaven lies lightly on the native mind whose chief concern for the dead is that they refrain from molesting the living. Just as often the villager is altogether unable to offer a reason why baptism should take place early or at all--he says only that it is customary. In each of the highland communities studied, both the ritual of baptism and the resulting godparent relationship are of minimal significance. One has the feeling that they could both be excised without appreciable dislocation to the totality of culture of which they are parts.

The only formal occasion bringing together parent and godparent of San Pedro occurs on the day of baptism. The ceremonies are relatively simple. The child and the baptismal fee are brought to the house of the godparent by a sister or other junior member of the child's household. The godmother gives the baby a shirt or a cap bought from an itinerant merchant. From her home the godmother takes the infant to the church. There she hands in the fee and submits the child to the gestures and recitations of the visiting priest who administers the rite of baptism to four or five babies simultaneously. The assembled godparents mumble a number of prayers including Our Father and The Credo in hurried Spanish. The church ritual ends quickly and the attendant relative

promptly relieves the godparent of the child. The godparent or godparents are then invited to the home of the parents. Here comadre and compadre greetings are exchanged, the parents kissing the hands of the godparents. The mother asks forgiveness for the bother to which the godparents have been put. She asks the visitor or visitors to be seated and serves them chocolate (or coffee) and several small sweetened breads, purchased from a local or itinerant baker. In accordance with prevailing etiquette the members of the household withdraw while the guests eat. The godparents drink the chocolate and sample the breads. Greetings are again exchanged, mutual thanks are offered, the hands of the godparents are kissed, and the latter depart. Later in the day a gift of bread and chocolate--and sometimes sugar for preparing the chocolate--is sent to the home of the godparents. The cost of this gift is twenty to thirty cents. This usually completes the exchange of services and gifts that seals the compadre relationship. In a few cases the parents send an additional offering of meat and tamalitos on the third day. On the other hand some of the customary practices may be dispensed with on occasion. Thus the parents may simply send food to the sponsors instead of having them over to the house beforehand. Even more frequently the godparent may fail to provide a gift for the godchild. These omissions more commonly occur when the godparents are natives rather than Ladinos.

The population of San Pedro la Laguna is almost exclusively Indian. There are less than a dozen Ladinos and nearly all of these are temporary residents on the federal payroll. It is this small group that is most often asked to serve as godparents for Indian children. Nearly always it is a ladina godmother that is chosen rather than a ladino godfather or set of godparents.

Typically the godmother is one of several schoolmistresses or the wife of a schoolmaster. During recent years another Ladina has become available. She is the wife of the resident military instructor. Occasionally parents will take a child to a ladina schoolteacher or storekeeper living in a neighboring village and have it baptized there. Any accessible Ladina, whether or not she has a husband, is readily asked to serve as godmother. As often as not the Ladina has no husband and in that case the child acquires a madrina and no padrino. In such a case the woman comes alone to the house of the parents to partake of the ceremonial food. In the event of baptism in another town, the parents buy bread and chocolate on arrival and bring the gift to their comadre. If the Ladina has a husband he comes to be called compadre as a matter of etiquette but his relationship to the parents is of the most tenuous character. He will let his wife baptize the baby and he may or may not accompany her to the house of the baby's parents. Unlike most other Middle American communities where godparenthood is a solemn affair binding one family to another family, in San Pedro the tendency is to look to a single individual for practical reasons, and to include the spouse incidentally. Redfield reports the same for San Antonio Palopó across the lake.

The practical purpose motivating the selection of Ladinas in San Pedro is the belief that they can cure infant illnesses and have access to the necessary medicines. The Indians store no medicine. But the Ladinas--by virtue of their cultural tradition and their greater income--customarily have on hand a number of drug-store preparations. The godparent bond imposes on the Ladina the responsibility of coming to the medical aid of her Indian godchild. The first year or two is correctly considered to be the most critical period of the infant's life. Hence the natives sacrifice

long-run considerations in favor of providing a measure of medical protection during the infancy of the child. Because the school-teachers tend to move to other towns after a few years of service in San Pedro, it happens infrequently that the ladina godparent is still on hand by the time the child is old enough to be aware of the ritual relationship. In some cases the departing godparents become established in neighboring villages. This makes it feasible to sustain the ceremonial tie by means of an occasional visit incident to a market journey or a holiday trip to observe a neighboring fiesta. In such an event the child may be taken along to greet its godmother and to kiss her hand, if it is old enough to do so. In conformity with the etiquette of visiting, the natives bring with them a small offering of food such as dried fish or black beans. In reciprocation the host will offer hot coffee to the guests. She will inquire how her godchild is faring. If such has been the intent of the visit, the parents will reply that it has been suffering with a stomach-ache or other disorder. The godmother will thereupon supply a patent medicine. If the child is well, the parents have the satisfaction of knowing that the compadre relationship is being kept alive in anticipation of contingencies to come.

Seldom does a person of San Pedro have occasion to remain overnight in a neighboring town and so there is little impulse to contract compadre relationships with outlying villagers for purposes of lodging, as is sometimes done in Mitla. When some of the men journey to the more distant city of Quezaltenango to sell their chick-peas in the market they seek posada (lodging) at the same home year after year. But it never enters their mind to ask their hosts to become compadres. On the other hand there are traveling merchants from other towns that enjoy posada regularly

in several of the San Pedro homes. Redfield has drawn attention to the impersonal nature of the highland institutions of posada and to the custom of leaving things recomendado (free checking service).¹ These conventions exist in San Pedro and thus the villagers make no call on the compadre institution to supply the conveniences of hospitality.

When a baby is taken to another town to be baptized it is usually because the parents have received a recommendation that a certain Ladina of that town is successful at administering medicines. Thus one informant had been counseled by his brother-in-law to seek out a Ladina living in nearby San Pablo for she had served the brother-in-law well as comadre during her earlier residence in San Pedro. So on the fiesta of San Pablo, when the priest was certain to be present, the informant took his child to be baptized. On the basis of similar advice he had earlier journeyed to the more distant lake town of San Lucas to select a couple as godparents for his first child, but these people were no longer living.

There are a few natives of both sexes who are called on to act as sponsors at baptism. To forestall the taunt of being shameless most women of San Pedro avoid the public eye. Only a few are bold enough to court criticism by appearing as sponsors in the church. These are women who speak a little Spanish, in contrast to the vast majority of the female population, and are able to recite the expected prayers. One owns a little store. One is the daughter of a woman who had a reputation for effecting cures. Of the several native men who serve as godfathers with some frequency, one is a shaman and the other is a public leader

¹Robert Redfield, "Primitive Merchants of Guatemala," Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations, I (1939). 53-54.

wise in the ways of Ladinos and a staunch supporter of the Catholic religion. The spouses of the Indian men or women who stand sponsor for the child are greeted by the parents as compadres and comadres when occasion warrants but the relationship with them is regarded as purely nominal.

There is no expressed feeling in San Pedro that a child should be taken to the baptismal font by a godparent of the same or opposite sex. It happens that most baby boys, as well as baby girls, are baptized by women rather than men because these are the ones most often looked to for medicines. The claim that madrinas are preferred in the town of Atitlán may amount to a similar circumstance. In San Antonio, where madrinas likewise predominate, the ideal is entertained that boy-children should be held at the font by madrinas and girl-children by padrinos.¹ The same pattern prevails in Panajachel where godparents and their infant godchildren of opposite sex are referred to as "married."² Although this specific feature of godparenthood is apparently unknown to the people of San Pedro, it may be remarked that the principle of sexual polarity finds expression in a belief that may be related. It is a standard conception in San Pedro that the destiny of an infant is controlled by its parent of opposite sex, so that a mother with a "strong" fate is able to raise her boy-children while a mother with a "weak" fate is unsuccessful in doing so. Conversely, the fate of the father is judged strong or weak on the basis of whether or not his daughters survive. It may also be

¹Redfield, field notes on San Antonio Palopó.

²Sol Tax, field notes on Panajachel. The church has this to say about the sex of baptismal sponsors: "If there are two, they must be of different sexes. When there is only one, it is advisable (but not necessary) to select one of the same sex as the child--for thereby it is made certain that there will never be any question of marriage between the sponsor and the godchild." (John F. Sullivan, op. cit., p. 45.)

relevant that "husband" and "wife" terms are used between a young boy and the wife of his namesake in the ascending generation--usually his uncle--while a girl and the husband of her female namesake will similarly address one another. It is conceivable that these San Pedro patterns and the godparental polarity patterns of San Antonio and Panajachel are varying but related manifestations of a generalized belief in the linkage of fates between members of opposite sex and different generations. However, in the absence of further data this remains pure speculation.

The turnover of godparent personnel in San Pedro is too great to register a clear tendency with regard to whether the same or different godparents are preferred for succeeding children. In most cases the choice of using the same person for more than one or two children is not available, given the preference for transient Ladinas. However, there are indications that the same godparent is requested for succeeding children if he or she remains alive and accessible. There seems to be no established practice of changing godparents because of the death of the previous child. Nor can the contrary be asserted. Unlike the case of Tusik there is nothing to indicate a compulsion to avoid changing godparents lest they take offense. It may be said in general that the casual character of godparenthood in San Pedro discourages the development of deep convictions or fast conventions of any character.

Baptismal godparents do not constitute the sole source of medicine for the child. Alternative resort lies in consulting midwives, shamans, Ladinas in general, and out-of-town pharmacists. On the whole the alternative courses are more often called into play than resort to the medication of godparents. This becomes apparent when it is recalled that the average child survives the

first six months of its precarious life without the benefit of baptism or godparent. And as often as not the godparents have moved away by the time the child is two or three years old. Nor is there a practice of confining requests for medical assistance to the madrina of the stricken child, even during her stay in San Pedro. If one resort fails another may be tried. The practical meaning of godparents in the native estimation is the affording of an extra avenue of protection against illness. It must be stated that none of the avenues provides effective aid, realistically regarded, and that in the light of a strongly felt need there is a constant urge to maximize the channels of potential assistance.

Godparents in San Pedro are not merely neutral sources of medicines; they are also persons who can be expected to share a measure of the parents' anxieties and responsibilities. They do not charge for their remedies and they may even make an effort to secure a medicine if they do not possess it. Another person might protest inability to aid a sick child, a godmother usually does not refuse. Or if a Ladina is asked to assist more persons than she can, it may be expected that she will tend to her godchildren first. But only in the short run is it true that godparents supply their services without remuneration, for they are the recipients of infrequent food gifts on ceremonial occasions--just as consulting shamans are--so long as the family deems it expedient or feasible to sustain the good-will relationship. This is more often the case with ladino godparents than with native godparents.

In San Pedro the godparents neither pay the baptismal fees nor supervise the religious training of their godchildren. In view of the very small group that is repeatedly called upon to function at the font it may be reasonable to conclude that the

more conventional arrangement of holding the godparent responsible for the fee would impose an excessive burden on the sponsors, most of whom are close to penury themselves. It is recognized that the wife of the military instructor has considerably more income than the rest--yet she is never asked to pay the fee. Nor did the natives ask the investigator and his wife to provide the money for the four or five baptisms they performed. Self-payment has become a custom in San Pedro, as it has in Chichicastenango where godparents are similarly--but for other reasons--recruited from a small group of specialists. Tax reports that in the impoverished town of Santa Catarina on Lake Atitlán the financial burden of baptism is shared by parents and godparents. These are the only reported exceptions to the rule that godparents pay the sacramental fee. In Mérida and in San Miguel Acatán, ability to pay is often the sole consideration in picking godparents.

In San Pedro, agencies other than that of godparenthood minister to the inculcation of the religious mores. Worship in the church is a less consequential phenomenon than participation in the hierarchy of ceremonial societies known as cofradías. Tenure of graded offices within this societal structure throughout the course of adult life educates the individual in the ceremonial proprieties which regulate respect relations between man and the images and between man and man. The saints housed in the central church have their counterparts in the various cofradía establishments and it is here that the images command the greatest homage. Efforts are made to teach Catholic prayers to the youths but this is not done through the medium of godparents, although this is conceived by the Catholic church¹ to be their essential duty.

¹In the eyes of the church the "principle duty" of godparents is this: "If for any reason the natural guardians of a child are unable or unwilling to attend to its religious training, this

Instruction takes place through group attendance during late afternoons in the church as well as in the cofradías in the evenings. In San Pedro the godparent institution is innocent of religious duties and completely divorced from the cofradía organization. Such is not the case in all communities. Recognition of the religious character of the godparental bond finds expression among the Yaqui of Pascua in the custom of referring to the couple in charge of a fiesta and its saint as padrino and madrina. It is this stewardship of the saint that is the essence of the cofradía organization in San Pedro and in the communities that adjoin it. Some of the Otomi and Mazahua Indians address their familial saints and idols as compadre and comadre.

Baptismal godparents of San Pedro do not participate in successive life crises of their godchildren. Nor are there subsequent crises at which auxiliary godparents are acquired as in other areas. For the most part marriage in San Pedro is a very individual affair in which real or ritual relatives play no role. In the few cases of formal unions involving the participation of the parents the only outsiders present are two witnesses who lecture the bride and groom. There is no need for marriage godparents. Nor does San Pedro culture define any rites of passage between baptism and marriage at which ceremonial sponsorship could be exercised. It is reported for Panajachel that a child of about six may obtain a new set of godparents at a rite of evangelio, but this appears to be a rare and unimportant event. No such ceremony is known in San Pedro. It may be said for the highland area in general that the ceremonial functioning of godparents is nearly

must be done by the godparents. This obligation is most serious, binding under pain of mortal sin." (Rev. John F. Sullivan, op. cit., p. 44.)

entirely restricted to the primary sacrament of baptism. The occasional occurrence of church weddings and the attendant special sponsorship appear to constitute infrequent and inconsequential exceptions. This stands in contrast to the presence of the hetzmeek and the handwashing rituals in rural Yucatan and the multiplicity of godparent relationships of Mitla and among the Yaqui of Pascua.

Mourning conventions do not entail the participation of sponsors. The death of a child does not invoke the special solicitude of its godparents, as is customary among a number of communities in Mexico and in Pascua. The only comparable datum reported for the highlands of Guatemala is the claim encountered by the investigator that godparents in the town of Totonicapán are expected to supply the coffin of a deceased godchild. In Pascua funeral arrangements are assigned to compadres. In other instances they are entrusted to affinal relatives, as is the case among the Tarahumara,¹ or to friends, as at Chan Kom.² But in San Pedro, as elsewhere in the highlands, the services of neither friends, nor of affinal or ritual kinsmen are required; burial arrangements are managed by the cofradías. A comadre will only place a candle on the coffin in company with relatives and neighboring women.

In San Pedro the compadre relationship meets with little demand to facilitate trade, or to provide financial assistance in an emergency, or to regulate social behavior between individuals and between groups, or to discharge other functions in furtherance of social integration. The depersonalized institutions of the market, of currency and pecuniary evaluation, of the posada and the recomendado practice, all facilitate economic interchange

¹Bennett and Zingg, op. cit., p. 222.

²Redfield and Villa, op. cit., p. 201.

without need of compadres in other towns or of forging compadre (or noráwa) bonds of the kind encountered among the more ceremonious Huichol and Tarahumara of northern Mexico.

The heavy stressing of the compadre axis for mutual monetary aid, characteristic of the wage-earning natives of Pascua, is rendered less urgent in the relatively self-sufficient peasant community of San Pedro where the need for liquid resources can often be satisfied by the sale of eggs, or by mortgaging real property, or by loaning against future delivery of coffee or other cash crops. The few San Pedro mozos (agricultural day-laborers), who own no land nor goods, look to their employers for advances in cash or in corn, in event of emergency. Housewives short of money for petty kitchen purposes may resort to earning spare cash by taking in spare-time weaving or embroidering jobs, or they will borrow nickels from neighbors. The most trying financial strains are encountered by men who are entrusted with the task of sustaining a cofradía for the period of a year. In general such responsibilities are not thrust upon a man unless it is felt he is in a position to pay for the heavy purchases of bread and meat with which to feed his mayordomos (assigned cofradía assistants) on festival occasions and to part with the quantities of corn consumed in the lavish preparation of ceremonial atole (corn gruel). Nevertheless the pinch for cash is often acute during cofradía years. The man may call upon his immediate kinsmen to assist him but he entertains no real hope of receiving more than a contribution of firewood from a brother or the manual services of a niece or sister-in-law to help with the grinding of the corn. Living in an individualistic society he may be forced to the expedient of selling a house site or of liquidating a land holding. In such an event the sale is generally made to a brother. The practice has

not been established of turning to a compadre to defray the costs of religious obligations as in Mitla, or to meet an array of more mundane emergencies as in Pascua. One may occasionally seek assistance from a rich man or a man with a reserve of corn--but only by coincidence is such a man a compadre of the petitioner.

Social integration is said to be strengthened among the Huichol through the influence of godparent relationships. The supernaturally sanctioned injunction that compadres treat each other kindly, reduces the amount of drunken fighting which constitutes the weakest aspect of Huichol society, in the estimation of Zingg. Though brawls are less evident in San Pedro, there is nevertheless an unending series of social strains engendered by accusations of slander, rejection of obligations, disputes over inheritance, and problems of nonsupport and sexual trespassing. But here the friction is resolved by recourse to the formalities of the village courthouse to which interfamilial as well as intra-familial quarrels are readily referred. Frequent resort to the highly formalized political machinery whose police and penal sanctions are backed by edicts of the Guatemalan Republic, minimizes the social need for familial and godparental controls in San Pedro.

In summing up the operation of godparenthood in the village of San Pedro la Laguna, it may be said that the institution is best characterized by what it does not do. Sponsors are acquired at only one rite of transit; as often as not these are not a pair but a single person; and more often than not they do not remain in the village long enough to enter into a real relationship with the godchild. Godparents necessarily figure in baptism but they do not become associated with other crises rites or initiation occasions. They do not teach prayers nor religious deportment. They do not act at weddings and they do not assume

responsibilities at funerals. They do not counsel the young and seldom extend financial assistance. They do not even pay for the baptism. As compadres, they do little to stabilize social behavior, beyond figuring in the etiquette of greeting.

The weakness of the godparent structure in San Pedro is not attributable to the dominance of the kinship system, for that too is relatively weak. Rather, both are rendered less effective by the existence of impersonal controls and a high degree of individualization. The impersonal character of the social controls is attested by the presence of the posada and recomendado; by the existence of the cofradia system which defines social status, controls religious behavior, and buries the dead; and especially by the popularity of the courthouse which regulates behavior within and without the family by reference to a code book. Individualization is attested by the rule of the market and the economic nexus, by the subordination of family solidarity to the interests of private ownership, and by the preference for illicit elopement over other forms of marriage.

By way of contrast to the case of San Pedro, attention may again be drawn to the familiar example of the Pueblos. Among these peoples ritual kinship--to anticipate the following chapter--is manifested in greater variety and in richer meaning than in San Pedro. Yet it is combined with a kinship system whose ramifications are "so extensive . . . that there is no aspect of the culture which is not eventually touched upon."¹

San Pedro and the Pueblos apparently fall at opposite ends of a hypothetical continuum reflecting relative development of ritual kinship systems among various peoples. The two cases like-

¹Frederick Russell Eggan, "The Kinship System and Social Organization of the Western Pueblos with Special Reference to the Hopi Indians" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1933), p. 17.

wise stand poles apart with regard to the complexity of their respective kinship systems. The positive correlation between the gradients of real and ritual kinship is further confirmed on the one hand by such instances as Pascua and the villages of Yucatan¹ in which highly developed familial controls similarly combine with multiple and meaningful forms of godparenthood. On the other hand the highland Guatemalan villages of Panajachel, San Antonio Palopó, and Chichicastenango approximate the San Pedro combination of weak godparent patterning and relatively weak kinship structures. This systematic congruence suggests that godparenthood and other forms of ceremonial relationship may be regarded--along with affinal relationship--as extensions of kinship proper, rather than as a class of social phenomena which expands at the expense of kinship, as Parsons implies. In this perspective the presence of an extensive system of ritual kinship may be viewed as an index of a society whose integration is mainly achieved through ramified kinship controls, as opposed to a people whose controls are prevailingly secular and impersonal--as in the case of San Pedro and its reliance on the courthouse and the market. The significant antithesis then is not between ritual kinship and real kinship, but between personal social controls and impersonal social controls.

¹Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan.

CHAPTER IV

RITUAL PARENTHOOD

The objective.--The cases of Middle American godparenthood discussed in the foregoing chapters fall within a wider frame of reference. The term "ritual parenthood" may be applied to this larger context. The essential criterion of ritual parenthood is the predication of artificial kinship on the parent-child pattern of relationship. In the present chapter the meaning of ritual parenthood as a sociological concept is defined in terms of a sampling of instances culled from various parts of the world. The cases are drawn from Catholic as well as non-Catholic communities. Initial attention is devoted to the Pueblos because of their contiguity and possible aboriginal relationship to Middle America. The Cayapa and Quechua Indians of Ecuador and the natives of Haiti constitute comparative instances characterized by Catholic influence. Non-Catholic forms of ritual parenthood are represented by the Crow and Miskito of the New World, and by the peoples of the Rif and the Yangtze valley of the Old World. The cases are not exhaustive.

The Pueblos.--Both native and Catholic varieties of sponsorships are retained among the Pueblos of New Mexico. Christian baptism and an equivalent native rite introduce separate pairs of sponsors. Most children acquire additional sponsors in connection with joining ceremonial societies. Pueblo sponsorships may be illustrated by reference to particular Pueblo communities.

According to Goldfrank,¹ baptismal godfather and godmother among the Cochiti need not be related, although they are often husband and wife. After presenting their godchild for baptism, the godparents enter into a gift-exchange relationship with the parents. The child receives presents from his godparents and renders them services as long as they live. In fact he assumes towards them the duties and responsibilities of a child to its parents, and in return is treated by them as though he were their child. Should he be left without parents or kinsmen, he would be taken into the home of his godfather or godmother. In addition to godparents of baptism, a Cochiti individual acquires ceremonial sponsors in the event of adoption into a clan or adoption for cures, and on entering a ceremonial society.²

At San Juan Pueblo the godmother officiates at a native naming ceremony held on the fourth day after the child is born, according to Parsons.³ Within a week or two, the infant is taken to church "for his Mexican name" by the madrina and padrino. The same persons continue to serve the family as godparents unless a godchild dies, in which event new godparents are necessary.⁴ The same custom prevails in the Pueblo of Santa Clara. But at San Ildefonso new godparents are selected for each child.⁵

¹ Esther Schiff Goldfrank, The Social and Ceremonial Organization of Cochiti (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 33, 1927), pp. 22, 33.

² Ibid., p. 49.

³ Elsie Clews Parsons, The Social Organization of the Tewa of New Mexico (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 36, 1929), p. 14.

⁴ In Panajachel godparents are likewise changed to alter the luck (supra, p. 46). Linked destiny is reflected in the Crow practices of naming and name-changing in connection with sponsorship (infra, p. 111).

⁵ Parsons, Social Organization of the Tewa, p. 16.

Referring to the Pueblos as a whole,¹ Parsons writes:

. . . Spanish baptism was readily accepted and as part of it the godparent complex, which also had aboriginal antecedents. As a rule, Indian and Mexican godparents are kept separate, but at Cochiti the Sun godparents are the same persons as the church godparents.² Many of the church practices in regard to godparents are paralleled by Pueblo godparents: preclusion of marriage; different sets of godparents for different occasions--birth name, confirmation (initiation or whipping of children), and sickness (*padrinos de vela*, godparents of the candle); present-giving or other close relations between godparents and their children on ceremonial occasions; broadening the circle of persons to depend on in the emergencies or crises of life.³

Parsons adds that marriage sponsors are not paralleled because "there is no place for them in Pueblo marriage custom."⁴

In the Pueblos, sponsorship of a native kind characteristically occurs in connection with induction into a ceremonial society or religious fraternity. In the Zuñi case, all boys and some girls are inducted into a fraternity at the age of twelve or fourteen. At the initiation ceremonies the youth is sponsored by a person he addresses as "father" and who addresses him as "son." Choice of the sponsor does ^{not} take place at the time of initiation, however, but is determined many years in advance. According to Zuñi custom, the husband of the woman who first touches the infant when it is born, becomes the sponsor or ceremonial "father" of the child.⁵ On reaching puberty, the child joins the fraternity and

¹But excluding Hopi, who practice no forms of Catholic sponsorship, according to Frederick Russell Eggen (personal interview).

²Parallel sponsorship, Catholic and native, occurs also in Chan Kom where godparents other than those of baptism serve for the aboriginal *hetzme* ceremony. Moreover, Tusik differs from Chan Kom just as Cochiti differs from the other Pueblos: the parallel rites are retained but the personnel is merged (*supra*, pp. 34-37).

³Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion* (2 vols.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), II, 1114.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 1115.

⁵Parsons, "Ceremonial Friendship at Zuñi," *American Anthropologist*, XIX (1917), 1, 3 f.

the kiva group to which his sponsor belongs.¹ Long before he is formally initiated, the boy may be dedicated to the ceremonial group he will eventually join. The dedication rites immediately set up bonds of ritual kinship between the family of the boy and the family of his sponsor. Parent-child terminology and behavior become operative between the principals. The two families assume reciprocal obligations entailing heavy expenditures for feasting and gift exchange.² Speaking of the Pueblos in general, Parsons writes:

Throughout Pueblo life the functioning of sponsor or ceremonial father is of the utmost importance to the individual, to the family, and, in maintaining ceremonial organization and social standards, to the whole community. Only "good men" should be chosen. At any time even before initiation the "father" of a boy or man may call upon him for assistance, in salt expeditions, in sheep-herding or in any working party.³

The details of the ritual act that introduces the novice into the ceremonial society of his sponsor recreate the ceremonies of the postnatal period, especially with respect to the indispensable rite of head-washing and naming. As at child-birth, a sister or other female relative of the sponsoring "father" performs the "baptizing," and the initiate is given clothes, prayer-feathers, or ritual paraphernalia.⁴ The lifelong relationship thus validated in ritual is accompanied by a rule against marrying into the family of the sponsor. The co-operative spirit prescribed for ritual kinsmen is dramatized in the Zuni shalako ceremony by means

¹Parsons, Religion, I, 137.

²Ibid., II, 599.

³Ibid., I, 47.

⁴Ibid., p. 118. Repeated use of rebirth symbolism pervades the Pueblos. Thus among the Cochiti "such ceremonies as naming at birth, clan adoption, adoption for cures, initiation into societies are very closely related to infant naming, the simplest form, and the birth ceremonial plays a part in all the rituals mentioned, with, however, distinct variations and exceptions." (Goldfrank, op. cit., p. 49.)

of katchinas representing "ceremonial fathers" and "ceremonial sons."¹

Hopi sponsorship practices differ only slightly from those at Zuñi. The following excerpts from the diary of an informant reveal the importance of ceremonial relationship among the Hopi.

The first thing I was expected to do for my ceremonial father was to kill a rabbit and give it to him. . . . It would be proper for me to hoe and chop weeds for my ceremonial father and do any other little tasks that would be of help to him. A son owes his ceremonial father quite a lot, because when he gets married the father helps to make the wedding clothes for the bride. . . . Perhaps, if he happens to have sheep he may give you two or five head for the wedding feast. . . . I have nothing to say about whom my ceremonial sons and daughters may marry. . . . If a real father neglects his son a ceremonial father may help him out. He does not reprimand the real father, however. If a real father marries another woman and neglects his son by a former wife, the ceremonial father will help out and let the real father find out his mistakes later. A ceremonial father should not whip or punish his ceremonial son. If the boy is bad, let his own relatives do the punishment. . . . If my ceremonial father or mother need help I will help them. Last winter every time I hauled coal I gave them about two tubs full. If I kill a sheep I give them a piece. Anything you have you give them a little of it to make them feel happy, and to let them know you respect them. If they should die and no relatives would care for their bodies, I could bury them. Their children should care for them, however. If they refused to bury them it would not look right to leave their bodies in the house too long to rot; I would do it. Then I would get some of their orchards. If I should carry their bodies down to the cemetery, I would be the one to get the best things they had. When I am old, if I need help and if my ceremonial children have good sense they will help me. If I become helpless and lay in my bed and if they have good thoughts they may come and stay with me and give me food and water.²

A "ceremonial father" for the initiation of a boy is picked by the boy's parents; in case of a girl a "ceremonial mother" is chosen. These sponsors are selected from a clan other than that of the father or the mother. According to one informant, this is done "in order to give the boy another set of relatives."³

¹Parsons, Religion, II, 750.

²Leo W. Simmons, field notes, Hopi, 1938 (pp. 108, 111, 112, 182).

³Frederick Russell Eggen, "The Kinship System and Social Organization of the Western Pueblos with Special Reference to the

The "ceremonial father" not only admits the boy into a ceremonial society and into a kiva group¹ but also adopts him into his clan. The boy thereupon feels himself related to the whole phratry to which his new clan belongs.²

A Hopi child or adult who is seriously ill is often "given" in adoption to the doctor "who brings him back to life." According to Eggan, such adoption brings the person into kinship relationship with the members of the "doctor father's" clan and phratry. A person may have several "doctor fathers."³

The Crow Indians.--The Crow Indians of the Plains do not have godparents in the Catholic sense. However, they have forms of ritual parenthood which are quite analogous. Lowie⁴ records that when a child is four days old, the father pays a person of prominence--usually a warrior--to give the infant an auspicious name. Usually the name is descriptive of a celebrated exploit of the sponsoring warrior. The name giver lifts the baby four times, each time a little higher, to make it grow. The procedure is identical for children of either sex, although girls are occasionally named by a woman sponsor. Instead of paying the ritual parent for his sponsorship, the father of the child may promise him: "If this boy ever walks, he will give you a horse." If the child

Hopi Indians" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1933), p. 32.

¹Eggan asserts that Parsons is in error when she states that Hopi kiva membership is controlled by clan membership rather than by the "ceremonial father," as at Zuni. (Parsons, Religion, I, 138.) Only if the initiate does not get along in the kiva of his "ceremonial father" does he exercise any choice, according to Eggan (personal interview).

²Eggan, "The Kinship System and Social Organization of the Western Pueblos," p. 32.

³Ibid., pp. 32-33.

⁴Robert H. Lowie, The Crow Indians (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935).

proves sickly, the "godfather" gives him a new name. If this does not work, another man is asked to rename the child. Women generally change their names upon the death of their namesake, but men generally do not.¹

Induction into the Crow Tobacco society or the order of the Sacred Pipe, is attended by the acquisition of ceremonial sponsors who thenceforth remain ritual kinsmen of the initiates. Occasionally the sponsor is the same individual as the naming sponsor who served when the initiate was an infant. Thus Lowie records: "When Cuts-the-picketed-mule gave birth to a daughter, the name-giver promised that she would live beyond childhood; in return the parents pledged themselves to let him adopt her into the Tobacco society."² But whether or not societal sponsorship is prearranged at birth, recruitment of society member is regularly achieved by means of "adoption," an older member of the society adopting the novice as a ritual "son." The ceremonial unit for purposes of such adoption is generally a young man and his wife, who address their sponsor as "father" and the sponsor's wife as "mother." The older couple refer to the younger as their "children."

The ritual attending societal induction is patterned on birth ritual even to the point of simulating the cutting of the navel cord and the piercing of the ears. The "father" "baptizes" the "child" by pouring water over his head. The ritual father presents his "son" with new clothes and fine foods, enhancing the illusion of the parent-child nexus.³ The immediate kinsmen of

¹Ibid., p. 43. Men frequently change their name after some creditable deed.

²Ibid., p. 278. Ceremonial commitment by means of vows was probably the prevailing pattern in ancient times, in Lowie's estimation.

³It will be noted that the sponsorial customs of the Crow bear a close resemblance to those of the Zuni. Similar components

the neophyte couple participate in the induction ceremonies.

Social and magical privileges accrue to men and women upon joining a chapter of the Tobacco society or the order of the Sacred Pipe group. To acquire these benefits, the novice pays substantial fees to the adopting father. In return he receives the proper training during a preliminary period, learning the special songs and dances specified by his sponsor. Aided by his kinsmen, the new member may pay his ceremonial father as high a fee as fifty horses. In addition to material gains, the sponsor enjoys an increase in prestige. Each owner of a sacred pipe has a right to acquire four sets of adopted children, but the privilege is so highly esteemed that many decline to adopt more than three couples.¹ That the generation of social ties between nonrelated members of successive generations is a basic function of Sacred Pipe membership, appears to be implicit in the assertion that the adoption ceremony is "unquestionably the outstanding feature of Pipe ritualism."²

The efficacy of the ritual bond between adopting fathers and their "children" as a force for social control is illustrated in the following statement by Lowie: ". . . A man might leave his chapter because of a misunderstanding with his adopter. I know of two instances but because of the sentimental bond deemed proper between "father" and "child," this was not a common occurrence."³ The ritual relationship binds together not only the two

include (1) acquisition of ritual kinsmen in connection with societal induction, (2) pledging a person to a sponsor and to the society of the sponsor at infancy, and (3) re-enactment of birth ritualism on the occasion of societal induction. The implication of historical relationship between Pueblo and Plains social organization is given further weight by the fact that the Zuni have a type of formal friendship prevalent among the Plains tribes (*infra*, p. 133).

¹*Ibid.*, p. 269.

²*Ibid.*, p. 271.

³*Ibid.*, p. 278.

couples involved but also their kinsmen. Thus the parents of the adopting couple are called "grandfather" and "grandmother," by logical extension, and these use the term "grandchild" in return. The sentimental ties created by the ritual union is sustained by mutual gift-giving. A man may bring a whole buffalo to his adoptive father or grandfather, receiving presents in exchange. Sponsors give money to adoptive daughters on various occasions.

The Cayapa Indians.---According to Barrett,¹ the Cayapa Indians of northwest Ecuador baptize their children twice. The first occasion occurs several days after birth and is performed by friends of the parents who agree to act as godparents on the second occasion. If the child is a boy it is held by the godfather while the godmother baptizes him with a glass of water as she gives him his name, which is usually the given name of the godfather. If the child is a girl, it is held by the godmother, whose name it receives, the godfather performing the baptizing rite. Since the priest makes his visits at infrequent intervals, some months may elapse before the church baptism takes place. On this occasion the godparental relationship is validated and the child is given a Christian name corresponding to that of the patron saint of the child's birthday.²

At marriage festivals a godmother is appointed to take charge of the bride, while a godfather is assigned to take care of the groom. The godparents are ". . . not usually the same

¹S. A. Barrett, The Cayapa Indians of Ecuador (2 parts; New York: Indian Notes and Monographs, 1925), Part II, pp. 318-19.

²Ibid. This case recalls that of the Huichol among whom a child is similarly washed and named in advance of the church ceremony. Among the Huichol, the native baptism is performed by the maternal grandmother. It is possible that the rare visits of the priest among both the Cayapa and the Huichol has contributed to the retention of aboriginal forms of baptism.

as the godfather and the godmother arising from the baptismal relationship. . . . , but are usually persons somewhat older than the contracting parties and act as sponsors for the two, much as do the groomsmen and the bridesmaid among civilized peoples."¹ During the wedding dance the participants come upon the floor in a prescribed order. First the godfather of the groom, who at the same time is master of ceremonies, dances with the bride. Next the groom dances with the godmother of the bride. Finally the chief, followed in order of rank by the other officials, dances with the bride.²

The Colorado Indians living in the tropical forests of western Ecuador and linguistically related to the Cayapa, likewise practice Christian sponsorship, according to Karsten, who relates that ". . . a piece of the child's nail is cut off and put into a cup of brandy which the would-be godfather has to drain, the new relationship between him and the child being thereby established."³

The Quechua.--More detailed information on Ecuador Indians is to be found in Parsons' study of the Quechua town of Peguche Otavalo in the northern province of Imbabura.⁴ The Indians of the Otavalo region deem it urgent to baptize a baby on the day of its birth or soon afterward. An infant dying unbaptized, though called an alma santa (saintly soul), is thought to become a dangerous night-flying spirit, as in Chan Kom. The unbaptized are buried apart in the cemetery in unsanctified ground.

¹Ibid., p. 324.

²Ibid., p. 326. During the Chorti wedding ceremony the bride and groom likewise dance with the marriage sponsor of opposite sex (supra, p. 49).

³Rafael Karsten, "The Colorado Indians of Western Ecuador," Ymer, XLIV (Stockholm, 1925), 143.

⁴Parsons, "Peguche Otavalo" (MS).

Godparents may be Indian or Spanish. Indian godparents may be chosen within the kinship group. For each child there are different godparents. Non-Indian godparents--particularly those of distinction--are an asset for anyone who has affairs in Otavalo or Quito.

If the godparents are Indian the parents bring them a huge gift basket containing four or five cooked chickens, four or five cooked guinea pigs, several pecks of potatoes, and four bottles of brandy. Parents and godparents exchange formal greetings and arrange for the baptism. After the church ritual the godparents return the infant along with their gift of swaddling cloths and a belt. The two couples again indulge in stylized speeches; they dance and drink, hail each other as compadre and comadre, and express formal hopes that the child learn to walk and talk quickly and correctly. In the case of non-Indian godparents the mother may simply provide a gift of five chickens and, in return, receive from the godmother a little cap, shirt, and several woolen swaddling cloths.

One must find a spouse outside his kin and compadre circles. There are additional godparents of marriage.

Haiti.--Interest attaches to the case of godparenthood in Haiti because of the fact that the historical roots of Haitian culture go back to Africa and France rather than to native America and Spain, although early Spanish influence is probably not to be ruled out entirely. In his account of the customs of Mirebalais Valley, Herskovits¹ writes that baptism takes place a month or two after birth, unless the child is seriously ill, in which case baptism is performed immediately. The father pays the civil fee and

¹Melville J. Herskovits, Life in a Haitian Valley (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937).

the godparent pays the baptismal fee. The latter may also aid the godmother in meeting the cost of providing clothing for the child, as well as a present for the mother. The clothing gift is obligatory. Saturday is the favorite day for baptism, since that is the day the godparents ordinarily go to town for marketing. The parents usually do not accompany the child to the church where it is carried to the font by the godparents and given a name by the priest. Later in the day the parents are visited by friends and relatives who bring gifts for the child and partake of refreshments. Some time after the church ceremony, the child is presented to the family deities by the parents and the godparents. The latter are known by the French terms compère and commère.

Regarding the relationships set up by the ritual of baptism, Herskovits states:

As in most Catholic countries, the godparents play an important role in the life of their godchild. Not only do they "stand in the place of father and mother" at baptism, but remembrances are expected from them on birthdays or saints' days, while the young person, when older, often brings his problems to them, knowing that they will give him their most disinterested advice. A man may turn to his godparents for aid before asking it of his family, for they are regarded as truest of friends. Nor does he stand in awe of them as he does of his older relations. There is a free joking give-and-take between godparents and godchild, which reflects this attitude of warm affection. A person even stands in a special relationship to the children of his godparents, calling them "baptismal brothers" or "baptismal sisters." And Mirebalais has it that when church marriage is contemplated by two such individuals, special authorization from the Archbishop must first be obtained.¹

The inhabitants of Haiti extend the Catholic sponsorship pattern to events and object of nonhuman character. Thus the drums that are to play an important part in the vodun ceremony, which harks back to Africa, must first be dressed by "godmothers." Since the owner of the drums is regarded as their father the baptismal analogy is completed by his use of the terms compère and

¹Ibid., pp. 97-98.

commère for those who have "stood up" with his drums. The pret' savanne (surrogate priest) holds prayers over the drums, sprinkling them with holy water as he "christens" them. These rites of sanctifying the vodun drums ". . . vividly illustrate the merging of traditions in Haitian religion: by means of offerings to the African gods, and through baptism by the rites of the Church."¹

The Miskito Indians.--Not having submitted to Christian influences, the Miskito Indians of Nicaragua have no godparent institutions in the narrow sense of the word. But they have an indigenous form of ritual parenthood, according to Conzemius.² Among the Miskito, a number of older women assist at the delivery of a child. One of the women severs the navel cord and ties it with a cotton thread. In virtue of this act she is henceforth considered a blood relation to the newborn child and to its parents. The parents and the ritual kinswoman call each other lapya or "birth-friend." Marriage with a near relative of one's lapya is prohibited. The lapya relationship ". . . corresponds loosely to the compadre and comadre system of the Ladinos. The lapya appears to have been limited in former days to the Miskito, but lately it has spread to the other tribes of the Mosquito Coast--Sumu, Rama and Paya."³

Berbers.--Among the Berbers of the Moroccan Rif, the midwife who delivers the child and cuts the umbilical cord is similarly held in especial esteem by the child in its later life.

¹Ibid., p. 270.

²Eduard Conzemius, Ethnographic Survey of the Miskito and Sumu Indians of Honduras and Nicaragua (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 106, 1932), pp. 146, 151.

³Ibid., p. 151.

Coon¹ states that the child may later address the midwife as "mother," caring for her as he would his real mother. In a lesser degree, the assistant to the midwife likewise assumes a special status in the eyes of the child. If the mother cannot nurse the child, another woman takes charge of the feeding. "The foster-mother is later considered by the child as an alternate mother, and marriage between a child and a foster child of the same woman is considered incestuous and is forbidden."² To protect himself in a feud, a Riffian may run to a kinswoman of the assailant and touch her nipple with his mouth, drawing out milk if she has any. This prevents him from being killed, since it places the two men in the position of foster-brothers, by extension.³

Peasant China.--The Chinese peasants of the Yangtze valley practice a form of ritual parenthood which appears to serve the same social function as does baptismal sponsorship among Catholic peoples, but which is supported by idealogical considerations of quite a different character, according to Fei.⁴ This is accomplished through a system of pseudo-adoption by means of which an individual is included in a second kinship group without actually leaving his own. It is called govan, meaning "passing to another ^{se} hour." On a rational level the practice is explained as protecting the child against the evil spirits regarded as responsible for the high rate of infant mortality prevailing in peasant China. The malevolent spirits are particularly jealous of children that are especially cherished by their parents.⁵ Anyone who manages

¹Carlton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif (Cambridge: Harvard African Series, 1932), p. 122.

²Ibid., p. 123.

³Ibid., p. 163.

⁴Hsiac-Tung Fei, Peasant Life in China (London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1939), pp. 87-89.

⁵This correlates with the Chinese custom of treating children with outward indifference.

to raise a large family is assumed to possess strong resisting power against the spirits. Consequently, the way to protect a child is to "attach" it to such a strong person by means of the govan system. Besides fortifying the child against the evil forces, this nominal transfer deceives the spirits into believing that the offspring is of such little value that it is rejected by its own parents.

The govan system provides the child with more than magical protection. Since only men of wealth manage to raise large families in an area where economic stringency enforces infanticide, the selection of pseudo-parents from among their number provides the child with new social connections offering chances of economic betterment. On his part the pseudo-father is flattered at the tribute to his importance and the augury of future prosperity.

The ritual act creating the new relationship consists of performing a sacrifice to the proper gods and of an exchange of gifts between the child and its "adopting" parents.¹ The child offers his pseudo-parents a present of needles, peaches, and wine --symbols of long life. In turn the ritual parents tender him a feast at which he is given a new personal name and surname, as well as a quantity of cash and trinkets. The surname he receives is that of the new "father," but it is a pure formality for it is never used in practice.

The govan relationship entails a lifelong series of reciprocal rights and duties. The child addresses the "adopting" parents by relationship terms, participates in their ceremonies, and mourns for them when they die. In return he receives ceremonial gifts, as well as items of clothing and other practical consider-

¹Govan "adoption" is to be distinguished from genuine adoption which occurs in the absence of male heirs to sustain the patrilineal line of descent.

ations. He may not marry into the family of his govan parents. With this nominal adoption goes neither the right to inherit from the ritual parents nor the need to support them. The child does not sever its relations with its real parents. "The real meaning therefore is to create a new social relation similar to kinship by metaphorical use of relationship terms and by ritual acts."¹

Not all children enter into govan relationships. Girls are "attached" to other families much less frequently than boys. In times of general economic crisis when it becomes difficult to contract ritual relationships, children are protected from evil spirits through the expedient of "attaching" them to the god or to the husband of the paternal aunt.

Discussion.--For purposes of this paper the term "ritual parenthood" is used to cover the various cases of sponsorship--Catholic and otherwise--reviewed in the foregoing pages. The term "godparenthood" is too narrow for this purpose since it connotes that particular form of ritual parenthood which is historically associated with the Catholic complex. On the other hand, the term "sponsorship" is too wide since it may refer to events which involve no enduring social commitments.²

In the light of the illustrative cases, ritual parenthood may be defined as (1) a ritually-established (2) long-lasting relationship (3) of a parent-child order (4) between individuals not otherwise related. The four elements of the definition may be considered in sequence. Each of the cases presented involves a

¹Ibid., p. 89.

²Thus fraternity or lodge initiation in our own secular society involves the technicality of sponsorship without the sequel of ceremonial kinship. Among the ancient Maya a man stood sponsor to a group of boys to be "baptized," but it is doubtful whether he contracted any relationship of ritual parenthood. Group sponsorship, in general, falls beyond the confines of the ritual-parenthood concept.

conspicuous ritual act in which the principals participate. The ritual content of the act naturally varies according to the particular culture. But a review of the cases suggests that the inaugural ceremony is prevaillingly characterized by birth ritualism or by adoption ritualism, or by a combination of the two. Among the Crow, Miskito, and Berbers, as well as among the Catholicized communities--Cayapa, Haiti, Middle America--ritual parents are acquired at a rite connected with the birth of the child. Govan sponsorship of the Chinese, as well as societal sponsorship of the Crow and Pueblo Indians, is patterned on the symbolism of adoption. The symbolism of societal sponsorship among the Crow and Zuni reduplicates the symbolism of sponsorship at birth. But whatever the ceremonial idiom, the ritual act is a dramatic representation of the relationship it brings into being. Once the bond is sealed, a series of ceremonial acts and gestures may be maintained through time in order to sustain the moral force of the new social nexus.

The second element of the definition is the prolonged nature of the relation engendered by the ritual act. This is particularly true in the case of ceremonial sponsorships contracted at the time of birth, and is reflected in the fact that the child is always, or nearly always, enjoined from marrying into the family of his ritual parents. This injunction has meaning only in terms of a relationship that lasts at least fifteen or twenty years--long enough for the child to become an adult.

The third element is the parent-child aspect of the relationship; this feature critically distinguishes ritual parenthood from other orders of ritual kinship to be discussed in the ensuing chapter. The filial orientation is explicit in the symbolism of the inceptive ritual act; in repetitive deeds and gestures of

respect and obedience, on the one part, and of guidance and assistance, on the other; in the reciprocal use of parent-child terms, as well as the extension of kinship terms and kinship behavior to members of the respective families.

The fourth element in the definition of ritual parenthood is the fact that the ceremonial ties are contracted with individuals not related by blood or marriage. This is apparently the ideal practice in each of the sponsorship systems investigated in the present chapter, and is a necessary correlate of the proposition that the functional basis of ritual parenthood is the establishment of new relationships. Nevertheless this ideal is not always achieved. Thus govan relationships are arranged with paternal kinsmen under pressure of unfavorable economic conditions. It will be recalled that in a minority of the Middle American god-parental instances the notion that ritual relations should be contracted outside the kinship circle, is a weak or nonexistent ideal. This is notably true in Yucatan. Cases of this special kind may be regarded as falling in the zone between ritual and actual kinship.

Attention may be drawn to the respects in which ritual parenthood, as an ideal type, differs from actual parenthood. These are notably three: (1) the bond is based on a ritual act rather than on birth, and it is thus a voluntary rather than an involuntary relationship; (2) the rights and obligations, though much alike in kind, are notably less in degree; (3) the pseudo-parents tend to be regarded as exerting a spiritual or magical influence over the character or destiny of the child. This last-mentioned tendency is variously attested by circumstances such as the disposition to select sponsors who are lucky or magically strong or of virtuous character; name linkage; change of name or change of sponsor in event of misfortune; and curing sponsorships.

CHAPTER V

RITUAL BROTHERHOOD

Forms of pseudo kinship based on ritual recognition of "brotherhood" between two individuals are reported for many peoples living in all quarters of the world. The term "ritual brotherhood" is proposed as a general reference to cover the various institutions reported under the names of formal friendship, covenant friendship, institutionalized friendship, comradeship, artificial brotherhood, adoptive brotherhood, blood brotherhood, and the like. The instances of ritual brotherhood reviewed in the following pages are meant to be illustrative rather than exhaustive.

Dahomey.--Herskovits regards the institution of the "best friend" to be the most fundamental grouping based on free association in Dahomey.¹ Every male and female has a best friend in whom he reposes all confidence even in matters involving moral or criminal turpitude. Formally inaugurated at puberty, the relationship continues in force until death. According to Hazoumé, each of the contracting parties partakes of the blood of the other.² Herskovits denies this aspect of the sealing ceremony.³

Hazoumé writes that a man may not enjoy abundance while his companion endures privations, that he may not remain happy or free while the other is downcast or in prison. If need be, the

¹Herskovits, Dahomey, I, 239.

²Paul Hazoumé, Le Pact de Sang au Dahomey (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1937), p. 135.

³Herskovits, Dahomey, I, 239. Herskovits acknowledges that blood exchange is a familiar Dahomean motif occurring in other contexts.

interests of a relative are sacrificed to those of a best friend.¹ A man must make services and sacrifices at the funeral of his best friend.² Though Herskovits does not comment on this point, it is clear from Hazoumé that the friendship pact imposes obligations of mutual assistance not only upon the two principals but upon their respective families as well.³ In recent years unscrupulous persons have taken advantage of the unquestioning loyalty to which others are committed upon entering into the ritual compact. Hazoumé relates that a youth or a group of youths may establish the bond with a girl whom they later subject to their private caprices but who is honor-bound not to expose them. Thieves similarly engage the co-operation of a girl to act as a shield and go-between.⁴

Similar institutions of formal friendship occur among the Fono, the Yoruba, and other tribes adjacent to Dahomey.

Didinga.--According to Driberg,⁵ the bond of best-friend among the Didinga of East Africa imposes severe obligations far outweighing those obtaining between kinsmen. Since each individual must have as his best friend a person belonging to an age-grade above or below his own, it is evident that ritual kinship among the Didinga serves as a device for introducing vertical integration into the age-grade system organized along sharply horizontal lines. By an extended use of the best-friend pattern, the Didinga gain individual alliances among neighboring tribesmen in order to insure their peaceful co-operation in matters of trade and travel.

¹Hazoumé, op. cit., p. 136.

²Herskovits, Dahomey, I, 240.

³Hazoumé, op. cit., p. 136. ⁴Ibid., p. 137.

⁵J. H. Driberg, "The 'Best Friend' among the Didinga," Man, XXXV (1935), 101-2.

Foreign friendships imply a lesser degree of obligation than friendships across the Didinga age-grades, though even here " . . . it would be considered a grave breach of social conduct were a man to fail his friend in an emergency."¹

Zande.--The most comprehensive account of blood brotherhood is the one by Evans-Prichard for the Zande of Central Africa.² As elsewhere, Zande blood brotherhood is a pact of mutual assistance backed by sacred sanctions and consummated by a ritual in which the partners drink each other's blood. Prior to the influence of European individualism a man could not contract a brotherhood relationship on his individual initiative "since its clauses bound also his kin, who became subject to its sanctions."³ Blood brothers or bakuremi⁴ are always of different clans. Strictly speaking, the term is applied only to the covenant friend. Occasionally an inflected form of the word signifying blood sister is used for the wife of a blood brother. In an extended sense bakuremi embraces all the members of the blood brother's clan. The term may be applied metaphorically to any person to indicate friendly familiarity.

The spells that are part of the Zande blood-drinking ceremony clearly enunciate the reciprocal obligations imposed by the ritual bond:

A man must act always as a generous friend towards his blood-brother; he must give him food and beer when he visits his homestead; he must refrain from making advances to his women; he must not refuse spears or other gifts, which he is free to part with, on the request of his blood-brother; he must grant the hand of his daughter in marriage, if she is not already

¹Ibid., p. 102.

²E. E. Evans-Prichard, "Zande Blood-Brotherhood," Africa, VI (1933), 369-401.

³Ibid., p. 371.

⁴Bakuremi is based on the word for blood--kure.

espoused; he must not speak evil of his blood-brother to the chiefs; he must render him assistance in quarrels; he must do his best to protect him against vengeance and justice; he must give his blood-brother the head of any animals which he has killed in hunting, if he asks for them. Generally speaking, a man must always support his blood-brother when he is in difficulties, especially when he is in legal difficulties.¹

The sanctions that make these commitments operative are primarily three: the magical control to which a blood brother becomes subject once he enters the relationship; the weight of public opinion which severely censures breach of obligation; and the expectation of reciprocity.

As a rule the Zande blood ritual cements cements "already existing bonds of comradeship by giving them a concrete organized form which is backed by sanctions."² "The obligations of blood-brotherhood are coloured by the obligations of kinship and family"; but this does not mean that the blood brother changes his status so as to become "reckoned as kin to kin to his partner and his partner's clansmen";³ for "no Zande ever thinks of a blood-brother as a member of his clan in any sense whatsoever."⁴ In some respects the obligations and privileges of blood brothers complement those of kinsmen. Thus kinsmen may not dig the grave nor carry the corpse of a deceased relative; these tasks are assigned to the blood brother of the deceased and to the family of the blood brother. One does not marry within his own clan, but very often marries into the clan of his blood brother. "Blood-brothers have an egalitarian status and treat each other with open familiarity across the usual barriers of etiquette which Zande custom erects between members of society."⁵

Like the Didinga, the Zande contract blood bonds among

¹Ibid., pp. 387-88.

²Ibid., p. 372.

³Ibid., p. 399.

⁴Ibid., p. 397.

⁵Ibid., p. 398.

alien peoples for the express purpose of facilitating traffic in foreign parts. Each of the contracting parties becomes responsible for the safety of the other.

Tanala.--Linton¹ relates that the Tanala--in common with all other tribes of Madagascar--attach great importance to oaths of brotherhood. Family consent is not required to enter the relationship which ". . . seems to be a genuine expression of affection . . ." Blood brothers are considered to be more closely related than actual siblings. A man addresses the relatives of his oath brother as does the brother himself, and he behaves toward them in the manner implied by the kinship terminology. Other members of the two families sense the relationship established by the blood ritual. They owe each other assistance but their marriages are not restricted, as are the marriages of the principals themselves. The children and grandchildren of blood brothers are governed by the same marriage regulations as those of real brothers and sisters.

Both contracting parties share equal rights and duties; these are specified in the oath taken in the presence of a shaman² and vary to suit the wishes of the participants. Mutual assistance is always part of the oath; often the blood brothers agree to hold their property in common. In modern times the oath carries the reservation that assistance shall not be obligatory if it involves an act against the government. Normally the pact does not specify access to each other's wives, especially if both men live in the same village. But blood brotherhood is frequently

¹Ralph Linton, The Tanala, a Hill Tribe of Madagascar (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History Publications, 1933), pp. 307 ff. Dr. Linton supplied additional data in personal interview.

²See *ibid.*, pp. 309-10 for exposition of the curses, benedictions, and ritual acts that make up the blood oath of brotherhood.

used as a means of establishing intervillage relationship and in such cases wife-sharing is often stipulated in the oath. The relationship can also be contracted across castelines; the oath may be taken by a noble and a commoner, or a commoner and a slave-- but not a noble and a slave.

Occasionally two women enter into a blood bond but they may not involve their husbands in their commitments. Sometimes a man and a woman become covenant friends. Such action allows two people who are sentimentally attracted to each other to circumvent social barriers. Thus a man may be attracted to a girl within his incest group or to a woman who is already married. Ordinarily he might not be alone with her, but under the guarantee of the sacred bond he may visit her without incurring social disapproval.

When a village is conquered and its inhabitants reduced to vassalage, the leaders of the vanquished are required to take an oath of loyalty to the conquerors which is identical to the oath of blood brotherhood except that the victors are not bound by its terms. The Tanala press blood brotherhood to do the service of a nonegalitarian relationship. Not so, the Betsileo.

The Betsileo of Madagascar have ritual kinship of the Tanala type; but in addition they have blood oaths of a parent-child variety to formalize master-servant relationships between men of different social strata, according to Linton.¹ The man who assumes the father role acquires the right to exact duties and deference from the man who assumes the child role. The inferior member is obligated to give over a share of his income or wages. In return he acquires the protection of his master, as well as the right to work his fields. There may be no age differential between the participants. But in the inceptive ritual the upper-

¹Ralph Linton, personal interview.

caste member takes the other as his "child," while the lower-caste member takes the other as his "father," as acknowledgment of the unequal relationship.

Hottentots.--The sore bond of the Hottentots living in southwestern Africa binds two individuals of the same or opposite sex in a bond of lasting loyalty and unrestricted economic assistance, according to a collation of original sources made by Schapera.¹ The validating ritual consists in sharing a drink of water--precious in a desert--or draining a cup of coffee. The comrades may also partake of a slaughtered sheep. Though the relationship is primarily one of practical assistance, it is thought that it may also be conducive to homosexual practices between male partners.² Occasionally a man who has a barren wife or who has only daughters, enters into a special sore relationship with a girl who becomes his concubine. Children born of this union are taken into the man's family, the sore bond lapsing as soon as the erstwhile paramour acquires a husband in her own right.³ It is believed that male sore friends have access to each other's wives.⁴

Nepalese.--Artificial brotherhood among the Nepalese tribesmen of Asia is established by a ceremony--witnessed by a Brahman--which consists essentially in exchanging the contents of the participants' pockets or in exchanging gifts, according to Adam.⁵ Two women may enter into a like relationship. By Nepalese legal custom artificial brothers are reckoned as natural brothers. A man may not marry into the family of his mit or ritual brother; a woman may not marry into the family of her mitni or ritual sister.

¹I. Schapera, The Koisian Peoples of South Africa, Bushmen and Hottentots (London, 1930).

²Ibid., p. 243.

³Ibid., p. 252.

⁴Ibid., p. 322.

⁵Leonhard Adam, "The Social Organization and Customary Law of the Nepalese Tribes," American Anthropologist, XXXVI (1936), 533-47.

A person may not marry the widow of his mit. A man is not permitted to speak to the wife of his mit, and she must cover her face in his presence. The fathers of the partners consider them equally as sons. A fictitious relationship exists between a man and the son of his mit; the latter will address his father's mit as "mit-father." Correspondingly, the children of a woman who has a ritual sister call the latter "mit-mother."

The most binding obligations are between the principals themselves, and only secondarily with their families. Still it is felt that if a man were to die and leave his family in want, it would be the duty of his mit to assist them in any way he could. An important feature of artificial brotherhood in Nepal is that the partners may belong to different tribes and to different castes, the lowest caste excepted. In view of strong kinship controls and tribal endogamy, Adam concludes that ". . . the functional side of the institution consists, no doubt, more in its contributing to strengthen the social intercourse between the tribes and in this way, ultimately, the unity of the population of the country."¹

Ritual brotherhood and ritual sisterhood are common not only to the tribes of Nepal but also to those of the Punjab and Afghanistan where the pocket-exchange ritual is likewise performed.² Goror speaks of the network of intertribal covenant friends which makes possible the peaceful exchange of goods between the Lepchas, Sikkimese, and Tibetans of the Himalayan area.³ Mandelbaum reports formal friendships among the Kota of southern India.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 544.

²Ibid., p. 543.

³Geoffrey Goror, Himalayan Village (London: Michael Joseph, Ltd., 1938), p. 119.

⁴David G. Mandelbaum, personal communication.

Koita.--Seligmann relates that the Koita of Melanesia enter into lifelong relationships with individuals of like sex whom they call henamo.¹ Koita companions share their food, go hunting and fishing together, and fight side by side in battle. Ideally henamo ties should bind children born on the same day in paired hamlets. An exchange of gifts between their fathers confirms the bond. The parents encourage the two children to play and grow up together, so far as circumstances permit.

When a Koita boy attains adolescence his relatives assemble to witness the rite of transit in which his maternal uncle presents him with his first sihi, an item of adult clothing. It is customary for the maternal uncle of one of a pair of henamo partners to present the sihi to both of the boys, just as though both were his nephews. The uncle enjoins his nephew to bring him a share of any fish or game he may catch thereafter. The henamo, however, does not become obligated to present his ritual uncle with a portion of his catch; but he does address the maternal uncle and other kinsmen of his henamo by the same terms his partner uses. A man is under no compulsion to befriend the widow or children of his dead henamo. But he may not have relations with nor marry the sister of his companion. The henamo of a slain man will rush to follow up a blood feud more readily than will the actual brother of the victim.

Bánaro.--According to Thurnwald,² each male among the Bánaro of New Guinea similarly has a special friend of the same age in the opposite half of their mutual patrilinear clan. By the

¹C. J. Seligmann, The Melanesians of British New Guinea (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 69-70.

²Richard Thurnwald, "The Bánaro Society," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, III (1916), 258-73.

nature of B́anaro social organization, this places the partners in separate hamlets. B́anaro friends call each other mundu, and at puberty they are initiated in a joint ceremony ending in a festival. Mundu companions marry on the same day. On certain occasions they have access to each other's wives, assuming responsibility for their welfare if the mundu dies. When his son marries, a man has his mundu deflower the bride. The groom is the sociological father of the resulting offspring. So essential is it for every male to have a mundu in the tightly formalized B́anaro social structure that a mundu, on death, is immediately replaced by his brother.

Crow and Hidatsa.--In North America ritual brotherhood is especially important among the tribes of the Plains.¹ Among the Hidatsa, women as well as men pair off as comrades. Lowie writes that every girl has a particular friend from whom she withholds no secrets--not even what her lover did and said.² Among the closely related Crow, two boys would frequently form "a peculiarly close tie of friendship" and designate each other by a special term. Continuing into adult life, the intimacy might even take precedence over kinship loyalties. Comrades give each other gifts, go to war together, and even share each other's mistresses, the mutual term of address then becoming "little father." This term

¹For references to fraternal alliances not mentioned in the present paper, see especially David G. Mandelbaum, "Friendship in North America," Man, XXXV (1935), 205-6. Of the Plains Cree, Mandelbaum records: "They would address each other's parents as father and mother and would observe the brother-sister avoidance toward the sisters of their friend. . . . When they married their wives called each other by the same terms as do the wives of brothers . . . their relationship was a brotherly one. When two women compacted a friendship the terms for elder and younger sister were employed." (Ibid.)

²Robert H. Lowie, "Notes on the Social Organization of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Indians," American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, XXI (1917), Part I, 50.

is used reciprocally between men sharing wives or sweethearts, regardless of other relationships, and is founded on the Crow practice of teknonymy within the primary family. Children address the comrade of their father by the same term as they address the father himself; they bring gifts to the wife of their father's comrade.¹

Shoshone and Comanche.--Formal friends among the men of the Shoshone and Comanche tribes address each other as "brother," each taking the status of the other in the relationship system of his comrade's family. Hoebel² asserts that in so doing the comrade takes over all the privileges and restrictions which go with the new status. In conformity with the practice of interfamilial exchange marriage, the ritual brothers marry sisters in another group. Thus the children of the two companions become parallel cousins related through their mothers.

Zuñi.--Formal friendship at Zuñi is related to the comrade complex of the Kiowa-Apache and other warrior tribes of the Plains, in Parsons' estimation.³ The kihe relationship originated at Zuñi as a war trait, just as it did among the Maricopa where it bears a similar name, according to the same author. During boyhood and early manhood a Zuñi Indian may form a kihe bond with another individual of whom he is particularly fond.⁴ When a person

¹Lowie, The Crow Indians, p. 42.

²E. Adamson Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandeka Relationship Terms," American Anthropologist, XLI (1939), 448-49.

³Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, II, 1120.

⁴Parsons, "Ceremonial Friendship at Zuni," American Anthropologist, XIX (1917), 1-8. Here Parsons concludes, on the testimony of an informant, that the kihe practice was spontaneously invented among the Zuni in recent times. In a later work, Parsons credits the kihe institution with considerable antiquity, suggesting that it may have fallen into temporary disuse and that her earlier informant, ". . . if not long ago another Zuñi, had the bright idea of reviving it in kachina guise." (Pueblo Indian Religion, II, 1120).

wishes to make another his kihe, his mother or maternal aunt brings the kihe-elect to her own house where she washes his hair, in accordance with standard Zuni initiation ritualism. The new kihe is given presents before and after the hair-washing ritual. Subsequently the mother or aunt of the initiated kihe washes the hair of the other companion, and he receives gifts in reciprocation. A Zuni must give his comrade whatever he may desire.

Kihe companions treat each other as equals but they address each other as older and younger brother, respectively. A person addresses the kinsmen of his kihe as though they were his own, and they reciprocate accordingly. Friends belong to separate clans and to separate religious fraternities; but one may not marry into the family of the other. Only a rich man can afford to have more than one kihe. Acquisition of a second kihe does not slacken the first relationship; a kihe is a friend for life.

Commonly kihe ties are formed between two men. Next in the order of frequency are mixed relationships; a man would no more think of marrying his kihe friend than he would consider marrying his own sister. Least frequent are formal friendships between two women. At Laguna Pueblo, two women or a man and woman may contract a similar relationship; they likewise submit to a hair-washing ritual.¹

Miskito and Sumu.--Conzemius reports that the Miskito and Sumu Indians of Honduras and Nicaragua have a libra relationship which two men or two women may initiate by an exchange of personal property or by exchanging names. "Such friends are as dear to each other as brothers."² A person is not allowed to marry a near

¹Parsons, "Ceremonial Friendship at Zuni," op. cit., p. 6.

²Conzemius, Ethnographic Survey of the Miskito and Sumu, p. 107.

relative of his libra. Although a man must still avoid his mother-in-law, the former injunction to avoid his libra's wife has been relaxed. It is taboo, however, to have sex relations with the wife of one's libra.¹ Accordingly, ". . . an Indian may trust his wife with perfect safety with his libra."²

Canella.--The best description of ritual brotherhood in native South America is that of the Ge-speaking Canella by Nimuendajú.³ Consistent with the complex nature of their entire social organization, the Canella distinguish two types of formal friendship which ". . . evidently correspond roughly to the respect and joking relationships of North America."⁴ The respectful form can occur between members of the same or opposite sex. Those of the same sex behave formally and seriously in each other's presence. Friends of opposite sex may never marry nor make erotic references when both are present. Solidarity is symbolized by a sharing of hardships: "In case of a 'friend's' accident it is meritorious to subject oneself voluntarily to the same pain or what not. . . ."⁵ Reciprocal ceremonial obligations are numerous and complex. One partner decorates the other on ceremonial or crisis occasions. At death a person's corpse is painted by the comrade of opposite sex.⁶

The second kind of ritual brotherhood among the Canella is one of boon companionship and is free from ceremonial obligations. The bond is voluntarily established by members of the same sex and age-class. To initiate the relationship "the candidates

¹Ibid., pp. 146, 148.

²Ibid., p. 107.

³Curt Nimuendajú, "The Social Structure of the Ramkokamekra (Canella)," American Anthropologist, XL (1938), 51-74.

⁴Ibid., p. 58.

⁵Ibid., p. 54.

⁶Ibid., p. 57. A similar respectful form of friendship among the Tupi-speaking Sipaya Indians goes by the name of a "compadre" relationship (ibid., p. 57).

step into the brook, grasp each other while standing abreast, jointly dive, then without relinquishing their grip swim as far as possible below the surface of the water."¹ This tie is reckoned permanent but in practice its importance is confined to youth. Ribald jesting is in order, quarreling is discouraged, and mutual assistance is mandatory. The finest proof of solidarity between two friends of the joking variety is the occasional exchange of wives.

Discussion.--The body of common characteristics shared by the representative instances of ritual brotherhood reviewed above outweighs the importance of the local elaborations. As a category that embraces all of the foregoing cases, ritual brotherhood may be defined as (1) a ritually established (2) long-lasting relationship (3) of a sibling order (4) between individuals not otherwise related.

The critical criterion in distinguishing ritual brotherhood from ritual parenthood is the third element of the definition, namely, that the relationship is patterned on the bond between brothers--or sister--rather than on the parent-child relationship. Because it borrows the idiom of kinship to fashion extra-kinship bonds of an equalitarian order, ritual brotherhood necessarily takes its cue from the one relationship within the primary family configuration which most nearly represents co-operation and equality--the bond between siblings. But ritual brotherhood achieves benefits beyond the reach of real brotherhood; for it cancels out the element of inequality that inheres in the age order of actual siblings. It would be more accurate to state that ritual brotherhood is patterned on the bond between twin brothers.

The benefits accruing to ritual brotherhood are both socio-

¹Ibid., p. 57.

logical and psychological. On the sociological level it reaches out beyond the confines of kinship to integrate the activities of larger sectors of society. Characteristically each partner is symbolically adopted into the family of the other; this is reflected in the carry-over of kinship terminology and kinship behavior, and sometimes in the inceptive ritualism--as among the Koita and the Zuñi. By this arrangement each pair of pseudo siblings has two sets of parents and two sets of kinsmen. Ritual brotherhood thus aligns itself with marriage as a mechanism for effecting horizontal integration. But because it is not a union designed to reproduce the race or class or in-group, and is therefore less bound by social pressure to operate within its stratum, ritual brotherhood has a more extended sphere of function than affinity. It is repeatedly utilized as a means of regulating commerce between tribes. The Zande make pacts of blood brotherhood with members of hostile peoples in order to secure a certain wood deemed sacred.¹ The Canella establish formal friendships with individuals of the alien Timbira tribes.² The Lepchas, Sikkimese, and Tibetans exchange their goods through an intertribal network of covenant friends. The men of the Trobriand Islands do the same by means of the celebrated ring of formal kula friends.³ In addition to horizontal cohesion, ritual brotherhood can perform vertical integration by cutting across the barriers of caste, as among the Tanala and Nepalese, and across the cleavages of age-classes, as among the Didinga.

¹Evans-Prichard, op. cit., p. 372.

²Nimuendajú, op. cit., p. 52.

³Bronislaw Malinowski, The Argonauts of the Western Pacific (New York, 1922); Reo Fortune, Sorcerers of Dobu (New York, 1932), pp. 200 ff.

The psychological advantages of ritual brotherhood are of more speculative character. They hinge on the assumption that (1) companionship is a basic human need, and (2) that the family situation engenders emotional rivalry between siblings.¹ Granting these premises, it follows that the most gratifying intimacy exists between individuals alike in other respects but drawn from different family or household units. Among ourselves these requirements are met by informal friendships and "buddy" relationships; among folk peoples, accustomed to more overtly patterned usages, ritual brotherhood constitutes a logical counterpart. The social and supernatural sanctions that support friendship on a formal level impart a high degree of permanence and predictability. In our society friendship flows from chance compatibility; in folk societies compatibility often flows from formal friendship. The strains imposed on the individual by the socialization process which submits the subject to parental authority, sibling superiority, and the constraints of caste and class, may in some measure and in some instances be released and channelized by formal friendship institutions. In other words, society sometimes finds it expedient to set up an institution endowed with a fund of positive psychological rewards, as compensation for the compulsive character of the incentive system operative within the family and other hierarchical institutions. However this may be, it is noteworthy that writers repeatedly emphasize the fact that ritual brothers are more devoted to each other than own brothers. Not all instances of ritual brotherhood are characterized by boon companionship. But even in those cases which demand mutual deference,

¹See David M. Levy, "Sibling Rivalry Studies in Children of Primitive Groups," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, IX (1939), 206-14.

there may be some psychic satisfaction in the realization that the participants can regard each other as social equals. Although the Zuni carry over the terminology of older and younger sibling in their kihe bond they apparently ignore the customary disparity of status. Zande blood brotherhood avoids both the terminology and the usages that go with age distinctions between siblings.

The concurrence of two forms of ritual brotherhood among the Canella--one of intimacy and one of respect--suggests that all the cases of ritual brotherhood may be found to conform to one or the other of these subtypes. Sharing wives or sweethearts--as among the Banaro and Crow--would point to a relationship of intimacy. On the other hand, the presence of reciprocal ceremonial obligations, especially in connection with burying the dead, would be diagnostic of a respect relationship; Dahomey and Zande serve as examples.

But for the present this breakdown of ritual brotherhood must remain only a suggestion; for certain complications remain to be reconciled. Thus the Zande differ from most peoples in encouraging a man to marry into the family of his formal partner. It is probable that other variables need to be taken into consideration over and above the intimacy-respect criterion--namely, such factors as the nature of the particular kinship system; and the degree to which the ritual brother is equated with the real brother, as among the Comanche, or is distinguished from him, as among the Zande.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND PROBLEMS

Ritual kinship defined.--The term "ritual kinship" is proposed in this paper to cover the wide range of instances throughout the world in which (1) unrelated individuals (2) enter into a ritual compact (3) to maintain an enduring relationship (4) of a kinlike order (5) other than marriage. Ritual kinship is institutionalized pseudo kinship. It is like kinship because it borrows much of the behavior and terminology which characterize several of the type relationships that comprise the elementary family.

The elementary relationships that are extended to form the basis of ritual kinship are fundamentally two: (a) the bond between parent and child and (b) the bond between brothers. Cases of ritual kinship that simulate the parent-child relationship may be defined as ritual parenthood. A familiar example of ritual parenthood is the Catholic institution known as godparenthood. Other examples are the naming sponsors and the societal sponsors of the Crow Indians and the fictitious fathers of the Yangtze valley Chinese to whom children are nominally assigned in order to avert the malevolence of fate. Cases of ritual kinship that simulate the sibling nexus may be defined as ritual brotherhood. This is exemplified in the African blood-brotherhood and in the comrade institution of the Plains Indians. Taken together, ritual parenthood and ritual brotherhood comprise the greater social category of ritual kinship.

The kinlike nature of both kinds of ritual kinship is re-

flected in the content of the inceptive ceremonies, in the reciprocal rights and obligations they establish, and in the incorporation of each party into the kinship system of the other. The motif of the inceptive ceremonies is either of filial or fraternal character. Ritual brothers may simulate consanguinity by literally exchanging blood; or they may symbolize fraternity by exchanging names or personal belongings; or they may become "siblings" by submitting jointly or reciprocally to symbolic gestures on the part of their respective parents or uncles. In cases of ritual parenthood the ceremonies of birth may be re-enacted; or the ritual may dramatize the complementary relationship of subordination and superordination obtaining between parent and child.

By becoming an artificial brother a person takes his place in a new kinship constellation. The partner's sister becomes his "sister," and the partner's parents become his "parents." So what is ritual brotherhood primarily is also ritual parenthood secondarily. The reverse is equally true; the child that acquires a ritual parent becomes "brother" to the latter's children. Thus in the societies in which midwives or wet nurses become ritual mothers to their charges, the children of the midwives and wet nurses become "siblings" and may not marry.¹ Sometimes, as in Catholic parenthood, the ritual parents and the actual parents enter into a special kind of fraternal relationship which may be regarded as a form of ritual brotherhood.

Because ritual parenthood and ritual brotherhood each imply the other, both kinds of ritual kinship are sociologically more alike than might appear on the surface. In either case the

¹For a discussion of "milk relationship" as a form of ritual kinship among pastoral peoples who regard milk as a sacred substance, see Richard Thurnwald, Die Menschliche Gesellschaft, Vol. II, Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung von Familie, Verwandtschaft und Bunden im Lichte der Völkerforschung (Berlin, 1932), p. 183.

members of one kinship group are ritually related to other kinship clusters. In either case the individual gains in security and assistance, and the group profits from greater integration. In addition to internal cohesion, the social body gains a measure of integration with external groups; for ritual kinship is often extended across the barriers of endogamy to facilitate travel and trade. Thus ritual brotherhood frequently spans the gap between tribesmen, while ritual parenthood often forms a nexus between economic and social classes.

The relation of ritual kinship to other social categories.

--The concept of ritual kinship may be clarified by comparing it with other aspects of social organization. To begin with, ritual kinship is to be distinguished from metaphorical kinship. Both are extensions of actual kinship, but they are extensions of a different order. Kinship terms are frequently used metaphorically as a matter of etiquette or as a linguistic convention or as a means of showing regard or affection. One may refer to a lodge member as "brother" or address an elder as "grandfather"; one may regard the kangaroo as his totemic kinsman or the moon as his "grandmother"; but none of these figurative usages is to be construed as ritual kinship. Metaphorical terminology, when it is not applied to nonhuman phenomena, generally applies to a class of individuals rather than to selected individuals. Ritual kinship obtains only between specific individuals, and it is as overtly patterned by society as the relationship between kinsmen. As distinct from metaphorical kinship, ritual kinship is solemnized and publicized by ritual procedures.

The distinctive formal difference between ritual and real kinship is that the first is voluntary and the second is involuntary. Children cannot select their siblings or parents, but men

may pick their ceremonial "brothers" and they may choose the ceremonial "fathers" for their children. Admittedly, ritual kinship is voluntary in only a limited sense of the word. If one of the principals is too young to exercise choice, as in many cases of ritual parenthood, the choice is made for him by his parents. Moreover, the voluntary aspect pertains only to the primary relationship and not to the train of secondary relationships that automatically follows in its wake. Thus men may elect to become "brothers"; but the incest taboo and the kinship address that prevails between each and the sister of the other, as a consequence of the voluntary bond, is compulsory whether or not the sisters approve. But the fact that partnership is determined by volition --exercised either by the participants or by their families--qualifies ritual kinship as a form of voluntary association contrasting with the involuntary character of consanguineal kinship. In many instances the voluntary feature serves the individual--and indirectly the society--by enabling him to enter into formal friendship with someone he has already found companionable.

The criterion of selectivity, however, fails to distinguish ritual from affinal kinship. Both types of relationship are contracted voluntarily¹ by the participants or their parents, and both are sealed in ceremony. Both serve effectively to bind together discrete familial units. Although ritual kinship is less universal than affinal kinship, it can outrank the latter as an agency for achieving horizontal social integration. The peculiar feature of affinity is its direct connection with consanguinity; it is through affinal union that blood relationship results. To put it another way, both affinal and consanguineal kinship enter

¹However, in some societies the voluntary character of affinal kinship is severely limited by preferential marriage requirements.

into the genealogical record, while ritual kinship does not. It is this nongenealogical character of ritual kinship that distinguishes it from affinal kinship. Because considerations of biological generation and social recruitment do not influence the formation of ritual unions, as they do affinal unions, ritual kinship has freer scope to link members of separate races, tribes, castes, economic strata, and age-classes.

In sum, ritual kinship is nongenealogical, in contrast to affinal and consanguineal kinship; it rests on a voluntary linkage, in common with affinal kinship, and in contradistinction to consanguineal kinship; it is an egocentric system, in common with affinal and consanguineal kinship, and in contrast to such categories of social organization as moieties, clans, classes, associations, men's clubs, and secret societies.

Utility of the concept "ritual kinship."--The attempt to define ritual kinship as a sociological concept may be justified on the grounds of scientific usefulness. Crystallization of the concept may serve to direct attention to aspects of culture which are often overlooked or inadequately recorded. It brings into a single frame of reference a variety of social phenomena whose formal and functional similarity is partially obscured by a diversity of terms. As a unifying factor it facilitates crosscultural comparison, thus leading to a better understanding of the dynamics of society and to the discovery of new avenues of investigation.

The importance of ritual kinship as a branch of comparative sociology has been documented in this paper (chapters 1 and 11) by an extended report on a particular kind of ritual kinship occurring in a limited area: godparenthood among the Indians of Mexico and Guatemala. By assembling and analyzing the relevant data for a considerable number of Middle American communities, it

has been shown that the institution of godparenthood repeatedly contributes to the integration of society and the well-being of the individual. Godparental relationships arise from sponsorship during the ritual of baptism and at other culturally defined crises in the career of the individual. The lasting ties contracted in Catholic sponsorship rest under the same sacred sanctions that support kinship and are similarly endowed with a well-defined set of reciprocal rights and obligations. Judged by the offices it performs, godparenthood can be regarded as a projection of the kinship system, borrowing its etiquette and imitating its terminology.

The survey of Middle American sponsorship has disclosed a common tendency on the part of investigators to underestimate the social implications of ritual kinship. Thus La Farge and Beyers¹ dispose of the social organization of the Indians of western Guatemala without mentioning godparents, though referring to the presence of baptism. Termer² writes that the Indians show deference to their godparents but he offers no further information. Bevan³ ignores the subject altogether in reporting on the Chinantec of Mexico. These deficiencies are thrown into relief by the exceptional cases of complete reporting, as Beals⁴ indicates in his commentary on Spicer's competent account of ceremonial sponsorship at Pascua. Other scholars, concerned with different areas, have

¹Oliver La Farge and Douglas Beyers, The Yearbearer's People (New Orleans: Tulane University of Louisiana, Middle American Research Series Publication, 1926-27).

²Franz Termer, "Zur Ethnologie und Ethnographie des Nordlichen Mittelamerika," Ibero-Americanisches Archiv (Berlin, 1930), IV, 303-472.

³Bernard Bevan, The Chinantec, Vol. I, The Chinantec and Their Habitat (Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1938), No. 24.

⁴Ralph R. Beals, reviewing Pascua in American Anthropologist, XLIII (1941), 440.

likewise complained of the inadequate treatment accorded certain sectors of ritual kinship. Referring to the state of the source material on the formal sore bond established between nonrelated individuals among the Hottentots, Schapera writes: "But nowhere is any analysis made of the respective social status of the two persons concerned, of the circumstances under which the compact is entered upon, of the extent to which it is practiced, and of all its implications."¹ The dearth of data reduces Herskovits to the necessity of guessing that the "best friend" institution found at Dahomey "may be more widely spread."²

For want of an organizing concept, information on ritual kinship often appears in unexpected sections of ethnographic reports. If not placed under kinship, it may be found under religion or associations or life cycle or a combination of these. It is not unusual to read elaborate descriptions of a ceremony and to find that the writer has taken for granted the social relations set in motion by the ceremonial event. The fact that most authorities writing on comparative social organization overlook the category of ritual kinship, is indication that preoccupation with the ritual has obscured the less apparent but more important aspect of "kinship."

The object of this paper has been to formulate ritual kinship as a sociological category and to offer a certain body of case material to concretize the concept and demonstrate its usefulness to social research. Aside from selected cases from other areas, only the Middle American material dealing with ceremonial sponsorship has been presented analytically. A substantial residue

¹I. Schapera, The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, Bushmen and Hottentots (London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1930), p. 322.

²Melville J. Herskovits, Dahomey, an Ancient West African Kingdom (2 vols.; New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938), I, 239.

of data remains to be organized. It may be well to conclude this essay by suggesting a number of topics and problems growing out of the present study and awaiting future research.

Problem: Ritual kinship among the Pueblos.--There appears to be enough accessible literature on ritual kinship among the Pueblo societies of the Southwest to reward an effort at organizing the data. Catholicism has influenced the various communities in different degrees: the eastern Pueblos more than Zuñi, and Zuñi more than Hopi and Hano. The latter may not have been affected altogether. In addition to retaining aboriginal forms of ritual parenthood most of the villages have adopted Catholic godparent practices. Sometimes the old and the new are merged; more often they continue side by side. Analysis may result in an instructive document of differential acculturation. Historical inferences may emerge from a comparison of Pueblo godparenthood with Middle American godparenthood, but it is difficult to predict what form this will take. On the other hand, there may be a more apparent connection between the native forms of sponsorship and the societal sponsorship of the Plains. For a beginning, bibliography reference may be made to the relevant sections of chapters iv and v of this paper. In addition to library material, the manuscripts in preparation by Leslie White, W. W. Hill, Florence Hawley, and other contemporary investigators of Pueblo culture may possibly be of service.

Problem: An interareal comparison of godparenthood.--Another research task might be the comparison of Catholic godparenthood in ten or twelve widely separated areas. Such a study would disclose the core of elements that missionaries have succeeded in implanting wherever they were met with success. It would also reveal the types of accommodations and concessions that the diffus-

ing complex has had to make in becoming accepted. Central interest might reside in appraising the influence of the particular native kinship system upon the complexity and character of the godparental structure. In addition to drawing on type cases from South America, Haiti, Middle America, and the Southwest--to which attention is directed in chapter iii--comparative material may be found in cases selected from such Catholicized regions as the Philippines (Fred Eggan, MS), Guam,¹ French-mandate Polynesia,² Portuguese possessions in Africa, rural Sicily,³ and other parts of Catholic Europe. Such an investigation would document the career and the compromises of a world-girdling socio-religious complex emanating from Europe in the course of the last four centuries.

Problem: Formal friendship in North America.--A project of special interest to Americanists should be the organization of the known material regarding formal friendship or ritual brotherhood in native North America. The most conspicuous cases occur among the Indians of the Plains. A number of these have been briefly reviewed in chapter iv. Mandelbaum cites additional references in connection with his article on Plains Cree friendship.⁴ But friendship institutions were not confined to the Plains. Spier records that a special relation sometimes united men among the Yumans of the Gila River: "They were more than friends: what

¹Laura Thompson, Guam and Its People (San Francisco: American Council Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941).

²Edwin G. Burrows, Ethnology of Futuna (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin, 1936). Catholic godparenthood in Futuna is apparently combined with an extended Polynesian-type kinship system.

³Charlotte Gower (MS).

⁴David G. Mandelbaum, "Friendship in North America," Man, XXXV (1935), p. 206.

one did the other did." On the way to war they would vow: "Let us kill this one or be killed ourselves."¹ Similar relationships existed among the Pomo and other Californian groups, according to Halpern.² A search through the literature on North America would doubtlessly reveal many more instances.

A special problem in connection with the American data is the apparent association of ritual brotherhood with warfare practices. This invites comparison with the warrior tribes of East Africa among whom ritual brotherhood appears to be correlated as well. On the other hand, an effort should be made to isolate a satisfactory North American case of a warring society which has no formal friendship pattern, and to investigate the social mechanisms that make up for its absence. In addition the structure of comradeship among the warring tribes should be compared with that of like institutions occurring among nonwarring groups, in order to learn the variant functions that ritual brotherhood can discharge.

Problem: Ritual brotherhood in Africa.--The information on blood brotherhood and other forms of friendship in Africa and Madagascar appears to be sufficiently abundant and differentiated to hold out the hope that an over-all analysis would lead to historical and sociopsychological insight. Five or six African cases are synopsized in the preceding chapter. Ritual brotherhood also occurs among the Ashanti, the Chagga, and the Masai. Additional material and references are to be found in Thurnwald³ who presents cases dealing with blood brotherhood and others dealing with "milk relationship." This last is a type of ritual kinship that binds

¹Leslie Spier, Yuman Tribes of the Gila River (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), p. 331.

²A. M. Halpern, personal interview.

³Thurnwald, Die Menschliche Gesellschaft, II, 183 ff.

foster siblings, as well as child and wet nurse, among pastoral tribesmen who attach ritual significance to milk, according to Thurnwald.

One of the special problems concerns the role of ritual brotherhood in crosscutting the age-grade system (Didinga) and the caste structure (Tanala). In Africa and elsewhere ritual brothers are often described as being "closer than brothers." It would seem that such mutual accommodation could best be achieved between individuals having very similar value systems, and that this ideal could only be attained by members of the same age group and same social stratum. It is easy to see how society gains by knitting together its stratified segments with a network of ritual friendships, but it is not clear how such vertical relationships can be made rewarding to the individual participants. Does it follow that friendships across castes and across age levels are exceptions rather than the rule among the Tanala and the Didinga? If they are the rule, does it follow that the relationships are disequal and complementary rather than egalitarian? And if so, what are the inducements to the junior member or to the member of lower status? And how does society succeed in bringing such disequal relationships into being? Because of the important implications of these queries special attention should be given to all the circumstances surrounding formal friendship in stratified societies. Comparison should be made between the African instances and those reported for Nepal where ritual relationships likewise are said to cross the lines of caste.

Another special problem is posed by the fact that the Zande encourage a man to marry into the family of his blood brother. This contrasts with other societies in which artificial brotherhood sets up an incest barrier. Are the Zande unique in this respect or are

there similar cases elsewhere in Africa? What explanations or propositions can be advanced with regard to these divergent types of ritual brotherhood?

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MANUSCRIPT NO. 31

ITEM F

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Date Nov. 7, 1950

Report on

THE USEFULNESS OF MEXICAN GOVERNMENT
RECORDS TO ETHNOLOGISTS

Submitted to the Department of Anthropology of the University
of Chicago By Rachel Reese Sady, August 21, 1942.

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INTRODUCTION

In an attempt to discover in what way information accumulated in various Mexican government offices can be useful to ethnologists, and to what extent such data is trustworthy, offices in the Secretarías de Agricultura y Fomento, Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas, Economía Nacional, Asistencia Pública, Educación Pública, Trabajo y Previsión Social, Gobierno, Hacienda y Crédito, and the Departamentos Agrario, de Asuntos Indígenas and de Salubridad Pública (1) were visited. In each office the records were examined with special reference to the village of Ocoatepec, Morelos, and the Municipality of Zinacantán, Chiapas.

The Secretaria de Defensa Nacional and the Secretaría de Marina were not visited. The military attache of the United States Embassy expressed the opinion that I would get little information from Defensa Nacional; the relevant information of the exact location of each army regiment is not even afforded the Embassy staff. These regiments are distributed in various spots throughout the country. Mexico has a Selective Service Act but it is not enforced; until very recently there was not even an active recruitment program, and enlistments were simply made at will. Mexico is divided into thirty-four military zones, each with headquarters. The military attache gave me the names of zone headquarters, and the location of some regiments, but none of them were near either Zinacantán or Ocoatepec. Large barracks

¹ There has been no attempt here to translate the names of Mexican government units into English for two reasons: (1) a literal translation would be no more meaningful than the Spanish, and (2) an effort to equate the Mexican entities with the United States entities soon runs into difficulties. For example, our Department is their secretaria which leaves no English translation for their independent departamentos.

and headquarters, however, are being built three kilometers from Ocoatepec, on the Mexico-Cuernavaca road. When these are completed and occupied there should be some effect on the village.

In the Secretaría de Gobernación the archives of the Departamento de Gobierno may be helpful to the ethnologist. The files of all the divisions of the Departamento (Relaciones Generales con Gobernación, Leyes y Decretos; Elecciones; Cultos, Extranjería; Quejas; Garantías; and Loterías y Rifas y Juegos Permitidos) are kept here. Quejas files contain complaints sent in against municipal officials. These complaints, for instance, may be about forced labor, unjust fines, starvation of prisoners, harsh punishments and so on. There are also numerous complaints regarding municipal conductions of elections. It is not probable that there will be a significant number, if any, of complaints regarding any particular municipality being studied. Cultos files simply refer to small particular bits of information about churches and church lands. For example, a decree is included in the Zinacantán file retiring the Catholic church there from service in 1934. The Ocoatepec file includes a 1929 inventory of the large church and chapels there. The inventory mentions the San Salvador Church, the Jerusalem Chapel, the La Candelaria Chapel, and the Dolores Chapel. There is also a decree ceding a piece of church land for a school sports field, reserving federal rights of revocation. The Elecciones files are kept by state. Correspondence, declarations for candidates by some communities, and other campaign materials are included in no discernible order. Here again the chances of finding any information, even political, on a particular communi-

ty are slight. Other Gobernación offices such as Población and Información Social y Política were visited and found completely fruitless. The latter office compiles some of the material found in the archives.

The Oficina de Estadística of the Secretaría de Trabajo y Previsión Social was visited but data are available there only on the working conditions and salaries of industrial and commercial plants.

The Secretaría de Asistencia Pública is a relatively new government entity and has no formal records of any scope. Its Dirección de Estados y Territorios is likely in the future to have data; at present the office is willing to write its representatives in the states to submit what general information they may have on certain communities.

The Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público has reference to taxes on natural resources and other federal taxes; information on local revenue must be looked for elsewhere.

Other government offices proved more fertile, and their discussion follows. Three or four scientific organizations were visited, and some interviews with individuals of special knowledge made. These are considered together, very briefly, in a later portion of the report.

The data obtained in government statistics and reports may be evaluated to a certain extent on the basis of a very short period spent in Ocotepéc checking the material, and by comparing information from each office with similar data from other offices. The evaluation will deal with the usefulness of the material as well as with its validity. Unfortunately, the determination of

validity is limited; the amount of material that could be tested by the brief period of observation and conversation in Ocotepec was not sufficient to warrant a separate discussion. Because of this, and in order to give a continuity to the report, evaluating remarks are interspersed in the text and in footnotes.

SECRETARIA DE AGRICULTURA Y FOMENTO

The functions of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento are in general to raise the standard of Mexico's agricultural and livestock-raising activities, and oversee such diverse programs as geographical and climatological work, ejidal organization, forestry and hunting, and colonization projects. Offices in the following Direcciones Generales of the Secretaría were visited:

Dirección General de Economía Rural

The Dirección General de Economía Rural is in charge of the general study of vegetable and animal production, its regulation and development, and the organization of the producers. One of the entities under the Dirección General is the Oficina de Estudios Agropecuarios.¹ This Oficina was called, until recently, the Instituto de Economía Rural. In the broadest terms the aim of Estudios Agropecuarios is to "study agricultural life". The unit was established on the theory that if the Dirección were to regulate rural economy there must be a consultative scientific body to supply the basis, in the form of agricultural studies, for regulatory action. Estudios Agropecuarios is at present working on a project to estimate the costs of production of various products. For this purpose the staff has been collecting state and municipal tax data for every year since 1937 and the information gathered is available,

¹The sub-units of this Dirección General have been called oficinas since January 1, 1942. Prior to this they were known as departamentos.

in chart form, in the office; the title of this record is "Concentración General de Impuestos Estatales y Municipales". The staff workers abstract this tax data from the state official periodicals which publish laws, including tax laws, as they are passed. This is done for every municipality and state in the republic. The head of the office felt that there could be no doubt as to the correctness of the figures and since the record simply assembles the tax data from official periodicals this judgment must be accepted as on the whole correct. Of course, the extent to which the people under study are subject to the tax laws is the extent to which they make taxable transactions or own taxable property. No mention is made of the sanitary tax which "Regiones Ganaderas" discusses (see page 19). See the Appendix, No. 1, for a sample of the municipal tax record; the state tax record follows the same form omitting, of course, the column for municipalities.

Summary on Ocoteppec: (1941 record) In accord with the Cuernavaca Municipal Law of 1936 there is a tax on the slaughter of livestock of \$2.00¹ a head for cattle weighing up to 100 kilos on hoof, \$3.50 for those weighing from 101 to 175 kilos, \$4.50 for those weighing from 176 to 250 kilos, \$5.00 for those weighing from 251 to 400 kilos, and \$6.50 for those weighing 401 kilos and over. On the butchering of pigs and hogs there is a tax of \$1.50 a head for those weighing up to 30 kilos on hoof, \$2.00 for those weighing from 31 to 45 kilos, \$2.50 for those weighing from 46 to 60 kilos, and \$3.00 for those weighing 61 kilos and over. There is a general

¹
In all cases throughout the report the dollar sign refers to pesos. See the Appendix, No. 32, for a list of the United States equivalents of the units of measure used in Mexico.

tax rate of from \$0.50 to \$1.00 a head for the slaughter of goats and sheep.

State taxes which might affect Ocotepc are, according to the 1940 fiscal year Revenue Law for Morelos, \$10.00 per \$1,000.00 annually for rural property which has been valued and \$15.00 per \$1,000.00 annually for unvalued rural property. Communal lands are taxed from \$0.10 to \$7.50 per hectare according to the class of land; irrigated land is taxed from \$5.00 to \$7.50, non-irrigated land \$1.50, woodland \$1.00, lands producing a tall fodder grass \$1.00, grazing lands \$0.25 and untilled to rough mountain land \$0.10. The production of dry unhusked rice is taxed \$0.01 per kilo¹, uncrystallized syrups \$0.01 per liter, and the buying and selling of corn is taxed three per cent of the operation. Other items included in the record are taxes on agricultural colony land, on the manufacture of sugar, alcohol, and brandy, on cigars and cigarettes, on the transference of property ownership (two per cent of the transaction for property up to \$1,000.00 worth, one to one and a half per cent for property bringing more), on the registration of title to property in the Registro Público de la Propiedad, and so on. Fifteen per cent of all the revenue of the state becomes an additional federal tax.

Summary on Zinacantán: (1942 record) In the Municipality of Zinacantán there is a general tax rate on the buying and selling of mules of \$1.00 a head, of horses \$0.50 a head, and of cattle

¹"Regiones Economicas Agricolas (see page 19) gives three-fourths of a centavo, and \$0.01 for cleaned rice. The "Concentración General" data is six years more recent than the former, however, which also includes some taxes - on tomatoes and melons - which "Concentración General" does not have. "Regiones" makes no distinction between State and Municipal taxes which makes them difficult to compare.

\$1.00 a head. The tax on the butchering of a cow is \$3.50, a bull \$2.50, a young heifer \$3.00 and a hog \$0.50. Fifteen per cent of every tax forms an additional tax for public education. The municipality does not tax either agricultural products or land.

State of Chiapas taxes which may affect Zinacantan include: on the capital value of rural property, \$12.00 per \$1,000.00 annually; on the production of ejidal rural property, 5 percent of the value; on the production of cocoa \$35.00 a kilo, of coffee \$0.09 a kilo, of tobacco \$0.05 a kilo, and of bananas \$0.15 a bunch; on the buying and selling of corn \$0.05 a kilo, of lard \$0.05 a kilo and of beans \$0.01 a kilo; \$5.00 a month is the tax on a corn grinding mill; (molino de nixtamal); on the slaughtering of cattle there is a \$4.00 per head tax, of pigs and hogs \$1.50, and of sheep or goats \$0.50; on the purchasing of alcohol, tequila and other drinks from the manufacturer there is a tax of \$0.50 a liter for pure alcohol and tequila, of \$0.08 a half bottle of beer and of \$0.75 a bottle and \$0.40 a half bottle of tequila and other strong drinks of the country.

The Oficina de Estadística Agropecuaria is commissioned to collect, revise, and present in comparative form numerical data necessary for a picture of the agricultural and livestock situation in the country. Records on livestock prices, crop production and crop prices may be secured in this office. The records on crop production, called "Cosechas Generales", are to be found in the Sección de Producción Vegetal of the Oficina de Estadística. They are available for every year since 1925. The last set of records was completed for 1940; the 1941 set is still being com-

piled. The data is collected by the media of questionnaires sent out from Producción Vegetal to every municipal president in the republic. These officials are obliged to fill in the questionnaires and return them to the office where all the information is concentrated and then revised. The revision and correction of data is done by regions; material on each region is corrected by staff members who have made special studies of that region and who are therefore able, because of their knowledge of the terrain, soil, and other agricultural factors, to correct for obvious mistakes. In spite of this process the reliability of the data depends on the ability and conscientiousness of the municipal president submitting the report, and all the head of the Sección claims for the exactitude of his records is that they "more or less approximate the truth".

The records are kept in large annual file boxes. Within each box are files for each of the crops considered. These are garlic, sesame, alfalfa, cotton, rice, oats, peanuts, cocoa, coffee, sweet potato, sugar cane, malt barley, grain barley, onions, peas, dry chile, green chile, green beans, beans, chick peas, broad beans, henequen, jicama, tomatoes, linseed, corn, melon, pineapple, watermelon, tobacco, wheat and vanilla. The files on these produce treat with the data by state and municipality. (See the Appendix, No. 2, for samples of the two forms used in keeping the records).

Summary on Ocoatepec: (Data available for the municipality of Cuernavaca only). Fields planted in rice yield 1,800 kilos of average quality produce per hectare; in beans planted in the same field with another crop, 200 kilos per hectare; in beans planted by themselves, 600 kilos; in peanuts, 1,300 kilos of

average quality produce; in coffee, 250 kilos of poor quality grain; in sweet potato, 3,600 kilos of poor quality produce; in onions 3,150 kilos of average quality produce; in green beans, 2,250 kilos of good quality produce; in jicama, 4,750 kilos of average quality produce; in tomatoes planted in irrigated fields, 3,500 kilos; in corn, 900 kilos. Alfalfa and sugar cane are listed as cultivated, but no data is entered for those stubs in the record.

Summary on Zinacantán: In 1940 61 hectares of non-irrigated land were planted with beans intercalated with some other crop; this rendered 100 kilos of beans per hectare making a total production of 6,100 kilos. No field was planted entirely in beans. 28 hectares were planted in broad beans (habas) and yielded 3,000 kilos per hectare or a total production of 84,000 kilos. 71 hectares were planted in potatoes, each hectare yielding 5,000 kilos of good quality potatoes, making a total production of 355,000 kilos. 6 hectares of non-irrigated land were planted in tomatoes and rendered 3,000 kilos per hectare, totaling 18,000 kilos. 210 hectares of non-irrigated land were sowed with corn, and yielded 600 kilos per hectare, making a total production of 126,000 kilos. 15 hectares of non-irrigated land were planted in wheat, producing 450 kilos per hectare and a total of 6,750.²

The agricultural-livestock census (see page 62) and, to

¹

All figures quoted are for the year 1940, except that on corn which is for 1939. The 1940 corn file was being used elsewhere in the Dirección General at the time of my visits.

²

All figures quoted are for the year 1940, except those on corn and wheat, which are for 1939. The 1940 corn and wheat files being used elsewhere in the Dirección General at the time of my visits.

a certain extent, the agrarian reports (see page 82) also present crop production data. Unfortunately the three sources frequently disagree. "Cosechas Generales" gives the yield per hectare for a great many more crops than the other two; the census, for example, gave data only on beans, corn, guayaba and rice for the whole municipality of Cuernavaca. Concerning yield in kilos per hectare the following figures may be compared from the three records and the discrepancy, greater in the case of Zinacantán than Ocoatepec, be noted:

Cosechas Generales	Zinacantán	Ocoatepec
corn (1939)	100	900
beans intercalated (1940)	100	200
beans alone (1940)		600
wheat (1940)	450	
<hr/>		
Agricultural-livestock census(1940) ¹		
corn	378	981
beans		1,137
<hr/>		
Agrarian report (1937) ²		
corn	60 - 80	
beans intercalated	30 - 50	
wheat	100 -120	

¹ Figures calculated from total kilos yield and total hectares planted.

² For the lands of the town of Zinacantán only.

The Agricultural Attache's Office of the United States Embassy uses "Cosechas Generales" figures because they are compiled annually, whereas the census figures appear only every five years, rather than because of any belief in their merit. The agrarian figures appear only in the text of reports on certain communities. In the case of Zinacantán the figures quoted are for the native holdings of the town of Zinacantán only, but it is hard to believe that the yields of other native lands, or

even the finca lands, in the rest of the municipality, would bring the average up enough even to touch the "Cosechas Generales" or census figures. There is also a difference in the data on how many hectares were planted in certain crops between "Cosechas Generales" and the census. For example, the former gives 210 hectares planted in corn in the municipality of Zinacantan in 1939 and the latter gives 816 hectares for 1940. Even accounting for lands lying fallow one year and not the other, the discrepancy is too great.

Checking these records in the field is difficult without an agronomist's aid. In Ocotepec the Indians do not speak of hectares; they measure land by cuartillos. A cuartillo of land is the area sown by a cuartillo of seed, and the latter measure varies somewhat. In Ocotepec it is somewhere between one and two liters. My main informant guessed a cuartillo of land to be approximately 10 meters, which would make 1,000 cuartillos to a hectare. I was told by one of the school teachers in Ocotepec and a farmer that 8 liters (or 8 cuartillos) of seed would yield 12 cargas of corn, which would be 1,500 cargas per hectare. A carga, another variable measure, is anywhere from 11 to 50 kilos - the amount put in two sacks or on a burro's back. Taking 11 as the number of kilos in a carga, one hectare sown in corn yields 16,500 kilos. This figure is obviously many times greater than one could reasonably expect for Ocotepec. The process followed in arriving at this extremely high number only serves to point out that the Ocotepecan is so far from thinking in terms of measures used in government records that it is impossible to expect from him an even approximate translation of his terms into government ones. The problem gives rise as to how the government employed effect the translation; unfortunately no uniform instructions in regard to this are sent

out from Economía Rural ("Cosechas Generales") to the municipal presidents.

The Sección de Distribución y Consumo of the Oficina de Estadística has records on the prices of animal and agricultural products. The gathering and compilation of animal and animal product prices in rural areas is a recent enterprise, starting in 1941. The prices are contained in a record entitled "Concentración de Ganados y Productos Animales" (see the Appendix, No. 3, for a sample copy of the form used). The information contained in the record is submitted every three months by the municipal presidents whose municipalities fall within various livestock zones spotted about the republic. There are no records for Ocoatepec and Zinacantán, but there are for nearby Tepoztlan and Chiapa de Corzo. The Tepoztlan and Chiapa de Corozo data are here supposed to be approximations, at least, to the prices found in the other two communities.

Summary on Ocoatepec: (Tepoztlan data used). Prices for three quarterly periods in 1941 have been compiled; the averages of these are quoted here. The prices are \$43.00 for stallion donkeys, \$41.00 for mares, \$29.00 for colts, \$25.00 for fillies, \$73.00 for saddle horses, \$60.00 for saddle mares, \$96.00 for male mules and \$106.00 for female mules, \$50.00 for stallion burros, \$14.00 for male burros and \$13.00 for females, \$56.00 for breeding bulls, \$76.00 for breeding cows, \$33.00 for breeding bullocks, \$36.00 for breeding calves, \$48.00 for bulls, \$73.00 for cows, \$96.00 for fat heifers, \$35.00 for thin calves, \$41.00 for fat calves, \$43.00 for old cows, \$110.00 for work oxen, \$120.00 for fat oxen,

\$27.00 for breeding boars and sows, \$15.00 for thin hogs and sows, \$42.00 for fat hogs, \$37.50 for fat sows, \$5.50 for small pigs, \$5.50 for pure-bred roosters, \$2.00 for common roosters, \$4.00 for pure-bred hens, \$2.00 for common hens, \$1.75 for pure-bred chickens, \$1.16 for common chickens, \$5.30 and \$3.60 for male and female turkeys respectively, and \$1.20 per dozen hatching eggs. All those animals not specifically stated to be pure-bred are of the common stock.

The prices quoted for animal products are \$0.29 for a liter of cow's milk, \$1.30 for a liter of cow's cream, \$1.00 for a kilo of fresh cow's milk cheese, \$10.33 apiece for fresh eggs, \$0.50 a kilo for honey, \$2.00 a kilo for pure lard, \$0.42 a kilo for raw tallow fat, and \$0.61 a kilo for crude cakes of tallow.

Summary on Zinacantán: (Chiapa de Corzo data used). The prices turned in for 1941 were for the first three months only; since the price is continually fluctuating this one price should not be thought of as stable. The price for stallion donkeys is \$30.00, for mares \$20.00, for colts \$15.00, for fillies \$10.00, for saddle horses \$50.00, for saddle mares \$30.00, for mules \$40.00, for stallion burros \$100.00, for burros \$10.00, for breeding bulls \$25.00, for breeding cows \$20.00, for breeding bullocks \$15.00, for breeding calves \$10.00, for bulls \$30.00, for cows \$25.00, for thin heifers \$25.00, for fat heifers \$40.00, for thin calves \$10.00, for fat calves \$15.00, for old cows \$10.00, for work oxen \$50.00, for fat oxen \$50.00, for lambs under one year \$2.00, for sheep \$1.50, for young lambs \$2.00, for lambs \$1.00, for breeding goats \$1.00, for goats \$1.00 to \$1.50, for

breeding boars \$4.00, for breeding sows \$3.00, for thin hogs \$2.00, for fat hogs \$10.00, for thin sows \$12.00, for fat sows \$10.00, for small pigs \$3.00, for roosters and hens \$1.00, for chickens \$.50, for turkeys \$1.00 to \$2.00, and for rabbits \$.25. All these animals are of the common stock; no prices for pure-bred animals are quoted.

Prices for animal products are \$.15 for a liter of cow's milk, \$1.00 for a liter of cow's cream, \$1.00 for a kilo of cheese made from old cow's milk, \$1.00 for a kilo of butter, \$5.00 for a fresh or dry cattle skin, \$1.00 for a fresh or dry lamb or goat skin, and \$.50 for a kilo of pure lard.

The prices listed for animals and animal products in Tepoztlan were checked in Ocoatepec for the livestock common there, and the prices quoted by the Ocoatepecans were all higher than those listed for Tepoztlan. There does not seem any reason why Tepoztlan prices should be lower, and one or two men claimed that prices were the same there as in Ocoatepec. A burro is priced at \$10.00 in the record and this seems too low for anywhere; the price ranges from \$30.00 to \$75.00, according to the animal, in Ocoatepec. Also a team of oxen costs from \$300.00 to \$400.00 in Ocoatepec as against the \$110.00 or \$120.00 a head recorded in "Concentración", and a horse costs \$100.00 to \$200.00 as against \$41.00 and \$73.00, and so on. The price in Ocoatepec for cow's milk is \$.37 a liter as against the \$.29 quoted for Tepoztlan. There are so few cattle in Ocoatepec that when the villagers buy milk they get it from the Ahuatepec milkmen.

Agricultural produce prices are available by municipalities for every year since 1928. The municipal presidents of each municipality submit to Estadística the prices of the produce when sold in the field; prices are higher when the produce is brought into the plaza market and sold. The record, "Precios Rurales Vegetales", is in the form of a simple chart with the kinds of produce heading the vertical columns and the municipalities the horizontal, and the prices in the appropriate cells.

Summary on Ocotepéc: (Data on municipality of Cuernavaca only).

Prices per kilo for 1941 are \$.30 for garlic, \$.40 for rice, \$.20 for peanuts, \$.30 for coffee berries, \$.90 for coffee grains, \$.10 for sweet potato, \$.25 for onion, \$.37 for peas, \$.36 for green chile, \$.20 for green beans, \$.40 for beans, \$.13 for corn, \$.03 for jicama, \$.18 for lemon, \$.19 for mango, \$.20 for apple, and \$.21 for orange.

Summary on Zinacantán: The prices per kilo for 1941 are \$.06 for broad beans, \$.08 for beans, \$.10 for tomatoes, \$.09 for corn, \$.07 for potatoes, \$.05 for avocados, \$.04 for peaches, \$.04 for apples and \$.05 for oranges. Membrillos and green beans, not listed for 1941, are \$.05 and \$.10 respectively in 1940.

No one I talked with in Ocotepéc sold the produce mentioned in "Precios Rurales Vegetales" except for a small amount of coffee at around \$.35 a kilo. The people there take avocado, plums, guayaba and other products of their fruit trees

to the market. A very small number of lemon, apple and mango trees are grown. All the produce sold is taken to the market in Cuernavaca, usually by the women who go into the city every day anyway to sell tortillas, and it is not sold in the field, as is the produce this report has to do with.

Other secciones in the Oficina de Estadística have no particular records, but rather serve in compiling the data from the original questionnaires for the records already mentioned, in pointing out significant comparisons and, in general, in presenting the data to the public.

Besides the Oficinas de Estadística and de Estudios Agropecuarias there are in the Dirección General de Economía Rural the Oficinas de Mercados de Productos Agropecuarias, de Control de la Producción Agrícola, and de Publicaciones, none of which have periodical formal reports of interest to the ethnologist. In 1936 the Oficina de Control edited a publication entitled "Regiones Económico-Agrícolas de la República Mexicana". Each of thirty-seven economic-agricultural regions in Mexico is described in some detail in this book; the data were gathered from all the branches of the Secretaría de Agricultura and from the census offices. The information concerning each region, however, covers such a large area that much of the data is not useful for specific small places within the region.

Summary on Ocoatepec: The municipality of Cuernavaca belongs to District 163 of the Central Zone, Morelos Region. The geology

of Morelos is of two classes of rock: igneous rocks are andesites of hornblend, hypersten and the basalts. The sedimentaries are calcareous tufas. The hornblend andesites form the main nucleus of the Ajusco mountain mass, and are reckoned to be Miocene. Eruption of the hornblends and hyperstens was first, and was followed by the eruptions of basaltic material during the Pleistocene and Recent periods. These eruptions were accompanied by an ash that formed the various mounds of volcanic sands existing in the Ajusco region. The Tepoztlan range is composed of layers of basaltic tufas alternating with layers of volcanic ash; the range is almost parallel with the Ajusco range. Fossiliferous limestone occurs in the central and southern portions of the state. In some places these deposits are resting on or alternate with slate, in others they are covered by sandstone and alluvial deposits. This composition may be found in the plains and at the borders of the barrancas which surround Cuernavaca.

The broken topography of the state presents a general picture of a plane sloping from Ajusco and the Sierra Nevada to the north, south to the states of Puebla and Guerrero. Besides the numerous mountains of the state there are lesser prominences, two of which are the hills of Xiotepec and Xochicalco which are near Cuernavaca. The fluvial system of the state includes the Aptlaco River and the Tetlama or Jojutla River which two streams run for forty-five kilometers through the municipalities of Cuernavaca, Xochitepec, Puente de Extila, Tlalquitenango and Jojutla finally into the Yautepec River.

The City of Cuernavaca is 1,542 meters above sea level, and Tepoztlan is 1,701: The altitude of Ocotepec should be

somewhat higher. The average annual temperature at Cuernavaca is 21 degrees centigrade, with an average monthly maximum and minimum of 25 and 12 degrees. The maximum and minimum extremes are 34 and 2 degrees. The average monthly maximum rainfall is 96 millimeters. Except for the hot climate of the southwestern portion of the state, Morelos enjoys a high sub-tropical Valley of Mexico type climate.

The most important crops grown in District 163 are corn, sugar cane, beans, wheat, tomatoes, rice and sweet potatoes. Of secondary importance are broad beans, the small yellow variety of tomatoes, peanuts, coffee, grain barley, alfalfa, green chile, green beans, watermelon, jicama and melons. Beans when cultivated are usually intercalated with corn in the same field. Cuernavaca City is one of the principal production centers of the region.

Agricultural products are heavily taxed in Morelos; the buying and selling of products is taxed 3 percent of the value of the operation, except in the cases of rice, melons and tomatoes. Dry unhusked rice is taxed three-fourths of a centavo per kilo, cleaned rice \$.01 per kilo, melon for sale in the Mexico market \$.08 each twenty-five kilos, melon for sale in foreign markets \$.15 each twenty-five kilos, and tomatoes \$.04 each twenty-five kilos. Besides these crops, fruits are important in the district. Woodland is abundant and mineral deposits occur in the municipality of Cuernavaca. The municipality has a total extension of 406 square kilometers; 727 hectares of this land is under cultivation (1936). Transportation is excellent throughout the district, and consequently commerce is stimulated.

Summary on Zinacantán: Zinacantán belongs to the agricultural District 5 of the Southern Pacific Zone, Central de Chiapas Region. Archaic, Paleozoic, Cenozoic and Quaternary sedimentary rocks prevail in the central part of Chiapas. Physiographically the region belongs to the Sierra Madre system, and because of the mountains, hills, valleys, plains and plateaus of this system the greatest variety of temperatures is found. Two fluvial systems are present, that of the Río Grande de Chiapas and that of the Usumacinta River. The climate of most of the Central de Chiapas Region is Sudanes, but Zinacantán belongs to the high sub-tropical climate wedge entering the center of the state.

The capital of the municipality is 2,152 meters above sea level. Here corn, beans, wheat and sugar cane are the most important crops. Enough is grown to satisfy home necessities and to take some of the produce to market. Coffee is also important, especially in the region surrounding Ciudad Las Casas.¹ Transportation is perhaps the most serious impediment to the agricultural development of the region. There is no railroad and no good roads at all; there are some which can be used only during the dry season. One of these runs from Tuxtla Gutierrez to Ciudad Las Casas, and there is also some irregular air service between the two cities. The chief occupations of the region are agriculture, livestock-raising, forestry, hunting and fishing and exploitation of deposits of sodium chloride. These deposits are more or less pure in Zinacantán. Concerning commerce, the Central Chiapas Region may be considered a closed economy since there is so little outside contact. In this

1. Zinacantán certainly belongs to this region but neither "Cosechas Generales" or the 1940 agricultural census mentions coffee as being produced in that municipality; the 1930 agricultural census does include coffee.

closed economy the cities of Las Casas, San Bartolomé, Chiapa de Corzo, and Comitán are the centers.

The population of the municipality of Zinacantán numbered 2,129 in 1936 and the population density of the whole region was five persons per square kilometer. The livestock census showed 2,308 sheep, 223 cattle, 104 horses, 266 mules, 3 asses, 86 goats and 30 pigs in the municipality. The principal cultivated products in the agricultural district to which Zinacantán belongs are corn, beans, wheat, coffee, cane, broad beans, potatoes, rice, peanuts, tobacco, watermelon, pineapple, sweet potato, melon, onions, dry chile, tomatoes, turnips, alfalfa, jicama, cotton and sesame. The following types of fruit trees predominate in the district: Banana, peach, orange, avocado, mango, plum, guayaba, membrillo, apple, lemon, fig, mamey, pear, nut, roatán and tamarind.

Dirección General de Población Rural, Terrenos Nacionales y Colonización.

The Dirección General de Población Rural, Terrenos Nacionales y Colonización has no set of records which cover geographically the whole republic; rather it deals with only specific cases. A study exists on Ocoatepec and its neighboring villages, Chamilpa and Ahautepéc. This study is the only one that was made by the now defunct Instituto de Estudios Sociales. The Instituto had only one year's life, in 1934; it was to make integral studies of rural areas, thus laying a foundation for a program of agricultural improvement in the areas so studied and other regions with similar problems. The study on Ocoatepec was carried out under the direction of Dr.

Manuel Gamio, then Director of Población Rural; it consists of a series of reports on certain aspects of rural life, carried out by specialists in those fields. The reports are not in the Poblacion Rural files, but are in the possession of Dr. Gamio. Two of the reports are also missing from Dr. Gamio's collection: one on material culture by Lic. Maldonado and one on ethnography by Carlos Basauri. See the Second Appendix for a summarization of these Ocotepc studies; they are not included in the body of this paper since they represent an entirely unique situation, not likely to be repeated.

The Departamento de Colonización of the Dirección General has in its possession studies of a more or less integral nature on Quintana Roo, Baja California, and the coast of Guerrero, Michoacan and Oaxaca. These reports, made by staff engineers, should shed some light on any community falling within these larger areas; their primary purpose is to investigate the possibilities of carrying on a colonization program in the regions mentioned. The report on the coastal region was scanned for the general outline of the studies. It includes sections on physical geography; human geography, including the subtopics of population, race, civil and religious status, health, "cultural conditions" (such as clothing, tools, food, family, education), social conditions (such as lack of knowledge of rights and obligations, justice), distribution of the people, dwellings and economic possibilities of the population; and economic geography, including the subtopics of natural resources, salaries, working conditions, agriculture and livestock-raising, forestry techniques, distribution of property, communication

and transportation, and proficiency of the producer. Then follows an analysis of the situation of the area in regard to the possibility of carrying on a colonization program there, and how such a program could be developed. Many of the points listed above are covered in the report only in the most summary manner. The Departamento is working on a study of Tamaulipas at present.

Dirección General de Organización Agraria Ejidal

During Cardenas' administration, all federal functions created by the Agrarian Law were concentrated in the autonomous Departamento Agrario (see page 81). Recently, however, the administration and supervision of definitively held ejidal lands was returned to the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento as functions of the Dirección General de Organización Agraria Ejidal. The Delegación de Promoción Ejidal of the Dirección is commissioned to make agricultural-economic-social studies of ejidal communities. A general study is supposed to be made for states, regions, or districts, and a specific one for each individual ejido. This ideal is not achieved because of the limited staff and the large scope to be covered by the reports. Often a report is not regarded as adequate by the Dirección because the problem is considered more demanding of attention than the time of the staff member making the report allowed. Each delegate, or staff member making the study, is responsible for the ejidos within a certain group of municipalities. A delegate acquainted with a larger region is

I. That is, lands which have passed from the provisionally granted status given by the Governor's Decree to the definitively granted status given by the Presidential Decree.

given the task of carrying out the general study of that region.

The purpose of these studies (Agrarian Code, Art. 134, and Art. 151, I) is to provide a basis for whether ejidal parcels shall be held individually or collectively, or a combination of the two. The collective holding is preferred whenever such an organization will most benefit the community, that is, when an industrial process is necessary before a product goes on the market, when the land extension is too small for individual plots, where a communal irrigation system is used, where the topography of the area permits the utilization of mechanized farm equipment which a community but not an individual might afford, and in other cases. Individual holdings are permitted when petitioned for if the agricultural-economic-social studies show that such an organization is suitable, especially from the point of view of topography. Of course, references are made to the studies when any ejidal problem requiring knowledge of the situation arises, but the decision regarding the form of organization is of primary importance.

The delegates follow a standard outline in making their studies. That for the general studies is as follows:

1. Ecology: Climate, soils, waters, fauna and flora; general reciprocal influences; vegetative periods of the products grown.
2. Demography: Number of inhabitants, the economically active population, the economically active agricultural population, the economically active ejidal population and the number of ejidatarios; general description of the biological and psychological character of the different population groups

that are considered important in regard to production and the distribution of property.

3. Economy: General evaluation of the situation, including a summary of past and present conditions and the outlook for the future; production, including what it consists of, and the relative importance of agriculture, livestock-raising, exploitation of the forests, and extractive and transformative industries; the description of communication routes and the means of transportation, giving freight charges, regularity of service and the ownership of the means of transportation; the population dedicated to different classes of economic activities and an estimation of the time given them, in days annually, and their respective incomes; description of commercial and credit institutions and activities, principally in their relations with the farmers; fiscal policies and conditions; cost of living.
4. Other Factors: The influence that familial, moral, religious, juridical, political, artistic and cultural institutions and activities have on rural life, production and distribution.
5. Conclusions: A synthesis of the fundamental problems involved, and a presentation of solutions and how they can be realized; necessary legal, economic and technical measures; a list of ejidos having similar conditions, and a statement of the most suitable form of organization (individual, collective or a combination of the two), so that this may be confirmed and gone into more thoroughly by the delegates making the special studies.

The program for the special studies includes the following

topics:

1. Natural, Economic and Social Conditions.

Climate: A summary description of the general climate of the region, giving in detail the particular characteristics of the ejido under study, with respect to rainfall, temperature and phenomena prejudicial to agriculture.

Soils: The quality of the different soils, their thickness, texture, drainage, and approximate alkalinity; their condition and the methods used to achieve it, such as fertilizers, soil improvers, retention of the earth, forestation, and so on.

Waters: Description of the system or systems of irrigation in the region; particular data on the ejido relating to irrigation, including the annual volume of water used, cost, and conditions of the works; water for livestock; fountains and potable water systems.

Communication routes: A description of the routes passing through or near the ejido; means of transportation used in the area; and freight charges.

Centers of consumption: The distance to the principal centers, and their influence on the ejido.

Public works: Their description and value, state of conservation and necessary improvements.

Urbanization: A plan of the urban zone, its extension, and the ownership of the land; potable water service, cures and medical attention.

Culture characteristics of the population: The general customs and character of the inhabitants; the schools, including the conditions of the buildings, attendance of children and adults;

civic and cultural public functions.

2. Legal Conditions of the Ejidos: The different classes of land possessed by the ejido and the problems involved in their boundaries, the division of the land, accession or dotation of waters; the respective areas of the different qualities of land cultivated; provisional or definitive distribution of cultivable land and an opinion on the justice of the distribution and the security of the possession, statements of the ejidatarios as to the extension and quality of their parcels, and what they lack; location, water supply and accessibility of the school lot; quality of the soil; development and the financing of the ejido; investments or uses made of the ejidal products.
3. Inventory of Livestock and Agricultural Equipment: The inventory of the livestock and equipment possessed by the ejidatarios and those possessed by the Comisariado Ejidal. An indication of what tools and animals are necessary for the cultivation of a four hectare parcel with the usual crops cultivated.
4. Development of the Ejido: Data on the area of land dedicated to each crop, sowing and harvesting time of each crop, work methods (whether individual or familial, interchange of tasks, collective or mixed); means of financing the cultivation of the fields, and the operation conditions; yield and cost per hectare and per unit of produce; total value of the annual production, vegetable and animal; causes of losses, the percentage of crops or livestock lost, and methods to prevent it; the extension of land which could be given

over to the development of some crop not at present produced but which has possibilities in the region; methods of sowing and harvesting, including special acts the community or individual is accustomed to perform at these times; and the cost of breeding and raising cattle, either in pasture or stables.

5. Production and Market Distribution: Local consumption; sales in regional, national or foreign markets and the prices there; means of transportation and freight charges; production and distribution organizations; means of financing the sale, and the operating conditions.
6. Suggestions for Improvement: A criticism of the methods and process of cultivation, livestock-raising and exploitation of the ejido in general; an indication of the methods necessary to correct the faults progressively and within the possibilities of the case.
7. Cost of Living: The annual cost of living of the typical farm family of the ejido, which would also be typical of similar ejidos in the region; any peculiarities of the ejido which affect the cost of living.
8. The Farmer's Income: Determination of the net utility per hectare, per unit of production, and per unit of legal dotation of the different cultivable lands and products; total annual compensation, besides the above utility, the farmers receive for their work; their supplementary annual income, such as proceeds from livestock-raising, local industries and so on.
9. Necessities and Possibilities: Calculation of the total cost of necessities of improved exploitation and the con-

sumption of the agrarian nucleus, and of the total annual value of the ejidal production, comparing the latter with the former in order to define the economic capacity, actual and potential, of the ejido.

10. Conclusions: An indication of the most suitable organizational form - individual, collective, or mixed - and in the case of the mixed form the relative number of ejidatarios who would farm individually, and the number who would farm collectively; the extension of the land parcel of each group when it is farmed collectively and of the total when farmed individually, and a combination of both when mixed; and any other points in regard to the order of preference given the community members in allotting land (see page 93).

Neither Zinacantán or Ocoatepec have been the subject of Delegación de Promoción Ejidal reports since the latter has no ejido and the former as yet holds its land only provisionally.

Dirección General de Ganadería

The Dirección General de Ganadería carries on activities relating to the development, organization and control of livestock-raising. It consists of a Departamento de Sanidad Animal, a Departamento de Zootecnia, a Departamento de Exposiciones each with its dependent Secciones, and the independent Sección de Medicos Veterinarios Regionales. This latter branch of the Dirección is organized with its headquarters in Mexico City and medical veterinaries, all graduates from the University in some profession, assigned to certain zones throughout the republic. These veterinaries act as advisers to the livestock men and send information regarding their zones to the central office when

requested. Recently a project has been started by which each state, divided into its livestock regions, will be studied and reported on in published form. To date the studies have been completed for Colima, Aguas Caliente, San Luis Potosí and Morelos. The reports on the latter two have not as yet been put into published form, but are available in the Sección office.^I The purpose of the project is to discover the economic potentialities of each state, regarding livestock, to be acquainted with various agropecuarian activities, and to be able to point out the causes in each place for poor livestock. The obstacles to carrying on such a program are, as described by the veterinaries themselves, the apathy and ignorance of both the farmers and the municipal officials supposedly assisting in the work. In spite of this, the reports are considered as being very successful to date by the head of the Sección.

The Morelos study, "Regiones Ganaderos del Estado de Morelos", was completed in 1941 and covers approximately three years of observation. Twenty-two of the thirty-one municipalities in the state were studied directly, information on the others was obtained indirectly from municipal presidents and other government officials.

Summary on Ocotepac: The state of Morelos is a plain creased with mountains and valleys, sloping down to the south. Geologically, igneous rocks are predominant but near Cuernavaca there are deposits of sandy clay and limestone. The city is

I. I was told this by the head of the Sección, but since have seen the Morelos study printed in the November-December 1941 issue of the Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística.

1,542 meters above sea level, and has an average temperature of 22 degrees centigrade with a minimum and maximum of 10 and 31 degrees. The municipality of Cuernavaca belongs, with the municipalities of Xochitepec, Temixco and Jiutepec, to Livestock Region No. V-6.

Forage production is centered around the naturally growing hill grasses such as Pelillo, Cat Tail, Coyote Tail and others. Guineo grass occurs in the more humid regions. The grasses are of average quality, with Pelillo, Grama and Coyote tail being specially good. Coyote tail is a perennial grass but the others grow only during the rainy season; they cover all together 900 hectares of the municipality of Cuernavaca. The grazing fee paid for each full grown head of cattle in the pastures is \$1.00, and for each head of young cattle \$.50, monthly.¹

The dominant agricultural products are rice and sugar cane; next are corn and beans, and then tomatoes and other vegetables or fruits. The shucks and chaff of corn, rice and sugar cane are fed the criollo cattle² during harvest time. Other times they just pasture. Milk cows and the crossed breeds eat, besides the grasses and shucks, sesame, a cocoa paste and ground corn. The corn shucks which reach a bulk of 9,000 tons each year in the region, are in the main fed to the cattle. Corn is grown for local consumption and very little is sent out to be marketed. Work animals are fed rice straw, sugar cane

1. The report does not say if this fee is paid to owners of private pastures, to the government for national land that is good for grazing or to the community for the use of communal lands.
 2. Criollo cattle are native cattle, not the pure stock and not the cattle improved by crossing with pure stocks.

stalks, ground corn, and a sesame paste.

There is no industrialization of agricultural products. Such products come in to the region from Mexico and Iguala, Guerrero. The averages of industrial and agricultural prices are, for corn grains, \$100.00 a ton; for corn stubble, \$30.00 a ton; for rice straw, \$18.00 a ton; for cane stalks, \$25.00 a ton; for bran imported from Iguala, \$120.00 a ton; and for sesame paste also from Iguala, \$130.00 a ton. The products, such as bagasse or molasses, of grinding sugar cane are not fed the livestock.¹

Government donations of pure breeding animals to ejidal and other special groups has exerted an influence on the livestock, most marked in cows and pigs. It has not been possible to control the improvement of the criollo cows, which are fifty percent of the total, by means of technical official service; rather a disordered mixture has taken place. In spite of this the influence of the Holland, Swiss Jersey and Zebú breeding cattle is observed in thirty percent of the present cow population. Sixty percent of the pigs are dominated by Duroc Jersey block. In Cuernavaca there are eighteen pure-bred bulls and five boars. The region needs a zootechnical post in order to intensify the improvement of the cattle.

There is practically no exportation of animals outside the state. Any exchange of supply is from municipality to municipality. Cattle are, in general, used for food and work. Given the local necessities of the region, cattle production is for local consumption and to cover the losses of work animals

1. A livestock census by municipalities is given, with the note that it is subject to change when the 1940 Census figures are available.

by age or epidemics. The prices, in pesos, for cattle in the towns belonging to the municipality of Cuernavaca are:

Age	Milk Producers					
	Criollos		Improved		Pure-bred	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Swiss & Holland Male	Female
6 months	15	18	30	40	150	80
1 year	25	30	50	45	200	175
3-4 years	90	80	300	175	500	375

Age	Meat Producers			
	Criollos		Improved	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
6 months	10	10	25	30
1 year	20	25	70	60
3-4 years	110	80	150	90

In Cuernavaca city the cattle are priced by weight. oxen used for agricultural work value from \$120.00 to \$200.00. Saddle horses are worth anywhere from \$50.00 to \$200.00, according to sex and condition. The prices for livestock products fluctuate considerably; those for the principal market in Cuernavaca are more stable. They are for beef, veal and so on, \$.30 to \$.50 a kilo; for pork, ham and so on, \$.90 to \$1.00 a kilo; for goat meat, \$.80 to \$.90 a kilo; for lamb, \$.90 to 1.10 a kilo; for cattle skins, \$.52 a kilo; and for milk \$.30 to \$.40 a liter (the rural price is five centavos lower). Milk is neither pasteurized nor certified. It is as a rule delivered on horse or muleback. The price of one liter of milk is approximately seven centavos above the cost of production, which is figured by adding the costs of animals, salaries, stables, taxes, feeding, medicines and so on.

Taxes on butchering animals in the region include the local tax, depending on the animal being slaughtered, fifteen percent of this as federal tax, and a sanitary tax. For example, there are the following taxes: \$4.75 on large animals plus a

\$.75 federal tax plus a \$.70 sanitary tax making a total tax of \$6.20; \$3.00 on smaller animals plus \$.40 federal tax plus \$.45 sanitary tax, equalling in all \$3.90; \$2.00 on calves and pigs plus \$.30 plus \$.30, totalling \$2.60; \$1.00 on sheep plus \$.10, totalling \$1.25; and \$.60 on goats plus \$.10 and plus \$.10, totalling \$.80. On branding cattle, a registration certificate for up to ten head is taxed \$1.00, up to twenty head \$2.00, up to fifty head \$3.00, and for fifty and over \$5.00. The fifteen percent federal tax is added in each instance. There is also a \$1.00 tax on a buying and selling certificate. On renting pasture land there is a tax of 11 percent per \$1,000.00 received.

The minimum salary in the region is \$1.25 a day. A cattle driver for a large scale cattle enterprise receives \$1.50 a day, milkers receive \$1.75 to \$2.00. A boy watching the livestock in the field gets \$.75, a man gets \$1.50. Work paid by the job amounts to \$3.00. A hired hand working at a certain task in a one thousand square meter field is paid \$1.50.

This Morelos study shows the fault common to studies over large areas when applied to smaller components; what is true of the area is not necessarily true of a community within that area. Thus, although the chief agricultural products of the region in which Ocotepc is located are rice and sugar cane, with corn and beans of secondary importance, Ocotepc grows practically nothing else but corn. The prices for livestock and their products accords more or less with the case for Ocotepc except that meat prices in the Cuernavaca market, where the

Ocoatepecans do all their buying, are as much as \$.50 to \$1.00 higher now than the prices quoted; this is a legitimate change, though, and not necessarily a mistake on the part of the report. The tax material does not jibe exactly with that reported in "Concentración General de Impuestos" but that is probably because a general average for the whole region was sought rather than detailed information on any one municipality (this would not apply to state taxes). This same point holds for other matters in the report such as minimum wage. Wages in Ocoatepec are frequently less than those reported for the region, although also frequently matching them, or surpassing them. On the whole a "Region Ganadera" report is worthwhile as far as getting a glimpse of the general region in which the community of interest is located.

The Sección de Medicos Veterinarios, the Sección de Informaciones Pecuarios y Cartografía of the Departamento de Exposiciones, and the Secciones de Epizootología and de Campañas y Legislacion of the Departamento de Sanidad Animal all have the same archives in which are kept files on the general business of these offices. These files may be obtained for reading through any of the offices mentioned; I worked through the Sección de Epizootología because the head of that Sección is intensely interested in ethnology.

There are supposed to be annual files entitled "Ganadería" for each state in the republic. The most recent of these for both Chiapas and Morelos are for 1939. Other files

are listed by the name of the person sending in certain information requested, or under the names of projects. An example of the latter is "Ovino, Ganada, 1940 - Estudio de las Regiones más apropiados para su cría". The "Ganadería" files are full of information requested of the regional veterinaries and municipal officials, correspondence on complaints or law suits concerning cattle, studies made at the instigation of plaintiffs and miscellaneous correspondence. The presence in the files of information useful to the ethnologist depends almost entirely on the particular community being studied. Some places may be given particular attention in full reports while others may be subject to passing mention only in some letter, while still others may not appear at all throughout the file. The 1939 "Ganadería" file for Chiapas contained a letter from the regional veterinary of the Las Casas District relating to information on the municipalities of Chenaló, Larrainzar, Chamula, Zinacantán and Las Casas. The veterinary was assisted in gathering the material by the municipal presidents and the delegates of Promoción Ejidal (Dirección General de Organización Agraria Ejidal). Because of the poor roads, information rendered by municipal officials on a few places was assumed as correct rather than a visit made to those villages. The 1939 Morelos "Ganadería" file contained nothing relating to Ocoatepec. In one of the letters there is mention of an "Estudio Agropecuario Económico y Social del Estado de Morelos", but I¹ was unable to unearth the report.

1. I was also told of a special study of the Chiapas livestock situation and this could not be found either. Various reports and studies seem to have been carried out sporadically, not pertaining to any broad project. These should be in the files but some may have been lent around to different offices in the Dirección until their whereabouts are unknown.

Summary on Zinacantán: In 1939 there was a total of 1,750 sheep in the municipality.¹ In Nachig there were 200, in Navenchauc 250, in Pasthé 250, in Apaz 150, in Jocchenon 250, in Las Salinas 150, in Elambó 250 and in Zinacantán 250. Women and children, almost exclusively, tend the flocks. The proprietors of the sheep are all Indians and very few of them are able to speak Spanish. A flock of one hundred is about the largest owned by one individual. The Indians make woolen articles from the sheep wool; spinning is by hand, and weaving is done on the most rudimentary looms.

Dirección General Forestal y de Caza²

Exploitation of Mexico's wild fauna and flora is legally possible only by permit from Forestal y Caza. The Oficina Técnica of Forestal has in its archives permits issued for exploitation of the forests, whether the forests be national, communal or private property. These permits, issued by the local branch offices of the Servicio Forestal and copies sent in to the central office, give the name and address of the exploiter; the product - charcoal, and construction, kindling or worked wood; the kind of wood exploited; the weight in kilos or the volume in cubic meters authorized for exploitation by the permit; the name, location and extension of the wooded property; the destination and embarkation point of the product if shipped; and the annual possible exploitation of the property. (See the Appendix, No. 4, for a sample of the permit blank).

1. Formerly the Dirección General Forestal y de Caza y Pesca. In 1941 Pesca was transferred to the Secretaría de Marina.

2. If the figure of 1,750 sheep in the municipality for 1939 is correct, the agricultural-livestock census figure of 7,394 for

In 1937 data, by municipalities, for the whole country on kind, species and quantity of forest products exploited is mimeographed and available in the Oficina Técnica. The collection has not been reviewed by the staff for errors, and since obtaining more recent material in the archives does not involve much more difficulty, the latter is advised.

Summary on Ocoatepec; The two towns on either side of Ocoatepec, Chamilpa and Ahuatepec, have Forestry Cooperatives permitted to exploit the forests nearby, but Ocoatepec does not. Chamilpa has rights to 425 hectares and Ahuatepec to 400, for the gathering and sale of pine kindling wood.

Summary on Zinacantán: No permits for exploitation of wood are filed as issued in Zinacantán for 1938, 1939 and 1940. In 1937 1,900 kilos of oak to be made into charcoal was allowed to be taken out. In 1933 27,593 kilos and in 1935 9,990 kilos of wood for charcoal, and 2,335 cubic meters for manufacturing, was exploited. The exploiters registered are the Diestel Brothers of Las Casas, working on 370 hectares of forest land, producing pine-tar and charcoal.

Forestral permits, then, are of interest if there has been any large-scale exploitation, or if there is a community cooperative to exploit the forests. However, there is no record here of the individual permits allowed which the person obtains by paying \$.10 or \$.15 to the ayudante of the region where he wishes to

1940 cannot have any foundation, and vice versa. The 1936 "Regiones Económicas-Agrícolas" publication gives Zinacantán 2,308 sheep.

remove the wood. Many Ocotepecans haul wood during the dry season when there is no farming to be done. A carga of kindling wood (ocote or pine) is sold in Cuernavaca usually for from \$1.30 to \$1.50. There is also no record to tell of the transactions of buying and selling charcoal. Men from Ocotepec buy this forest product from places where it is made for from \$1.00 to \$3.00 a carga and sell it for one or two pesos more. This work is also done mostly during the dry season, but also during the rainy.

The Oficina de Caza is in charge of the conservation, restoration and propagation of wild animals, and to this end controls the issuance of hunting permits. These permits cover hunting for sport or business. Since 1941 it has not been necessary for natives who kill wild animals for sustenance to have permits. The Oficina de Caza has a list of wild animals by state. Morelos is not listed as having any at all, which is obviously an error. Although Ocotepecans do not as a rule like to hunt, in the mountains nearby there are deer, rabbits and other wild animals. Summary on Zinacantán: The wild animals in the state of Chiapas are badgers, tigers, jaguars, tapiers, white-tailed deer, temazate, pheasants, coguar, wild turkey, wild boar, hares, rabbits, codorniz, doves and aquatic and river birds.

Dirección General de Geografía,
Meteorología e Hidrología.

A series of maps of Mexico may be purchased at the Sección de Cartografía of the Departamento Geográfica. These maps have been made by engineers on geodetic and topographic

expeditions and by the rest of the technical staff of the Seccion. The series includes the following maps or cartograms: (see the Appendix, No. 5, for these maps).

(1) A general geographical map for each state in the republic. The Morelos map was made in 1910. No date is given for the Chiapas map, which is inferior to the one for Morelos in presentation. These maps simply show geographical location, latitude and longitude, contour lines, altitude, rivers, roads and railroads, and the location of railroad stations, archaeological ruins and so on. Municipal divisions are not made. A brief description of the state accompanies the Morelos map.

Summary on Ocotepc: Ocotepc is located in the northeast portion of Morelos, slightly northeast of Cuernavaca, at approximately $18^{\circ} 57' 45''$ north latitude and $0^{\circ} 5' 30''$ west longitude taken from the meridian passing through the cross of the east tower of the Cathedral of Mexico City.¹ Chamilpa lies directly to the west of Ocotepc, and to the east are Ahuatepec and Tepoztlan. The contour lines, placed at fifty meter levels, show Ocotepc located on a flat area at the altitude of 1,787 meters above sea level, with the land sloping upward to the north, and sloping much more gently down to the south. Chamilpa lies at the same altitude as Ocotepc while Ahuatepec is fifty meters lower. North to the railroad station Alarcon there is a rise of one hundred meters. To the northeast of the town is the landmark Cerro Herradura. The nearest stream to Ocotepc is

1. This meridian is $99^{\circ} 8' 37''$ to the west of the Greenwich meridian. That is, Ocotepc lies at $99^{\circ} 13' .87''$ longitude west of the Greenwich meridian.

the Chamilpa Barranca, lying slightly to the west of Chamilpa, which flows into the Río Cuernavaca further to the south. A secondary road runs through Ocotepec, connecting it with Cuernavaca and the other neighboring towns. The Central Mexican Railroad comes very close to Ocotepec, making a loop on the north, west and south of the town and passing through Chamilpa. The closest stations are Alarcón and Ramón.

Summary on Zinacantán: The town of Zinacantán is located in the north central portion of Chiapas, approximately at $16^{\circ}45'4''$ north latitude and $92^{\circ}40'25''$ west longitude. The town lies between nearby Las Casas (called S. Cristobal on the map) to the east and Chiapa (Chiapa de Corzo) and Tuxtla (Tuxtla Gutierrez) to the west. The contour lines, placed at one hundred meter levels, show that Zinacantán is set at 2,000 meters above sea level^{la} in an extremely mountainous region. Navencha (Navenchauc) and Nachig lie to the south at 1,500 and 1,800 meters above sea level respectively. The finca Tierra Colorada is to the west of Zinacantán, at 1,600 meters, and the finca Agua Zarca is at quite a distance to the west, at 1,000 meters above sea level. A highway connects Zinacantán with Las Casas to the east, and Salinitas (Las Salinas), Ixtapa and Chiapa de Corzo to the west. A note at the foot of the map indicates that the configuration is approximated only.

(2) The "Carta Hidrológica de la República Mexicana."

A special study of the whole country was not made to compose this map; rather, various studies already made were combined and utilized. The map shows the fluvial systems, lakes, canals, and the areas covered by river basins. It is difficult

to read because there are no political boundaries, not even for states, marked, and the printing is faulty. Insert maps and charts on the larger map show the geological composition of the republic, which is far from satisfactory for information on small localities, and temperature and rainfall at certain stations. The latter two topics are not mentioned in the summaries since they are covered in more detail below (see page 45).

Summary on Ocotepec: The nearest discernible fluvial system to Ocotepec is unnamed on the map, but the various branches run into the Jojutla River. To the east the Tepoztlan River and the Atetecala pour south into the Yautepec.¹ It is impossible to tell from the geological inset map whether Ocotepec is located in the Quaternary geological area or the Tertiary and Post-Tertiary with eruptive rocks area.

Summary on Zinacantán: The town of Zinacantán lies to the south-east of the Blanco River, northwest of the Chiapillo and north-east of a portion of the Chiapa. All these streams, however, are at quite some distance from the town, and presumably none enter the municipality.² Geologically, Zinacantán is in lower Cretaceous territory, with an outcrop of quaternary rock to the south which possibly touches the southern part of the municipality.

(3) "Esquema de las Carreteras Nacionales", 1941.

This map is a schematic presentation of all-weather roads and those

1a. Estimating the altitude by the contour lines is not very successful. While the map gives 2,000 meters, the "Regiones Economicas-Agricolas" publication gives 2,152, the Agrarian reports give 2,450 and the Salubridad Pública report gives 2,200. Reliable figures on altitude can only be obtained from the Servicio Meteorológico for places where there are meteorological stations, such as Cuernavaca and Las Casas.

1. This information, difficult to read from the map, is not at all adequate as compared with the information from the reports carried on under Dr. Gamio's direction for the Población Rural; Ocotepec

transitable during the dry season only. Symbols for archaeological ruins, caves, volcanos, gasoline stations, hotels and communications stations are spotted along the highways.

Summary on Ocoatepec:¹ A road unpassable during the rainy season branches off from the main road just north of Cuernavaca, to Tepoztlan and presumably passing through Ocoatepec.

Summary on Zinacantán:¹ No highways at all are shown passing through the area where the municipality of Zinacantán is located.

(4) "Estudio Preliminar de Climas". This map was made by the meteorological service of the Dirección in 1929. It demonstrates by colored areas the general climates of the different sections of the republic. Political boundaries are not marked.

Summary on Ocoatepec: Ocoatepec belongs to the high subtropical climate, Valley of Mexico type.

Summary on Zinacantán: The town of Zinacantán belongs to the high subtropical climate, Valley of Mexico type.

The Instituto de Geografía, a consultative body for the Departamento Geográfica, has issued just recently a publication entitled "Mapa de Las Provincias Climatológicas de La República Mexicana", by Alfonso Contreras Arias, for the Second

surface waters are those of the Teteles, San Pedro, Olatzingo, Chamilpa, and Tejesquite barrancas, which belong to the fluvial system of the Cuernavaca River. However, the barrancas I saw in and near the town, at the beginning of the rainy season, were practically dry.

2. But a school report on the Zinacantán federal school describes a river as running through the community.

1. This data is completely wrong; the map must have been composed from out of date information, although it was issued in 1941.

(cont)

Inter-American Conference on Agriculture held in Mexico City. The publication defines the climatological provinces of the country. In doing so the temperature, the variation of the temperature during the year, the humidity, and the distribution of rainfall during the year are taken into consideration. A large map of Mexico and a series of meteorological charts present the conclusions. The charts, similar to those of the Servicio Meteorologica (see below), present the information and meteorological information for certain stations (including Cuernavaca and Las Casas) and the map tries by means of color and hatching to convey the same for the whole country. The colors of the map, however, are not sufficiently clear and it is extremely difficult to determine the climate of a definite place from the map alone. The publication also includes a map entitled "Ensayo de Localizacion de Las Simorfias Vegetales Cominantes en la Republica Mexicana" which attempts to describe the predominant type of vegetation in the different regions of Mexico.

Summary on Ocoatepec: Ocoatepec lies on the border between a region with sub-Alpine forests and a region of semi-steppe prairie vegetation.

Summary on Zinacantán: Zinacantán is in a sub-Alpine forest region.

The road to Ocoatepec is paved and good at all times, and there is a road passing through Zinacantán.

In the Oficina de Servicio Meteorológico there may be produced a chart, "Servicio Meteorológico Mexicano", giving latitude, longitude west of the Greenwich meridian, altitude and data on rainfall for various stations spotted over the country. This is accompanied by a map entitled "Altura Anual de La Lluvia" which marks areas of certain annual rainfall averages in shades of blue. The precipitation averages used are for the years from 1921 to 1930.

Summary on Ocoatepec: The station at Cuernavaca, near Ocoatepec, is located at 18°55' north latitude, 99°14' longitude west of the Greenwich meridian, 1,538 meters above sea level, and has an annual average rainfall of 1,039.3 millimeters. By month the precipitation averages 3.1 millimeters in January, 5.1 in February, 7.1 in March, 8.6 in April, 52.6 in May, 195.1 in June, 216.7 in July, 217.3 in August, 244.6 in September, 77.8 in October, 8.2 in November and 3.1 in December. The number of days in each month with a rainfall of over 0.1 millimeters is also given in the chart. Ocoatepec falls in the area of from 1,000 to 2,000 millimeters annual rainfall on the "Altura Anual de La Lluvia" map.

Summary on Zinacantán: The station at San Cristobal Las Casas (Ciudad Las Casas), near Zinacantán, is located at 16°44' north latitude, 92°38' longitude west of the Greenwich meridian, 2,128 meters above sea level, and has an annual average rainfall of 1,171.1 millimeters. By month the average rainfall is 7.3 millimeters in January, 1.8 in February, 10.9 in March, 34.6 in April, 129.2 in May, 249.4 in June, 141.7 in July, 158.6 in August, 244.9 in September, 152.4 in October, 23 in November and 15.3 in December. The number of days in each month with a

rainfall of over 0.1 millimeters is also given in the chart. Las Casas falls in the 1,000 to 2,000 millimeter average annual rainfall on the map, but a southerly projection of the 2,000 to 3,000 millimeter rainfall includes a large part, at least, of the municipality of Zinacantán. The monthly averages quoted above are probably right for the extreme southern part of the municipality, but would need to be increased for the remainder.

The maps and charts worth examination in this geographical series are (1) the state maps for general geographical orientation; (2) the agricultural conference publication, or if it is not obtainable at the Instituto, the general climate map; and (3) the Servicio Meteorológico data. There is no map of the whole country or by states which has municipality boundaries that I know of except for the simple outline map of the republic made by the Oficina Gráfica of the Dirección General de Estadística; Geografía has none.¹

1. The Dirección General has recently published for the 1942 Agricultural Conference an Atlas of Mexico which gives municipal boundaries, the Atlas is not available to the public as yet, so I do not know if the municipal outline map is the Estadística one or another. This Atlas will probably do away with the necessity of consulting the other maps described here.

SECRETARIA DE COMUNICACIONES Y OBRAS PUBLICAS

The Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas has administrative control over postal and electric communications, land and air transportation routes, and the construction and conservation of roads, bridges, monuments and other public works. Offices in the following Direcciones Generales of the Secretaría were visited:

Dirección General de Correos y Telégrafos

There is in the Oficina de Reglamentación of the Dirección General a publication entitled "Libro de Tarifas Para el Intercambio de la Correspondencia Telegráfica con Líneas Extrañas a la Red Nacional". This book, listing communications facilities and prices for places throughout the republic, was published in 1938 for the reference and information of Correos y Telegráficos employees. The "Libro de Tarifas" substitutes the former publication "Cataloga de Oficinas Telegráficas...". The 1938 publication is indexed by the former names of places when they have been officially changed, as well as by the present names. The data is presented by states, and in alphabetical order of municipalities for each state (see the Appendix, No. 6, for sample items from the "Libro de Tarifas").

Summary on Ocoatepec: Ocoatepec has no means of communication of its own, but telegrams may be received there from Cuernavaca by messenger at the rate of \$1.50 a message.

Summary on Zinacantán: The municipal capital of Zinacantán has a state government telephone line which connects with the main line in Ciudad Las Casas. The cost for using it is \$.20 for every ten words and \$.05 for extra five words or less. There is no postal

service; the capital is the only place in the municipality with outside communications at all.

Dirección Nacional de Caminos

Roads may be built and maintained by the Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas alone or by that federal entity in collaboration with state governments. Road maps for either type of road and information may be obtained at the Oficina Concentradora de Informes Sobre Caminos of the Dirección Nacional de Caminos. The 1941 "Mapa Esquemático de Caminos de la República Mexicana" is the most recent map for the whole country. Besides this map there are more detailed ones for certain sections of the country, but there is none for Chiapas, and the supply of the one for the Cuernavaca area is exhausted.

Summary on Ocoatepec: A paved road branches off the Mexico-Cuernavaca road, just north of Cuernavaca, to Tepoztlan.

Summary on Zinacantan: From Chiapa halfway to Las Casas there is a surfaced road passable at all times. The rest of the road to Las Casas is transitable only during the dry season.

The 1941 report of the Dirección Nacional de Caminos,¹ which was compiled for the Fourth Pan-American Highway Congress, is also distributed at the Oficina Concentradora de Informes. This report relates the state of progress of the Pan-American highway project in Mexico, and of other national roads. Included are a series of charts which present data collected from the Departamentos de Proyectos y Construcción, de Conservación, de Cooperación con los Estados, and de Contabilidad, on the

1. "Informe de la Dirección Nacional de Caminos de Mexico al IV Congreso Pan-Americana de Carreteras".

location, extent and cost of construction or reconstruction road work accomplished. In the future annual reports of the same nature will be issued from the Oficina Concentradora; the first will appear in July, 1942.

Summary on Ocoatepec: A national highway runs from Mexico City to Guernavaca; no road is shown to Ocoatepec.²

Summary on Zinacantan: The projected Pan-American highway will go through the municipality of Zinacantán on the old, but transitable in all times, road from Tuxtla Gutierrez to Las Casas.³ To the east of Las Casas the road is passable only during the dry season. To the west of Tuxtla there is a paved road. These road sections are not as yet connected with the other road systems of the country.

Dirección General de Construcción de Ferrocarriles

A 1940 map, "Carta Acotada de Ferrocarriles de Concesion Federal" (see the Appendix, No. 7), may be obtained from the Departamento de Ferrocarriles en Explotación. Constructed routes of wide and narrow gage, those in the process of construction, and those projected are presented. The smaller stations are not noted.

Summary on Ocoatepec: A wide gage national railway runs from Mexico City to Guernavaca.

Summary on Zinacantán: No national railway goes through or near the municipality of Zinacantán.

2. This is mistaken; the data from the "Mapa Esquemático de Caminos" has the correct information.

3. This differs from the information given in the "Mapa Esquemático de Caminos", which shows that only half of the Chiapas-Las Casas road is transitable in all weather.

SECRETARIA DE ECONOMIA NACIONAL

The offices of the Dirección General de Estadística were the only ones belonging to Economía Nacional visited. The attributes of Estadística are the compilation and publication of all the federal statistics. The Ley Federal de Estadística and its Reglamento (1940) give the present Dirección General de Estadística its legal basis. A general statistics governmental entity has existed ever since 1882, except during the upset period of the Revolution. First it was an office under the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, then it became an autonomous department, and in 1933 achieved its status as a Dirección General under the Secretaría de Economía Nacional. At present besides offices of information, collection of material, graphic presentation and so on, the Dirección consists of the offices in charge of the censuses and those in charge of continuous statistics. To secure information from both of these branches of the Dirección the process is the same. In the Oficina de Información official request forms must be filled out with a list of items for which data is desired. Información forwards the request to the appropriate office, and a few days later the data may be collected at Información. The large majority of the statistical data is kept by states and by municipalities, appearing thus in the Dirección's publications, and it is difficult to get any information at all by locality. Such data may be obtained only by authorization of the Director General of Estadística, since getting the information entails a great amount of research by a staff not organized to handle the work. Even in the case of authorization, the will is not always enough. The original census and continuous statistics forms

which have the information by locality are not always kept after the data has been translated into municipal and state terms. If they are kept they are not filed in such a manner as to ensure discovery when wished; a prolonged search is usually necessary before the requested item is found, and success depends largely on chance and the diligence of the staff member searching. Information by locality many years back, therefore, should be almost impossible to locate. Recent data is more possible but also limited by the circumstances mentioned.

Departamento de Censos

The Departamento de Censos includes the five offices of the censuses of Población-Edificios, Agrícola-Ganadera-Ejidal, Industrial, Commercial, and Transportes. The purpose of these censuses is to collect numerical information, supplementing that gathered by the Departamento de Estadística Continuas, regarding the economic and social structure of Mexico, and the resources and income of the nation.

All the officials and employees of the federal, state and municipal governments, with the exceptions of the police, soldiery¹ and fiscal officers, must collaborate on the preparation and execution of the censuses. One of the difficulties inherent in taking the census is that many groups making up the nation speak only an Indian language, or live in isolated territories. To reach these people who neither understand the purposes of or need for a census, a strong propaganda must be

1. The Secretaria de Defensa Nacional is in charge of the enumeration of the National Army.

made; a propaganda program is carried on before each census is taken, and census councils are established throughout the country to assist in this program. These councils are organized hierarchically with a Junta Nacional de los Censos in Mexico City, a Junta Central in each state capital, a Junta Local in each municipality capital, Junta Auxiliares in places of large populations but which are not capitals, and Agencias Censales in each place of less importance. The local organizations are composed of municipal authorities, school teachers and other leading individuals. Also in preparation of the censuses a list (padron) is made of addresses of the entities which are going to be enumerated in the census. Characteristics of these entities, or censal units, are included in the list.

The organization of the population census consists of one delegate for each state; a subdelegate for each census region within a state; an organizer for each census zone, made up of from four to eight municipalities taking into account economic and geographic similarities, within a region; and auxiliaries for organizational work in out of the way spots, small towns and in places where the population is scattered instead of concentrated. All these workers undergo approximately four weeks of training prior to the census taking, and are considered the special personnel; they are selected by examination from candidates presented by local governments. The other positions of census agents, heads of cuartels, heads of sections, heads of blocks, and the actual enumerators (empadronadores)¹ - in descending order of hierarchy - are all unpaid personnel composed of government

1. The census personnel we call enumerators are empadronadores in Mexico; the Mexican enumeradores are sessile rather than mobile census officials, as described above.

employees. These people are prepared for their jobs by the zone organizers, instructors and other higher census officials. Besides the instruction given, careful work is encouraged among these honorary census workers by a system of prizes, medals and diplomas. The cuartel, section and block organization is used only for comparatively large-sized cities and towns. Indian groups and isolated regions are divided into census sectors, with special enumerators. The collateral census personnel consists of paid enumerators (enumeradores) located in each municipal capital to take the information on agricultural property, among other things, brought them by inhabitants of the municipality, and propagandists, instructors and other officials.

On census-taking days work in government offices and institutions is suspended so that the employees may assume their census duties as enumerators. Everyone else is obliged to stay at home on these days, unless under special circumstances, and then they must leave the information required with someone else in the house. The enumerators take down the data themselves on forms and these are sent immediately to the Estadística offices where specialized personnel criticize and edit them.

Lic. Gilberto Loyo, head of the Departamento de Censos, says that the 1940 census is an immeasurable improvement over the 1930.¹ Although he realizes the difficulties in taking the

1. Professor Mendizabel expresses the opposite opinion. He believes the 1930 census is excellent and that the 1940 one is poor because it was taken at a politically inopportune time. This opinion is probably explained by the fact that Mendizabel used 1930 data in his charts and maps (see page _____) and that the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas is using 1940 data in a similar but more extensive project (see page 108).

census, he claims that Mexico has the best census of any of the "backward" countries. The Departamento de Censos he believes to have the most reliable data to be found anywhere in Mexico. His enthusiasm for the población-edificios censuses is especially marked.

The population census is the best known of the censuses and has the longest history. The first was taken in 1895, and then followed ones in 1900, 1910, 1921, 1930 and the sixth and most recent in 1939-40. This census is a direct enumeration by name, simultaneously and periodically, of all the population of the republic on a certain date; the census is to be taken every ten years in those years ending in zero (Reglamento de la Ley de Estadística, 1940, Art. 95). The census unit is every inhabitant of the country at the hour of the census. Every person who is physically and mentally capable is considered a responsible informant, and must give the information requested to the enumerator. The census form asks for data on dwelling place; family relationships¹; sex; age; civil status; age of woman on her first marriage or free union; number of children born to woman and number living¹; grade of education reached and instruction being obtained at time of census¹; work, occupation or profession¹; place of birth; nationality; language spoken; customary clothing, sleeping arrangements and the eating of wheat bread; real estate owned; mental and physical defects; and religion (see the Appendix, No. 8, for sample population census form).

Summary on Ocotepec: (1940 preliminary data, unrevised). The total population of Ocotepec is 1,006, 467 of which are male and 539

1. These points are either covered for the first time or in more detail in the sixth census.

female. The age distribution is:

AGES	POPULATION	DISTRIBUTION PERCENTAGE Male and Female
TOTAL	1,006	100.00
0 - 9 days .....		.....
10 - 29 " .....		.....
1 - 5 months	11	1.09
6 - 11 "	20	1.99
1 year	11	1.09
2 "	26	2.59
3 "	31	3.08
4 "	27	2.68
5 - 9 "	159	15.81
10 - 14 "	158	15.71
15 - 19 "	106	10.54
20 - 24 "	45	4.47
25 - 29 "	49	4.87
30 - 34 "	64	6.36
35 - 39 "	78	7.75
40 - 44 "	49	4.87
45 - 49 "	43	4.27
50 - 54 "	39	3.88
55 - 59 "	15	1.49
60 - 64 "	28	2.78
65 - 69 "	21	2.09
70 - 74 "	8	0.80
75 - 79 "	6	0.60
80 - 84 "	9	0.89
85 - 89 "	2	0.20
90 - 94 " .....		.....
95 - 99 "	1	0.10
100 or over .....		.....

Concerning civil status, of the 1940 population 446 were under age (under twenty-one), 132 single (52 men, 80 women), 268 were married (133 men, 135 women), ¹ 106 individuals live in free unions (51 men, 55 women)¹, 6 are widowers and 41 widows, 7 are divorced (2 men, 5 women). Of the total population 214 men are engaged in agriculture and cattle-raising, 3 in industries, 41 men and women have commercial occupations, 2 men are in public administration,

1. These figures are as yet unrevised.

2 are in professional or liberal occupations, 278 women and one man work domestically in their homes, and 450 are either in anti-social or unknown occupations. Of the 193 heads of families, 188 own the houses in which their families live. Of the population over 6 years of age, 31.44% can read but not write and 65.25% can neither read nor write. 23.18% more males than females can read and write or only read. Only 184 of the population eat bread made of wheat; 100 of these sleep on beds or cots while 77 sleep on the floor and 7 on tapexcos (platforms made of sticks and blocks of wood). 822 do not eat wheat bread; 801 of these sleep on the floor, 12 on platforms and 9 on cots or beds. Thus there is a small correlation between wheat bread-eaters and bed-sleepers, with a large number of the former still sleeping on the floor, and a better correlation between non-wheat bread-eaters and floor-sleepers. A small number of both wheat and non-wheat bread-eaters sleep on platforms. Of the 15,102 inhabitants of the municipality of Cuernavaca 11,456 speak only Spanish, 46 speak only Nahuatl, 1,194 speak both Spanish and Nahuatl, 17 speak both Spanish and Otomi, and a few others speak Spanish and some other Indian language.

Summary on Zinacantán: (1940 preliminary data, unrevised). Of the 4,497 total inhabitants of the municipality of Zinacantán, 651 belong to the municipal capital, 374 to the village of Apas, 215 to Chiquinabó, 182 to Elambó, 217 to Jogchenon, 269 to Nachij, 820 to Navenchauc, 274 to Paste, 285 to Patosil, 239 to Salinas, 661 to Zequentic, and 73 to a vocational school farm, 31 to the Guadalupe Shucam ranch, 12 to the El Prospero ranch, 37 to El Refugio el Pig ranch, 36 to San Antonio ranch, 15 to San Isidro

ranch, 60 to San Nicolás ranch, 20 to Santa Rita Agil ranch, 3 to Tierra Colorada ranch and 23 to the San Joaquin Valentay farm.

Of the population of 1,605 over the age of ten¹, 108 can read and write, 3 can only read and 1,494 can neither read nor write. Of those who can both read and write 47 are from ten to fourteen years old, 24 are from fifteen to twenty-nine, and 37 are thirty or over. There is no great difference in the ability to read and write between the sexes.

Other data by municipality was not available for 1940. The following information is from the 1930 census, translated into percentages since the total population of 1930 is so startlingly different from that of 1940.² Of the total population 2% speak only Spanish, 63% speak only Tzotzil, and 17% speak both Spanish and Tzotzil.³ The remaining percentage includes children under five years of age. 24% of the population live in houses on their own property⁴ and approximately the same own rural property. 76% do not live in their own houses, and do not own rural

1. This figure of 1,605 over the age of ten is undoubtedly wrong; that approximately 65% of the population is under the age of ten is not borne out by the age distribution data. It may be that data on reading and writing ability was turned in for only 1,605 individuals. Whatever the case, it should be remembered that this data has not been revised as yet by the office staff.

2. The 1930 total population is 2,129 (4,497 for 1940), and the 1930 population for Navenchauc is 67 (820 for 1940), for Zequentic 71 (661 for 1940), and so on. Such tremendous differences are hard to explain on any other basis than pure mistake. It may be that since the settlements are scattered, the 1930 census takers only counted those people living in the houses forming the nuclei of the town. Even so the difference is enormous.

3. This makes only 80 percent of the population speaking Tzotzil, whereas the Asuntos Indigenas tabulators working with the same census material reached a figure of 97.32 percent (see page _____).

4. Since this figure and the following ones refer to the whole population rather than to heads of families they are not very meaningful.

property, 33% of the total population are engaged in agriculture and livestock-raising (one woman and the rest men), 38% are engaged in domestic work in their homes (two men and the rest women), a few people only are engaged in industries (four men and seven women), and 29% have anti-social or unknown occupations. The 1930 age distribution for the municipality was:

AGES	POPULATION
TOTAL	2,129
Less than 1 month	62
Less than 1 year	129
1 - 4	185
5 - 9	148
10 - 14	143
15 - 19	166
20 - 24	263
25 - 29	268
30 - 34	172
35 - 39	117
40 - 44	145
45-49	55
50 - 54	76
55 - 59	17
60 - 64	75
65 - 69	17
70 - 74	15
75 - 79	14
80 - 84	42
85 - 89	3
90 - 94	10
95 - 99	1
100 or over	4

The town of Zinacantán² (1940 data) has 664 inhabitants,¹ 302 males and 362 females. The 1940 age distributions for Zinacantán, Apaz, Zequentic and Navenchauc are:

1. The totals for the towns given me on the civil status charts differ slightly from those given me on the simple population charts; the difference is only from one to seven.

2. See next page.

AGES	ZINACANTAN	APAZ	ZEQUENTIC	NAVENCHAUC
TOTAL	664	375	661	819
0 - 9 days	...	...	...	...
10 - 29 "	...	...	...	...
1 - 5 months	8	...	1	7
6 - 11 "	4	...	2	4
1 - year	19	3	14	22
2 "	28	9	26	35
3 "	21	2	21	22
4 "	26	24	30	29
5 "	85	49	105	126
10 - 14 "	73	88	76	127
15 - 19 "	48	38	54	78
20 - 24 "	59	20	56	66
25 - 29 "	81	16	57	60
30 - 34 "	63	29	38	66
35 - 39 "	44	29	53	45
40 - 44 "	29	20	46	37
45 - 49 "	23	6	16	19
50 - 54 "	13	18	16	19
55 - 59 "	15	14	10	17
60 - 64 "	9	10	19	15
65 - 69 "	9	...	3	4
70 - 74 "	3	...	5	4
75 - 79 "	2	...	...	5
80 - 84 "	1	...	8	9
85 - 89 "	...	...	...	...
90 - 94 "	...	...	3	3
95 - 99 "	...	...	1	...
100 - or more	...	...	1	...
Age unknown	...	...	...	...

200 of the population practice agriculture and livestock-raising (17 men and 183 women), 7 men are in industries, 4 men and 1 woman in public administration, 252 women work in the home, and 200 men and women are engaged in anti-social or unknown activities. 68 persons eat bread made of wheat; 63 of these sleep on cots or beds, and 5 on tapexcos. 596 individuals do

2. The towns of Zinacantan, Apaz, Navenchauc and Zequentic as four of the largest settlements in the municipality were selected for obtaining data by locality. The head of the office requested that the minimum number of localities be chosen since the work in securing information by locality is so difficult.

not eat wheat bread; of these 3 sleep on cots or beds and the rest sleep on tepexcos. 265 of the total population are under age, 89 are unmarried, 137 are married, and 100 live in free unions, 63 are widows and 8 widowers, and 2 women have been divorced.

There are 375 inhabitants of Apaz, 164 male and 211 female. 162 are under age, 69 are single, 98 are married, 2 live in free union, there are 4 widowers and 39 widows, and one woman is divorced. 88 persons (one woman and the rest men) are in agriculture or livestock-raising, 168 women do domestic work in their homes, 119 individuals are engaged in anti-social or unknown occupations. None of the entire population eat wheat bread, and all sleep on tapexcos.

There are 661 inhabitants of Zequentic, 350 males and 311 females. 298 inhabitants are under age, 82 are single, 190 are married, 55 live in free unions, 33 are widows and 1 a widower, and two women are divorced. 220 persons (one woman and the rest men) are agriculturalists and livestock raisers, 210 women work domestically in their homes, and 231 are engaged in anti-social or unknown occupations. All of the population sleep on tapexcos, and do not customarily eat wheat bread.

There are 819 inhabitants of Navenchauc, 390 males and 429 females. 369 are minors, 92 single, 20 married, 274 living in free unions, 7 widowers and 57 widows. 229 individuals (one woman and the rest men) are engaged in agriculture and livestock-raising, one woman in commerce, 309 women work domestically in their homes and 280 individuals are engaged in

anti-social or unknown occupations. All the population sleep on tapexcos, 791 do not customarily eat bread made of wheat, and 28 do eat it.

In 1900 and again in 1910 certain data regarding buildings were included in the population census. The first building census appeared in 1929, and the second and most recent in 1939; the Reglamento (Art. 95) provides that this census be taken every ten years in those years ending in nine. The censal unit is the edifice, including huts, dwelling houses, apartment houses, sport centers, hotels, hospitals, schools, railroad stations and so on. The census blank (see the Appendix, No. 9) includes columns for information on number of rooms and floors, number of inhabitants, number of radios, beds and sewing machines in the house, materials used in the walls, water service, condition of the house, and so on. The responsible informant is the proprietor, manager, porter or inhabitant of the building.

Summary on Ocotepec: There are 240 buildings in Ocotepec, with a total of 377 rooms. 1,058¹ persons inhabit them. The walls of 164 houses, the majority, are built of adobe, 73 of sticks, and only 3 of masonry. There is no water service in any house. 71 of the houses are classified as huts (choza or jacal) and 169 as houses (casa sola). The distribution of people per habitation is 2.8.

1. The population census gives 1,006 as the total population of Ocotepec.

2. This figure is obviously wrong. Using 1,058 as the number of inhabitants and 240 as the number of houses, there is a distribution of 4.9 individuals per habitation.

Summary on Zinacantán: There are 1,431 houses, all without service of potable water or sewage disposal, in Zinacantán. 17 houses have predominantly adobe walls, and 1,414 predominantly mud plastered walls (embarro). 1,552 families, composed of 5,964 individuals¹ inhabit the houses. 1,410 of the constructions are classified as huts and 19 as houses.

Although probably exact enough in information regarding the predominant material used in house walls, the lack of mention of supplementary materials, of what the roof is made and so on, hurts the record. For example, the article on the Tzotziles in the 1941 No. 3 issue of the Revista Mexicana de Sociología describes the Tzotzil houses as being made of a lattice work of sticks with mud plastered into the openings, and the census cites mud plaster as the dominant material. Likewise the facts that the roofs are of straw or other forages and have either two or four slopes is not included in the census information. The census is more correct in the case of Ocoatepec; the predominant materials are as cited, but here also the different combinations of wall material and roof material as described in the reports carried on under Dr. Gamio's direction (see page 149) are not mentioned.

Another lack in the building census is sufficiently detailed instructions for the enumerator. For example, when

1. The population census gives 4,497 as the total population of Zinacantán.

does a dwelling stop being a hut and become a house? In Ocoatepec there is almost every degree of in-between stages. And is an outside kitchen counted as a separate dwelling, omitted altogether, or included as part of the house? And in the latter case, what is done if the kitchen is built of different materials than is the house, as is almost always the case in Ocoatepec?

The first padron of agricultural property was drawn up in 1929, and was followed by the first agricultural-livestock census in 1930 and the first ejidal census in 1935. The second and most recent of both of these censuses was in 1940; in the future the agricultural-livestock census will be taken every ten years in those years ending in zero, (see the Appendix, No. 10, for sample form) and the ejidal census will be taken every five years in those years ending in five and zero (Reglamento, Art. 95). The unit in the agricultural-livestock census is agricultural property, not ejidal, of one hectare or more in extension, and the animals owned. The area of land given over to the different crops cultivated, the kind of land, the yield and the value of the crops is the information required for the census. Responsible informants are obliged to go to the enumerator in the municipal capital and submit this information. The responsible informant for the ejidal census is some representative of the ejido who collects the data required, which is the same as for the agricultural census, from each ejidal parcel and gives them to the enumerator.

If the ejido is collectively organized it is dealt with as a whole, instead of by parcels.

It is not possible to get data by locality from the agricultural census. There is no ejidal data for Zinacantán or Ocotepec.

Summary on Ocotepec: (Data only for the whole municipality of Cuernavaca). In the municipality of Cuernavaca most of the agricultural properties are small, 551 land plots being of five or less hectares. However, most of the land belongs to large property owners. As compared with the 499 hectares owned by the 551 small property owners, 15 large property owners possess 5,875 hectares. The principal crops in the municipality are corn, beans, guayaba, and rice. In 1940, 197 hectares were sown in corn, with a production of 193,351 kilos valued at \$23,202.00 (pesos); 8 hectares of land were sown in beans, producing 9,095 kilos valued at \$2,000.00; 10 hectares of guayaba were planted with a production of 85,500 kilos valued at \$8,550.00; and 5 hectares of rice produced 9,109 kilos valued at \$1,093.00.

10,604 hectares of land in the municipality are ejidal lands; 485 ejidatarios are in possession.

Summary on Zinacantán: Of the 7,618 total hectares of land in the municipality 1,500 is tillable; 1,420 is dry farming land, 14 is humid and 66 irrigated land.¹ 350 hectares are in level pasture land, 427 in hilly grazing land, 3,776 in timber-

1. This is the only mention of irrigated land in Zinacantán by any of the records. The Revista Mexicana de Sociología article says that the Zinacantán Indians are dedicated to horticulture, which perhaps indicates irrigation, but all of the crops mentioned in "cosechas generales" were produced on non-irrigated land.

yielding forests, 653 in non-timber-yielding forests, 36 in productive but uncultivated land, and 876 hectares are agriculturally unproductive. Thus, almost half of the municipality extension is in timber-yielding forests.

The three main crops are corn (816 hectares) with a yield of 308,860 kilos valued at \$23,180.00 (pesos); beans, planted in fields with other crops, with a yield of 596,000 kilos valued at \$7,280.00.¹

The livestock in the municipality are: 70 head of cattle, 197 horses, 1,334 mules, 31 asses or jennies, 7,397 sheep, 7 goats, 946 pigs, and 17,979 fowl.

The third industrial census (the others were in 1930 and 1935) and the first commercial and transportation censuses were taken in 1940; they are to be taken every five years. The unit in the industrial census is any industrial establishment with an annual production of \$7,500.00 or more. The proprietor or manager of the establishment is the responsible informant. In industrial centers enumerators visit the establishment, principal articles produced, investments, value of production salaries, personnel and nationality of the proprietor. In other cases the information is mailed in to Estadística. The establishment is also the unit in the commercial census, and transportation censuses were anticipated by a padron the year before the census. None of these three censuses having bearing on the communities selected for study. (See the Appendix, Nos. 11 and 12, for sample forms of the commercial and transportation census blanks).

1. See the discussion on pages 11-12.

Departamento de Estadística Continuas

Estadística Continuas is composed of the Oficina de Estadística Social and the Oficina de Estadística Económica. Periodical reports are sent in to both offices by municipal authorities and other sources. In the case of Estadística Social, the data concerning births, deaths, and marriages is taken from the Civil Register and is transmitted by the official, usually the municipal president or minor judge (juez menor), in charge of the Civil Register of the municipality to the office. The purpose in collecting this information is to determine population movement and the social conditions surrounding marriage and divorce. The head of the Oficina de Estadística Social believes that the majority of the people make entries in the Civil Register when they should. Births and marriages are checked to a certain extent by the certificates of baptisms and church marriages turned into the Register by the officiating priest, and the registering of deaths is bulwarked by a Código Sanitario ruling prohibiting the burial or burning of bodies without an authorization from Civil Register officials. This ruling leads into difficulties when Civil Register authorities are not within convenient travelling distance of the body and consequently one can expect death registrations to be fewer than deaths. A system of fines enforces the turning over of Civil Register data requested by Estadística of the Register authorities. However, it is frequently true, and one of the main problems of the office, that the Register officials neglect to answer all of the questions on the blanks Estadística supplies. (See the Appendix, No. 13, for a complete set of the forms used by Estadística Social, for their other founts as well

as the Civil Register). Civil Register data must be submitted periodically to the Secretaría de Gobernación and the Departamento de Salubridad Pública as well as to Estadística.

The first Civil Register law was passed in 1857, but it was not enforced because of the subsequent war which interrupted such legal processes. The substantial part of the present Civil Register process dates back to 1873, but the data available in Estadística Social regarding births, deaths and marriages only goes back to 1922.

Estadística also has data on criminal and civil suits and suicides, submitted by the district judges; labor data such as strikes, other conflicts, suspension of work, occupational diseases and accidents, working conditions and the unemployed population, submitted by state government officials and municipal presidents; social work done, submitted by representatives of the various social institutions; fires, by the municipal president; public amusement places, by the proprietor or manager; the fire-fighting force, by the chief of the force; transit accidents, by the police or transit office chief; libraries and museums, by the person in charge in each case; professional degrees given by official institutions; newspapers, by a representative of each paper; and diseases occurring in penal establishments, by the prison doctors or wardens. Labor statistics can be had as far back as 1922, judicial 1925, social institutions such as libraries and museums 1926, and occupational accidents 1926. The population movement data, although available for 1922, was first obtained directly from the Civil Register for Estadística in 1926.

Although the information listed is abundant, very little can be obtained from Estadística Social on a small rural community, or even on a municipality. A great deal of the data is handled by states, and even where the original forms dealt with municipalities these may have been mislaid or destroyed after the state figures have been compiled. The whole of this social data is considered together in the summaries because of its paucity.

Summary on Ocoatepec: The minimum salary in the field is \$1.50. \$2.00 is paid for other work, and \$1.75 is the salary paid for work in the city. There is only one store which is registered as selling intoxicating beverages.¹ In 1941 only one court process was initiated.² Of the total of twenty-four deaths in 1941, one died of measles, twenty-one of pneumonias, one of diarrhea, enteritis or stomach ulcers, and one of a congenital weakness.

Summary on Zinacantan: The minimum salary is \$1.00 in the urban areas, and \$.80 in the field. Two cantines in the municipality are registered to sell intoxicating beverages. In 1941 there was a total of ninety-two deaths in the whole municipality from the following causes: typhoid and paratyphoid, one; whooping cough, fifteen; dyptheria, two; tuberculosis of the respiratory apparatus, two; other tuberculoses, one; dysentery, one; malaria, thirty-eight; grippe or influenza, five; measles, one; acute articular febrile rheumatism, one; chronic rheumatism and gout,

1. Actually many places sell alcoholic drinks in Ocoatepec.
 2. State records mention seven criminal cases (see page 119) but in each instance Ocoatepec is mistakenly described as belonging to the municipality of Tepoztlan, which may account for why the information does not tally but not for where the one case was recorded. Perhaps it is a civil case, although the data as given me did not so indicate.

six; heart diseases other than angina pectoris and aneurisma of the heart, one; bronchitis, two; pneumonia, one; diarrhea and enteritis and intestinal ulcers, twelve; liver diseases other than cirrosis and bilious tracts, one; infant diseases other than congenital weaknesses, one; violent death other than by automobile, one. For the years 1938, 1939 and 1940 there was an average of 102 births annually in the municipality. Marriages registered with the civil authorities for the same years were 6,5 and 17. Two court suits were started in 1941, brought against two persons accused of delinquency.

The Oficina de Estadística Económica has a Sección de Industrias which obtains data on the industrial establishments of the country; this source is of concern to the ethnologist only if some such establishment is in or near the community of study. (See the Appendix, No. 14, for complete series of Económica forms). A Sección de Comercio Interior collects data on the consumption of meat, sugar and one or two other commodities in a few big market cities. Data is available for Cuernavaca but by its nature would shed no light on Ocotepc. There is no such information on Ciudad Las Casas, the nearest city to Zinacantán. The Sección de Transportes has data concerning the different vehicles in circulation for certain municipalities. Such information was lacking for Zinacantán and available for Cuernavaca, but not for the locality within the municipality. The Sección de Comunicaciones has data on telephone lines, the movement of boats and cargos sent by railroad, but no information on either of the communities being studied. The Sección de Finanzas has the figures on municipal and state

revenue and expenditures; the municipal and state treasurers send in monthly reports on this matter. This data is relevant for Zinacantán but not for the locality of Ocoatepec since it is a so small and probably atypical part of the whole municipality of Cuernavaca. Other data available at Estadística Económica are the prices of construction materials, obtained by special agents, and wholesale and retail prices of articles of primary necessity in certain cities, collected by city National Chamber of Commerce employees. This information is available for Cuernavaca city, but not for Ciudad Las Casas. Labor and industrial salary statistics are available for some industrial establishments.

Summary on Ocoatepec: See the Appendix, No. 15 for a list of prices of construction materials and articles of primary need in the Cuernavaca market.

Summary on Zinacantán: The total revenue of the municipality of Zinacantán for 1940 was \$55.20 (pesos). \$48.00 of this was income on commercial transactions and the remaining \$7.20 was from additional public education taxes. \$48.00 was expended on government, and \$7.20 on public education.

SECRETARIA DE EDUCACION PUBLICA

The Dirección General de Enseñanza Primaria en los Estados y Territorios de la República is divided into general administrative offices and offices in charge of urban, industrial and rural federal schools. The Oficina de Escuelas Rurales has only recently been organized to incorporate the previously independent Oficinas de Escuelas Campesinas, Escuelas Ejidales and Escuelas Indígenas.¹ The Oficina Técnica de Escuelas Rurales has records bearing on attendance, school staffs, and the general social or economic programs being conducted by the different schools. The Oficina Técnica mails questionnaires periodically² to the Dirección de Educación Federal located in each state, and these state offices forward the questionnaires on to the separate federal schools. The teachers fill in the form and return it via the same channels. The questionnaire asks for information regarding the location of the school; the school staff; the population of the town and school attendance of both children and adults; the school buildings, including its facilities, school grounds such as agricultural plots and sport fields, and accommodations for teachers; school tools and paraphernalia; and social activities, such as mothers' clubs, school-lunches, and various improvement campaigns (see the Appendix, No. 16, for a sample copy). From these answered forms two records

1. The "Indian schools" were transferred from the Secretaría de Educación to the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas in 1938. However, the majority of schools in Indian areas remain with Educación (see page 109).

2. Sr. Bandala, the head of Escuelas Rurales, insists that the questionnaires are sent out every three months of the school year in spite of a note on the form itself saying it is to be sent out in April and October of each year.

are made and kept on file in the office: the "Relación General de Escuelas Primarias Rurales" is simply a list of the teachers of the various federal schools with their monthly salary stated, and the "Control de Escuelas Rurales Federales" contains the remainder of the information (see the Appendix, No. 16, for a sample copy). These records have been kept in the present form since 1937. The Oficina Técnica staff believes the records to be reliable enough, but the numerous points covered in the questionnaire are no indication of the thoroughness of the answers when returned.

Summary on Ocoatepec: The federal school of Ocoatepec (population 1,036) has a registration of 82 of the 267 children of school age. The 47 students in first year are taught by Beatriz Gómez García, and the 35 students in the second and third years are taught by Aureo Soberanes Jiménez. The teachers have practiced visits to the community homes in an attempt to teach the adults how to live hygienically. They have also been instrumental in having the villagers vaccinated for small pox.

Summary on Zinacantán: The federal school located in the town of Zinacantán (population 320) has a registration of 33 of the 64 children of school age. The average attendance is 28. Daniel Rojas Ramos, the teacher, is paid \$80.00 monthly. As part of the social program of the school, meetings on child health and improvement of the houses in the community have been held. The school also sponsored the vaccination of the community members.

The population census figure for Ocoatepec is 1,006, not 1,036;

for the town of Zinacantán 664 or 651, not 320. The director of the Ocotepec school told me 106 out of a possible 293 were registered; two months ago a new teacher was added to the staff, and perhaps more children taken care of. At any rate, there should be no unexplainable conflict between the reported figures and those told me since the source for both is the same. I never saw over sixty children in school in Ocotepec, and frequently less. The figures 33 out of a possible 64 are wrong for Zinacantán; the census gives 158 children between the ages of five and fourteen for the town. The accounts of social and economic programs carried on and improvements made by the rural schools both in this record and the following ones dealing with education, should be taken with grains of salt.

School inspection reports are to be found in the Seccion de Inspecciones Rurales, of the Oficina de Escuelas Rurales. The titles, forms and periodicity of these reports vary during the years, and somewhat for different places, but all are included in two types of files. Those made up to 1941 are filed according to the name of the place where the school is located; reports made after 1941 cover zones instead of each individual school, and are filed by states.

The present system of school inspection reports is for the Inspector, a teacher graduated from normal school, to cover in his report, called "Informe Bimestral", the number and conditions of the schools which he visited during the two months;

how he allotted his time to various tasks; what supervisory work he did such as overseeing teacher and community member meetings, and what technical instruction was given; work done at the schools, including school buildings erected or started, student plots cultivated, the yield of the plots and what cooperatives function; and finally the social work done by the teachers. This information, unlike in previous inspection reports, is given simply in report form, under the general headings of administrative, economic, social, material and technical aspects. Sub-headings such as agrarian problem, anti-alcoholism, ejidal bank, and so on may also appear. Prof. Cerna, head of the Sección de Inspecciones Rurales, was definite on the point that these "Informes Bimestrales" are turned in for each zone every two months as ordered, that they were received by his office, note taken of them, recommendations made on their basis, and that they were always filed fifteen days at the most after receipt. However, there was no bi-monthly report of the Fifth Zone of Chiapas (including Zinacantán) on file at all, and only two, November-December and August-October of 1941, for the First Zone of Morelos (including Ocoatepec). Only one of the latter touches on Ocoatepec. I was told that the bimonthly reports dated from 1941, and it is true that this year marks the change from school inspections to zone inspections, but the names of some of the reports included in the 1941 files¹ are "Informes diversos de la labor desarrollada durante el presente año", "Informe Final del Año

1. None mentioning Zinacantán.

Escolar de Transición de Enero 6 a Junio 14 de 1941", "Informe Trimestral", and other similar ones. All, however, have approximately the same class of information. The bimonthly report is evidently just getting into swing and more will probably be available in the future than is true at present.

Summary on Ocotepec: After visiting the Ahuatepec school and finding neither of the teachers at work, the Inspector went on to Ocotepec where the teachers Aureo Soberanes and Beatriz Gómez were attending thirty-one of the registered sixty-seven students. The classes of the assistant teacher, Miss Gómez, were especially poorly attended, a situation she explained by saying that neither the community nor the municipal authorities supported her in her work. The truth is that neither Miss Gómez nor Soberanes have the confidence of the villagers because they do not live in Ocotepec but commute from outside every school day. The parents and teachers have had considerable difficulty with each other over the matter of attendance; Soberanes claims that the children are kept from school both to work, and simply because their parents don't want them to attend. A night session should be held for adults, but both teachers deny the necessity of this. The school records of Miss Gómez are very poorly kept, and none of the classes of either teacher are advancing satisfactorily. The teachers in nearby Chamilpa are also inadequate. (The rest of the report deals with the zone in general, and the remarks made do not seem to refer to the unsatisfactory schools, but to those carrying on commendable work).

This report agrees with my observations at the Ocotepec school. Since it was written another male teacher has been added to the staff and both he and Soberanes live in the village. Miss Gómez still commutes.

Prof. Cerna did not know for what years the various forms for reports were used in the past. From the Zinacantán and Ocotepec files I assume the following to approximate the dates these forms may be found for other places, too. 1937-1940: The Mesa de Control de Escuelas Rurales, evidently a defunct branch of the Oficina, issued a questionnaire to be answered by the directors of the rural federal schools at the end of each school year. Thus, strictly speaking, it is not a school inspection report, but it is classified as such by the Seccion (see the Appendix, No. 17, for a list of the questions asked with the blanks filled in for the Ocotepec school, 1939).

Summary on Ocotepec: The School of Ocotepec is located on property owned by the town. The building was adapted into use as a school house; walls are made of adobe, brick and lime and are whitewashed, and the roof is of tile and wood, and there is a brick floor. The school has two rooms covering 101 square meters, and a corridor. The medicine chest possessed by the school is for the exclusive use of the students. Also connected with the school is a barbershop which gives free service to the children, and a place to wash. Two toilets belong to the plant. Other facilities are a football field, a children's park, and

an open air theatre. There is no dwelling place connected for the teachers.

The agricultural activities of the school are centered around a 600 square meter plot of both dry-farming and irrigated land cultivated by the students. Salt-wort, cabbage and carrots have been introduced into the region by the school plot, and other products grown are lettuce and radishes. The cultivation of potatoes, peas and wheat is also attempted. Hoes, plows, coas, shovels and pickaxes are the farming implements used. Five orange trees were planted during the year, and fifteen ash and cedar trees, to improve the appearance of the school site. The school consumer's cooperative, which is not registered, has one hundred members, a capital of \$5.00 and a profit that year of \$4.00.

The members of the community do not cooperate particularly with the school program although there is a parents' association, and the municipal authorities maintain an indifference regarding it. Children are kept from school in order to work in the fields or as cowherds.

Activities carried on at the school include those of the Sport Committee, and lectures given on anti-alcoholism at various fiestas and farmer's gatherings.

The most prevalent diseases in Ocotepec are measles and bronchopneumonia. Small pox and typhoid have been combatted by vaccination. The teachers give instruction concerning health measures when they make home visits in the community. On such visits, which are made about four times a month, the food, shelter and sleeping conditions of the children are

observed.

Summary on Zinacantan: (1939) The school site of the town of Zinacantan belongs to the federal government. The building itself was not built specially for a school but was adapted into one. The walls are of decorated whitewashed adobe, the roof of tiles, and the floor of brick slabs. There are three rooms in the school, and facilities include a small barbershop and medicine chest available for free use by both the children and the members of the community, two toilets, a basket and volley ball field, a childrens' playground, a semi-closed open air theatre, a garden, orchard, vegetable garden, experimental agricultural plot, and a kitchen. The teacher's house consists of two rooms. There are no baths, or lakes, but a river runs through the community which may be used for bathing.

The cultivated school plot is 9,025 square meters of dry farming land. The students and the other members of the community cultivate this plot with corn, beans, squash and other vegetables. The white mulberry tree has recently been introduced into the region. The year's harvest of the plot brought \$15.00 which was used to decorate the school building. The farming implements used include hoes, shovels, rakes and pick-axes. The school itself has introduced the use of the plow. The quality of the soil has been improved by natural fertilizers. Pigeons are tended cooperatively by the children.

Members of the community and the municipal authorities cooperate with the school program. Poor attendance is explained largely by the fact that the sons help their fathers in the field. School groups include a Sport Club and an Anti-Alcoholic

committee.

The predominant diseases in the community are the intestinal sicknesses. Small pox has been combatted by vaccination.

1926 - 1933¹: The "Informe Sintético de Visita de Inspección", questionnaire forms A and B, was used during this period. It is impossible to tell from the dates on the reports how often they were supposed to be submitted, or whether both forms were supposed to be used simultaneously. The two forms appear more or less sporadically for both communities and it is probable that this periodicity was largely a question of when the inspector happened to get around to the different schools on his circuit. (See the Appendix, No. 18, for the list of questions in forms A and B with the answers for Ocotepec, 1926, filled in). The form changed slightly sometime between 1928 and 1930².

Besides the reports mentioned above, the files of Inspecciones Rurales include letters requesting school supplies, school furniture, and correspondence regarding fiestas and other matters connected with the school. The Ocotepec file includes a 1926 report by the school teacher and ayudante municipal in letter form, and there is an undated report by a school Inspector (probably in 1926 or 1927).

The Oficina de Estadística Escolar, of the Dirección General de Administración, receives annual and monthly reports

1. These records may have been used up to 1937, but those years are missing for both Ocotepec and Zinacantan.
 2. No summary of the "Informes Sintéticos" is included both because they cover years outside the scope of this study and because the material is of the same order as reported for the Mesa de Control questionnaires.

on both state and federal schools. The forms for these reports used for 1941 and in use at the present time merely inquire for information regarding the location of class of school (federal or state), attendance and movement of students, and the school personnel. From 1936 or 1937 to June, 1941, a different type of form was used. This included, besides the information requested above, a questionnaire on agricultural, livestock, social and economic activities, and other characteristics of the school (see the Appendix, No. 19). This questionnaire repeated the same type of information as requested by the school inspection forms. In the years previous to 1936 a multitude of different forms were used. None of this information is unique from that which is filed in Inspecciones Rurales or the Oficina Técnica, except that the movement of students for state schools as well as federal schools may be discovered¹. Unfortunately for even this data, the Office of Estadística Escolar has recently moved from its former location and in the process old records were sold as junk paper and more recent ones lost. However, many 1941 forms are on file, and those submitted from now on will be easily obtainable.

Of the 1941 and subsequent records for Zinacantán and Ocotepec federal schools there are available only the January to June 1941 old form report for Ocotepec, and a 1942 monthly report for Zinacantán.

Summary on Ocotepec: The rural federal school of Ocotepec

1. For a summary of the data on state schools see Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas, page 105, The Estadística Escolar records are utilized by that entity.

occupies a site owned by the town. The building was specially constructed for a school, and is made of adobe and tile. There are two schoolrooms with a total extension of 168 square meters. The school has, concerning its pro-hygiene activities, a first aid kit, a wash basin and other equipment and has participated in cleanliness and anti-alcoholism campaigns. The school has its own furniture, a 60 square meter play yard, an open air theatre, a 64 square meter sport field, and a 60 square meter garden. For cultivating the latter the school possesses a set of work tools. There are 336 books in the school library. An Education Committee functions in the town, and the villagers hold meetings. In 1941 the classes started January 6 and ended June 9, with three days vacation besides those marked on the school calendar. The school was visited once during the year by the school inspector. The director of the school is Professora Delfina Jiménez de Pérez.¹ The average attendance during the year was 72 (35 boys, 37 girls). The total registration was 111 (52 boys, 59 girls), all between the ages of six to fourteen. 39 students passed their examinations and 38 failed of the 77 who were examined. 34 dropped out of the third year, leaving only first and second year students in the school at the end of the year.

Summary on Zinacantán: During the month, seventeen of the twenty-three students in pre-first, first and second grades of the El Zapata school of Zinacantán dropped out of classes.

1. Soberanes took her place.

DEPARTAMENTO AGRARIO

Ever since the Agrarian Law of 1915 was passed (Article 27 of the Constitution) there has been some agency devoted to the administration of its provisions. From 1915 to 1934 it was an entity under the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; in 1934 it was made an autonomous unit, the Departamento Agrario, and functions as such today. The Departamento is the superior but not the only body engaged in administering the Agrarian Act: the Secretaría retains the obligation to administer the organization of the ejidos after the land is granted; there are Comisiones Agrarias Mixtas in each state composed of Federal (the Departamento's delegate serves as chairman of the Comision), State and farmer's representatives, which have the petitions studied and propose the resolution of the case; and local executive bodies.

The process of petitioning and receiving ejidal lands starts with the publication, in the official periodical of the state, of the solicitation which is signed by a group of farmers from the community requesting land. After this official publication, under the direction of the Comision Agraria of the state a census is taken of the petitioning community to ascertain the number of individuals with rights to ejidal land, and a study is made of the community and surrounding fincas to determine the needs of the farmers and the amount and quality of land that may be taken from the affectable fincas (those within a radius of seven kilometers from the center of the petitioning community) without reducing them to below the small property requirements.

The Census and the report are studied by the Comision Agraria Mixta which summarizes the case and advises as to the measures to be taken. The decree of the Governor of the state follows, which if favorable grants provisional possession of the land. The Presidential Decree is the ultimate step, taking the grant out of its provisional status.

The complete record of the petitioning and granting of land parcels is to be found in the archives of the Departamento Agrario. Here are kept the files on every ejido; they are available to the public to be examined there in the reading room of Archivo. The most important documents to be found in the file of each ejido are the following:

(1) The petition to the Governor of the state for ejidal lands. The original or a copy of this is in the file, as well as the issue of the Diario Oficial which published the petition. All petitions follow the same legal form, and throw no particular light on the petitioners except for such information as that they are "all poor, farmers, and heads of families", the primary requisites for a grant.

Summary on Zinacantan: The town of Zinacantán and its agrarian dependent, Salinas, petitioned for land first in 1925. Jocchenon petitioned for lands from the fincas of Burrera and Agua Zarca to the west and north, San Rafael Mazán to the south, and San Antonio and San Isidro to the east, in 1933. Apaz solicited land in 1934, Navenchauc in 1933, Pasthé in 1933, and Nachig in 1934.

(2) The study of the community and fincas. This report is made by an engineer so commissioned and must include data on the location of the petitioning community, the extension and quality of the land, principal crops and other agricultural, climatological and economic information (Código Agrario, Art. 209, III). Similar information regarding the properties of the affectable fincas must also be rendered. This report is submitted to the Chairman of the Comisión Agraria, usually in letter form, the only title being "Informe que rinde _____ acerca de los trabajos ejecutados en _____" or some similar wording. The reports, made with the purpose of supplying the Comisión and other agrarian authorities with a basis for their judgments regarding the grant, are also used to a certain extent by the entity under the Secretaría de Agricultura working on ejidal organization (see page 23). A detailed study is supposed to be made of each petitioning community but the length and quality of the reports vary considerably. There was a period during Cardenas' administration when he demanded that the parceling of land be speeded up, and since the technical staff was not adequate to the task many of the reports became summary and incomplete.¹ Since Zinacantán and the other towns in the municipality (Jocchenon, Salinas, Pasthé, Nachig, Apaz, Navenchauc, etc.) have provisional rights to ejidal lands, their files are in the archives. Ocoatepec has no ejidal grant, and there is no record of a petition for one².

1. According to a Camacho appointed official.

2. The reports carried on under Dr. Gamio's direction mention that at one time Ocoatepec petitioned for grants and was assigned land so far away from the village that the land was refused.

Summary on Zinacantán: The town of Zinacantán is 2,450 meters above sea level. The rolling land is of volcanic origin, and is covered with clay sediment. The vegetation is abundant, gigantic in size, the product of the humid climate. There are large conifers except where the Indians have felled them immoderately. Winds from the Gulf and the Pacific blow through the region constantly, modifying to a certain extent the cold climate. The annual rainfall averages 1.60 meters. The farming land has become very poor agriculturally because of being constantly washed by currents of water, and because of the antiquated cultivation methods used by the Indians. The arable layer is approximately 25 centimeters where there is no vegetation; where there is vegetation it is up to 80 centimeters (sic). Corn is the most important crop, and wheat and beans are also cultivated. Corn is planted in March and harvested in November. The yield is scarce and poor, owing in a large measure to the ancient method of sowing. A field of one hectare sown with five to six kilos of grain yield a production of from sixty to eighty kilos¹. Two or three kilos of beans are sown per hectare yielding thirty to fifty kilos. Wheat is planted after the corn harvest in the same fields, and is harvested five months later. The production is small and of poor quality; fifteen to twenty kilos planted per hectare produces from one hundred to one hundred and twenty kilograms¹. The yield of all these crops together is insufficient to sustain the family groups.

1. See page 11 for comparison of these figures with those of "Cosechas Generales" and the census.

The Zinacantecans go to Ciudad Las Casas, sixteen kilometers away, for food stuffs and other provisions, carrying their purchases back with them on their shoulders since they have no animals to do the work. They may also take a small amount of produce in to Las Casas and sell it there for very low prices.

The clothing of the Indians is both colorful and economic. The men wear shirts and trousers of homewoven cloth, a straw hat also homemade, and huaraches bought in Las Casas for \$1.50. The cost of the whole male outfit is \$10.00. The women's costume is a coarse white cotton blouse and a blue wool skirt both made by the women themselves, and costing \$6.00. The women usually go barefoot.

In spite of the poor land the Zinacantecans manage to make a living. This they do by carrying products back and forth between the hot and cold climate regions. The engineer making the study proposes, as a means of improving their conditions, that the region should be industrialized on the basis of conifer products, such as resin, and construction wood.

The urban zone of Zinacantán occupies 47 hectares, but the village itself consists of only a few families. The majority of the natives live back deep in the mountain hollows where it is difficult to describe their exact locations.¹ The small properties owned by the Zinacantecans have poor agricultural lands, little woodland due to the inveterate felling of

1. This may explain to some extent the great discrepancy between the 1930 and 1940 population census figures (see page 57).

trees, and poor cattle pasture lands. The land of the affectable fincas varies; San Nicolas has 127 hectares good for cultivation, the rest being too broken up, Agil is woodland with 30 percent of the total being cultivable, Yalaimitaib is also woodland with patches forming 40 percent of the total cultivable, San Carlos is forestland with 45 percent suitable for summer grazing land, and all of the Bocontenelte property is forest. (The value placed on the finca lands by Administración de Rentas and Registro Pública de Propiedad local offices is also given).

The Las Salinas communal lands are composed largely of clay, gravel and limestone conglomerate. Consequently, cultivation is extremely difficult. The topography of the region is considerably broken, and there is no flat area. A few small places are cultivated, fertilized with sheep dung, and serve to a certain extent, but they are insignificant in view of the needs of the natives. The adjoining fincas of Tierra Colorada and El Prospero are conifer forest land with but a few cultivable patches. These patches cannot be used after three years of cultivation because the land loses its power.

The name of Las Salinas derives from a salt water well in the town. Salt is evaporated out of this water by the people and used domestically; it is also taken to Ciudad las Casas, twenty kilometers away, and sold.¹ The natives go to Las Casas, always on foot, on Sundays to buy provisions, and to sell a little of the products of their fields. Not much is sold since scarcely sufficient is produced for home consumption. The

1. The Revista Mexicana de Sociología article speaks of several such wells in the municipality.

principal crop is corn, and beans are cultivated to a small extent.

The town is 1500 meters above sea level, and the climate is moderate. The rains start in May and end in October; annual rainfall is approximately two meters.

The natives are Zinacantec Indians, and speak Tzotzil. Very few of them are able to read and write. The Indians are clean, neat and industrious, working an average of twelve hours daily. Children ten years old work in the fields alongside their fathers. The clothing of the men is short above the knee trousers and shirts, both articles made by the women. Huaraches are always worn by the men, but never by the women.

Jocchenon, or Jobchenon, is located west of the villages of Apaz and Navenchauc, between $16^{\circ}36'$ and $16^{\circ}38'$ north latitude and $6^{\circ}24'$ and $6^{\circ}26'$ longitude east of the Tacubaya meridian. The town is a well defined topographic unit. The boundaries to the north, west and south are demarcated by stone masonry heaps; to the east lies Apaz and Navenchauc, with the basin of the Río Cacquem dividing the former from Jocchenon and the boundary line between Jocchenon and Navenchauc not being definitely traced - the limits at the north and south are indicated by a stone masonry pile in the one case and a particular house in the other.

The Indians of Jocchenon are all of the Chamula race. They are under the political jurisdiction of the Zinacantán authorities. The town is divided into eleven small groups, or barrios, which are Joyijel Chiquito, Joyijel Grande, Chainatic, Mazán, Jocchenon, Sequentic (Tzequentic?), Tojtiquilbó, Muctajó, Chiquinabalbó, Tlatanarcito, and Piedra Parada. Each of these barrios form a separate nucleus of houses with its fields

surrounding the settlement, and each is far enough from the others so as to give the appearance of being a separate town. However, all the barrios recognize the "patriarchal" authority of one chief, and all the people regard themselves as inhabitants of Jocchenon. The reason for this division into small barrios is the physical environment. The topography is broken so that there is no flat piece of ground large enough for the houses of the whole settlement. Water is rather scarce and the people are congregated around the springs in the region. The natives realize that this is an inconvenient distribution, and they would not object to resettling all in a united group. Such a resettlement would probably involve taking land from the Agua Zarca finca. Not until the residents of Jocchenon are brought together will public services such as education and other collective necessities be practicable.

Jocchenon is from 1700 to 2000 meters above sea level; the climate is cold and humid, and the topography mountainous. There is abundant rain, the annual rainfall being approximately 1.50 meters. Predominant winds are northerly. Corn and beans are the principal crops, and are frequently damaged by frost. Some fruit trees such as peach, apple and granadilla, are cultivated and have a good yield.

The engineer investigating Jocchenon was visited by people from Zinacantán and neighboring towns, and so was able to report to a certain extent on the situation there. The ejido of Zinacantán y Anexos is constituted of eight population nuclei: Zinacantán, San Pedro Salinas, Nachí (Nachig), Nabenchauc (Navenchauc), Paxté (Pasthé), Apaz, Jobchenon, and Elambó. All these towns are inhabited by Indians belong to the same

group, all possess well-defined territorial boundaries, all are within the political jurisdiction of Zinacantán; and each is economically and geographically independent of the others. Each town wishes to be an ejido apart, as is Jocchenon, rather than be lumped together in the ejido of Zinacantán y Anexos. The town of Zinacantán does not object to this separation.

The territory of Jocchenon¹ occupies 2,572 hectares of forest land. The soil is clay plus a large quantity of gravel. The topography of the area is so broken up that extended cultivation is impossible. The small plots which are cultivable are used as corrals for sheep, and so are fertilized by the sheep dung. The adjoining finca of Agua Zarca has 2,050 hectares of woodland, and 2,357 of cultivable scrub land which has a tillable fertile layer of thirty centimeters. Here also clay is predominant in the compact soil. Also adjacent to Jocchenon lands is the finca of San Rafael Mazán, which has 1,484 hectares of grazing land. In some places there is good gramineous pasture grass. The land is poor, and impossible to cultivate.

The town of Jocchenon is divided into the barrios of Chain, Joyejel, Zequentic, Mazán and Caserio. A state rural school is located in Zequentic, and the road from Ciudad Las Casas to Chiapa de Corzo also passes through that barrio. The centers of consumption for Jocchenon are Las Casas, thirty-six kilometers distant, Chiapa de Corzo and Ixtapa, both thirty

1. The above abstract on Jocchenon is from a 1935 report. Due to the 1935 investigator's interest in making separate ejidos of Zinacantán y Anexos he did not finish his study but pursued the matter further, with failure, and the study was repeated and completed three years later. The following is an abstract of the 1937 report.

kilometers away. The natives walk to these centers on Sundays to buy and sell.

Jocchenon is 1900 meters above sea level, and the nearby small village of Chiquinibalbó is 1300 meters above. The climate is agreeable except for the strong winds and constant fog, which is sometimes so thick one cannot see fifty meters ahead. The rains last from April to the beginning of October, and the annual precipitation is 1.50 meters. The crops are frequently ruined by frosts since they do not attain sufficient growth, due to the poor soil, to resist by the time of the frosts. Corn is practically the only agricultural product; some potatoes and onions are also grown. The natural vegetation of the area consists of pine, cypress and fir trees, and a tree called cantulam or chiquinin. The woodland of Agua Zarca has the same varieties, and the Agua Zarca scrubland has various types. San Rafael Mazán is the poorest in vegetation; it has only the gramineous grasses and some oak trees. The Mazán soil is sandy, and stone is present in large quantities. The Indians use a machete called duco which is curved at the end to facilitate rotting out rocks.

The Jocchenon Indians are clean and industrious. They work from sun up until sun down. They appear to have a desire to improve themselves, and enjoy attending school. A herb called pilico¹ is masticated and produces a kind of drunkenness in beginners and those who do not know how to use it. The herb has a tonic effect, and the natives declare that it gives them strength.

Concerning the dotation of land, the engineer making the report believes that the Mazán lands are too poor to be of any use,

1. According to the Revista Mexicana de Sociologia pilico is a mixture of fresh tobacco leaves, lime and chile.

which leaves Agua Zarca as the only finca close enough from which to take the parcels.

The town of Navenchauc (meaning "sunbeams") is 2400 meters above sea level, located on undulating land of volcanic origin covered by clay sediments. The climate is cold, and rain is abundant and continuous with an annual precipitation of 1.60 meters. The soil, which is good agriculturally because of a humus layer, is arable to a depth of thirty centimeters. Corn, beans, and a small amount of wheat are cultivated. The corn is sown in April and harvested in eight months. The center of consumption is Ciudad Las Casas, sixteen kilometers distant on difficult horsepath. The natives walk to Las Casas to sell their agricultural products, carrying the load themselves.

The Indians make their own clothes, buying only the thread, and obtaining the wool from their sheep. The woman wears a blue wool skirt and a white cotton blouse. The annual expense of a family for clothing is \$45.00.

Since agriculture is so difficult in the region, the natives go to the coffee regions during the harvest months and earn enough there for family expenses for the rest of the year. The farmers of Navenchauc want ejidal land from the fincas of El Pig and Yalentaib but the engineer making the report suggests that since Nachig, Pasthé, Apáz and Zinacantán all border the same fincas as Navenchauc, the ejidal claims all be treated together.

The central urban area of the town of Pasthé occupies 26 hectares and 40 ares, but the houses of the settlement in general are scattered out on small individual properties. There

are 1,241 hectares and 66 ares of these properties consisting of poor quality forest land. Only ten percent is in dry farming cultivable patches.

Pasthé is 2400 meters above sea level. The land is undulating, and of volcanic origin, covered with clay sediments. The arable layer reaches a depth of approximately twenty-eight centimeters. Corn, beans, and a small amount of wheat and some sugar cane is grown. Corn is sown in April and harvested in eight months. Wheat is cultivated from June to August. Pasthé is sixteen kilometers from Ciudad Las Casas, the only consuming center for its products. The farmers want lands from the neighboring fincas of San Antonio, San Isidro and Guadalupe Shucum, the latter of which is in ruins.¹

(3) The Agrarian Census. On petition for lands, an agrarian-livestock census is taken of the community concerned by a Junta Censal composed of a representative of the Comision Agraria Mixta who acts as director, a representative of the petitioning community and a representative of the property owners within the area affected (Código Agrario, Art. 209, I; Art. 210). This census must include all the persons qualified for receiving the normal unit of land granted², specifying sex, civil state, occupation or office, and names of household members along with amount of land, head of cattle, and farm implements possessed by each person. (Código Agrario, Art. 211).

1. There were files in the Archives for Apaz and Nachig, but these contained no study of the communities.

2. Four hectares of irrigated or humid cultivable land, or eight hectares of dry farming cultivable land.

The form of the census blank with the totals filled in for the town of Zinacantán (1937) is shown in the Appendix, No. 20.

Summary on Zinacantán: Of the 515 inhabitants in the town of Zinacantán in 1937, 135 were heads of families and 156 had rights to agrarian grants¹. They possessed a total of 143 bovine and equine livestock and 658 sheep, pigs and goats. Las Salinas (treated together with Zinacantán in the same file) has 125 inhabitants 44 of which had rights to ejidal dotations.

Of the 666 inhabitants of Jocchenon in 1937, 193 were heads of families, 266 had rights to agrarian grants according to the censal findings and 244 according to the Governor's Decree. The latter figure was written into the census later, after the Decree. Together the heads of families possessed 212 bovine and equine livestock, 598 pigs, sheep and goats.

Of the 319 inhabitants of Apaz in 1937, 80 were heads of families, 89 had agrarian rights of dotation according to the census, 91 according to the Governor's Decree.

Of the 266 inhabitants of Navenchauc in 1937, 67 were heads of families, and 66 were qualified to acquire ejidal lands.

Of the 516 inhabitants of Pasthé in 1937 173 were heads of families and 180 were qualified to receive ejidal lands.

Of the 261 inhabitants of Nachig, 74 were heads of families, 98 were qualified to acquire ejidal lands.

(4) Plans of the area. Plans are supposed to be made by the investigating engineer. These show such data as the

1. The Comisión Agraria Mixta selects those qualified to hold ejidal lands on the basis of need for lands, past cultivation of lands, and membership in the community considered, and the following order of preference is conformed to: (1) heads of families over thirty-five years old, (2) women in charge of a family and otherwise with agrarian rights, (3) unmarried men over fifty years old, (4) heads of households not included in (1), and (5) other unmarried men.

location of the community center, communal lands, adjoining fincas, and the portion of affectable fincas that should be taken over by the ejido (Código Agrario Art. 209, II). These plans appear in each file, but I could read none of those for Zinacantán because the engineering technical methods and terminology were not intelligible to me. Moreover, many of the plans were in pencil and smudged, which added to the difficulty. There was no one large plan giving the whole situation, as were included in some of the other files for other places.

(5) Decision of the Comisión Agraria Mixta. After the reports describing the community and its agrarian situation are made, the census taken, and the plans worked out, the Comisión Agraria Mixta issues its judgment of the case in a document called the "Dictamen de la Comisión Agraria Mixta, Estado de _____". The decision is in the form of a resolution. For example, in brief: Whereas the citizens of Zinacantán solicited for land in 1925; the petition was published in the official periodical of the state; the owners of fincas within the affected area were informed; the Governor of Chiapas named the members of the agrarian executive committee; the census was taken; the Chief of the Engineering Brigade of the Las Casas District submitted the report and plans of Zinacantán and the nearby villages, and so on: Considering that the process has been in accord with Article 27 of the Constitution and Article 21 of the Agrarian Code, and so on; Therefore be it resolved _____ (follows the decision).

Summary on Zinacantán: The farmers of Zinacantán consider as their ancient cooperative land the following eight centers of population: Zinacantán, San Pedro Las Salinas, Nachig, Navenchauc,

Pasthé, Apaz, Jocchenon (including Tzequentic) and Elambó. All are composed of Chamula Indians and are within the political jurisdiction of Zinacantán, but are economically independent. Each place wishes to possess its own ejido apart from the rest. However, since the fincas affected are in large part common to all the villages, except for Jocchenon and Tzequentic, their situation is considered simultaneously. Apaz, Pasthé (Elambó considered an annex of Pasthé), Nachig, Navenchauc, and Salinas are therefore spoken of in the resolution as annexes of Zinacantán.¹ The total of those with rights to a dotation is 634 out of the total population of 2,002. Jocchenon and Tzequentic which in view of their geographical situation need land from Agua Zarca, a finsa too far from the other Zinacantán towns to be used by them, should be studied in conjunction with the towns of Carlos A. Vidal and Multajo of the municipality of Ixtapa. These towns are close enough to Agua Zarca to partake of its division.

A list of the fincas affected by the petition of Zinacantán and her neighboring towns is given, and the extension and quality of land involved noted.² Zinacantán y Anexos is to receive 13,111 hectares and 77 ares of land. This does not provide for all those farmers with rights to a grant, since there is not enough land available; that taken from the fincas reduces them to the minimum of small property holdings. 422 parcels of eight hectares each of non-irrigated tillable land are given to 416 ejidatarios and six parcels are left over for

1. The Comisión Agraria Mixta decisions in the files of Apaz, Navenchauc, Pasthé and Nachig all refuse the petition to be considered separately, and their cases are referred to the case of Zinacantán y Anexos.

2. Since this information is repeated in more compact form in the Oficina de Estadística files (see page 98) it is not summarized here.

schools. The town of Zinacantán is to receive land for 102 persons, provision for 54 persons being omitted; Las Salinas is to receive enough land for 29 persons, provisions for 15 omitted; Nachig for 64, provisions for 34 omitted; Pasthé for 118, provisions for 61 omitted; Navenchauc for 43, provisions for 23 omitted; Apaz for 60, provisions for 31 omitted. Each village receives school land. The law stipulates that the land granted is to be used in accord with the customs of the people, with the proviso that the forests must be cared for.

Jocchenon, which is located in the western part of the lands considered by the natives as the ancient ejido of Zinacantán, consists of the principal center and ten small settlements distributed throughout the Jocchenon communal lands. These lands consist of 2,661 hectares and 40 ares of which only 186 hectares are cultivable; the rest is chiefly woodland. The 186 hectares of workable land are insufficient for the needs of the community, and the only affectable finca for cultivable land is Agua Zarca; Mazán consists only of grazing land. Land from Agua Zarca is also to be distributed to Carlos A Vidal and Multajo, of the municipality of Ixtapa. Jocchenon, by resolution, receives a total of 5,031 hectares and 40 ares. 1,670 of this is cultivable land taken from Agua Zarca, 700 is grazing land from Mazán, and rights to 2,661 hectares and 40 ares of its own communal land are confirmed (186 of the latter is non-irrigated farming land, 2,455 hectares and 40 ares is woodland, and 20 hectares is occupied by the urban zone). This grant yields 232 parcels of eight hectares each of non-irrigated farming land. Of these parcels one is for the school and the remainder

is for the farmers. Thirteen people with rights to land were not assigned any because of the lack of affectable land.

(6) The Governor's Decree. This is in the same form as the resolution of the Comisión Agraria Mixta and may confirm or change the Comisión's findings. In the case of Zinacantán the decision was simply confirmed.

(7) The rest of the file is composed of correspondence referring to the case. Some of the letters are from the engineer communicating such information as the results of the census, the amount of land registered by owners of affectable fincas in the Registro Pública de Propiedad or in the offices of Administración de Rentas of the state, notices to finca owners instructing them how to vacate the land being appropriated, and so on. The Presidential Decree is also included when the holding of the land passes from provisional to definitive status.

Although all the material likely to be relevant to the ethnologists interests in regard to the agrarian program are to be found in the Archivo of the Departamento, one other office should be mentioned. The Oficina de Estadística has a complete card file of all ejidos. From these cards the status of any case may be told. The information is filled in on the form cards by Estadística workers who are sent duplicates of much of the data appearing in the Archivo files. (A sample card, filled in for Zinacantán y Anexos is in the Appendix, No. 21). These records date back to 1915 when the Agrarian Law was passed, and the head of the office is confident that during the years the data has been reproduced exactly onto the cards. Estadística will have the latest development in each case noted, whereas

the papers may not as yet have been filed with Archivo.

Summary on Zinacantán: The people of Zinacantán and the neighboring towns, excluding Jochonon, asked for land grants November 4, 1934¹. This was ceded by the Comisión Agraria Mixta April 6, 1940, and the Governor's Decree approving the decision was signed the same day. The delegate of the Departamento Agrario sent the file in to the Departamento December 23, 1940 and it was received January 7, 1941. According to the Governor's Decree the dotation consists of 7,040 hectares and 93 ares. The possession of 6,070 hectares and 84 ares by the community was confirmed. Zinacantán y Anexos is at present in provisional possession of the land.² Of this land, 1,431 hectares and 80 ares was taken from the finca of Shucum, owned by Flacro Fovilla; 431 hectares was taken from San Antonio and San Isidro, owned by Duran José, Joaquin and Natalie Orguello; 78 hectares and 75 ares was taken from San Nicolas Bienavista y Anexos, owned by Duran Pable Franco; 623 hectares and 35 ares was taken from El Pig, owned by Arturo Rojas; 191 hectares and 34 ares was taken from Yalentaib, owned by Amada Rojas de Ovando; 30 hectares and 14 ares was taken from Santa Rita Agil, owned by Vicente Ramirez; 172 hectares and 95 ares was taken from La Lagunita, owned by Benedicto Ramos; and 381 hectares and 60 ares was taken from Tierra Colorado and San Vicente del Prospero, owned by Mercedes Ruvu Reyes. The land granted from these fincas is both forest and non-irrigated land.

1. According to the file in Archivo the original petition was made in 1925. The towns included as annexes in this petition were the ones which solicited for lands in 1934, and were refused on the grounds that they were being considered in the 1925 petition.

2. Although the statement is given that provisional possession of the land is the situation, the farmers do not have the land to use even for a while after the definitive status is granted.

The land, possession of which was confirmed, consists of the communal lands of Zinacantán y Anexos and is divided as follows:¹ for Salinas and Nachig, 488 hectares and 25 ares grazing land, 1,952 hectares woodland, 47 hectares for the urban zone of Salinas and 20 for the urban zone of Nachig; for Navenchuac, 230 hectares and 80 ares cultivable land, 692 hectares woodland and 37 for the urban zone; for Pasthé and its annex Elambó 122 hectares and 28 ares cultivable land, 1,100 hectares and 52 ares woodland, 26 hectares for the urban zone of Pasthé and 10 for the Elambó urban area; for Apaz, 132 hectares and 36 ares cultivable land, 1,191 hectares and 24 ares woodland and 10 for the urban zone.

The community of Jocchenon petitioned for land August 22, 1933. The Comisión Agraria Mixta decided in favor of a dotation on April 6, 1940, and the Governor's Decree granting provisional rights to the land and confirming the communal holdings already in possession was signed the same day. The Presidential Decree changing possession of the land from provisional to definitive status was signed January 7, 1942². Before 1915 Jocchenon possessed 2,661 hectares and 40 ares of land. 2,370 hectares more was granted by the Governor's Decree, and the total of 5,031 hectares and 40 ares was granted and confirmed by the Presidential Decree. 231 individuals were allotted land parcels while thirteen of those with rights to grants were omitted in the

1. This information appears as a note on the back of the card. Land belonging to the town of Zinacantán itself is not mentioned. The note is not labelled as referring to the land possession of which was being confirmed, but this seems the only possible interpretation.

2. The land is still held provisionally however, since the Presidential Decree has not as yet been published in the Diario Oficial.

dotation. 1,670 hectares of cultivable land was taken from Francos Villafuerte, owner of the finca of Agua Zarca, and 700 hectares from Manuel de L. Telveda, owner of San Rafael Moran (undoubtedly refers to the finca San Rafael Mazán).

DEPARTAMENTO DE ASUNTOS INDIGENAS

The autonomous Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas was established in 1936 to study Indian problems and propose measures to be taken regarding them to the chief executive. A few functional tasks, such as the administration of certain Indian schools, have also been assumed. The Departamento, besides the purely administrative divisions, consists of an Oficina de Economía y Cultura, an Oficina de Educación and the Procuradurías.

Oficina de Economía y Cultura

The most important records of this office are those regarding linguistic data, since language is the main determinant of those groups in Mexico coming under the Departamento's scope. The figures used in the linguistic records are taken from the 1930 population census. Economía y Cultura actually collects no data from the field, itself; the general purpose, rather is to collect in the office all material from other government offices relevant to Indian Communities. This material is then presented in the light of Asuntos Indígenas' interests.

A list entitled "Municipios de la República con Población de Habla Indígena de Más de 20%" gives the percentage and the predominant Indian language spoken, by municipalities. (See the Appendix, No. 22, for sample of the record). There is no data on Ocoatepec because this village falls within the municipality of Cuernavaca which as a whole does not have a twenty percent or over Indian-speaking population.

Summary on Zinacantán: 97.32% of the inhabitants of the municipality of Zinacantán speak an Indian language; the predominant

Indian language spoken is Tzotzil.

The Sección de Estadística of Economía y Cultura has gathered together, from 1930 census material, three other collections of linguistic data charts. One of these is composed of a set each entitled "Población Que Habla Lenguas Indígenas en el Estado de _____" (follows the name of the particular state). These records present the percentages of persons speaking and not speaking Indian languages, by municipalities, and names the language in the case one is spoken. (See the Appendix, No. 23, for samples of this record).

Summary on Ocoatepec: (Data available only for whole municipality of Cuernavaca). Of the population above five years of age in the municipality of Cuernavaca, 9.64% speak Mexicano, 0.13% speak Otomi, and 0.03% speak some other Indian language.

Summary on Zinacantán: Of the population above five years of age in the municipality of Zinacantán 97.32% speak the Indian language Tzotzil.

Another complementary record entitled "Grupos Lingüísticos Indígenas de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos" has the language as the main heading and the municipalities as sub-headings, the reverse of the above. (See the Appendix, No. 24). In this record the area by square kilometer of each municipality, the number of individuals speaking the Indian language and the density per square kilometer of the population speaking the language, is presented. Each language group has such a record, plus one more for Indian languages not classified.

1. The town of Zinacantán itself, however, is called a mestizo town in the Revista Mexicana de Sociología article.

Summary on Ocotepec: (Data available by municipality only).

The municipality of Cuernavaca, Morelos, with an area of 229 square kilometers, has a population of 1,240 who speak Mexicano, living at the density per square kilometer of 5.4148. There are 17 individuals who speak Otomí in the municipality, and 4 who speak an unclassified Indian language, with respective densities of 0.0742 and 0.0174.

Summary on Zinacantán: The municipality of Zinacantán, Chiapas, with an area of 117 square kilometers, has a population of 1,705 who speak Tzotzil.¹ The density per square kilometer of the Tzotzil-speaking population is 14.5726.

Still another series of linguistic charts give the number of individuals speaking Indian languages only or the monolinguals, and the number speaking an Indian language plus Spanish or the bilinguals, by state. (See the Appendix, No. 25, for sample of the record).

All this linguistic data, and more, was compiled by Professor M. O. de Mendizábel when he was with the Departamento de Asuntos. When Mendizábel left the Departamento, however, he took with him two of the three copies of collections of linguistic data he had compiled, and the head of Asuntos Indígenas took the third copy when he left. Consequently, the Economía y Cultura staff were forced to compile the material anew from the census records. This collection is not so complete in some details as

1. This figure is from the 1930 census which gives the total population of Zinacantán as 2,129. The 97.32% is also from the 1930 census. The 1940 census gives total population as 4,497, and the Asuntos Indígenas tabulators have not as yet finished the tabulation of Chiapas from the 1940 census forms.

the former, and not presented as attractively. However, to substitute for Mendizábel's linguistic map of the republic, the office has drawn up a series of state maps with municipalities outlined (using as a base the map of the republic made by Estadística's Gráfica) showing language spoken and the proportion of Indian-speaking populations to non-Indian-speaking populations in each municipality. The Mendizábel-Jimenez Moreno Linguistic classification is used. These maps are based on the 1930 census data, but the Oficina de Economía y Cultura has already started working on a series of linguistic charts and maps, similar to those described here, based on the 1940 data. This involves members of their staff working directly in the Dirección de Estadística with the individual census forms sent in, and consequently the project cannot be expected to be completed in the near future. However, some of the 1940 data is available in rough form at the office.

Economía y Cultura also has a "Lista de Ejidos" for each state in the republic. The data for this record is secured from the Departamento Agrario, with the purpose that the land-agrarian situation in Indian regions be known. (See the Appendix, No. 26). There is no ejido listed for Ocoatepec.

Summary on Zinacantan: Zinacantán y Anexos holds ejidal land provisionally, by the Governor's Decree. Zinacantán's petition (As apart from Zinacantán y Anexos) has not been acted on as yet.¹

The Sección de Estadística of Economía y Cultura has abstracted some data, for 1940, regarding rural schools, from the

1. This is incorrect information. Zinacantán, or Zinacantán y Anexos, is only one ejido. The only other in the municipality is Jocchenon.

Estadística Escolar files of the Secretaría de Educación (see page 79). The information has not been put into final form as yet; I used the work sheets on which the data was gathered. (See the Appendix, No. 27, for the form of the work sheets). The record is composed of answers to questions selected from the Educación questionnaire, which was used for two or three years up to the middle of 1941. The material on Morelos schools was not available even in rough form at the time of my study.

Summary on Zinacantan: The Apaz school meets only in the mornings and has one woman teacher. The school building, erected especially as one, is located on land owned by the community, and is built of bajareque¹ and palm leaves. There are no offices for the school personnel in the building, and there is only one 20 meter square classroom. The school is located in the Apaz ejido,² which has eighty ejidatarios with 60,000 square meters of land each. The school possesses, and worked during the year, 100 square meters of non-irrigated farming land. Corn and beans were cultivated. 15 square meters of land form the garden plot. No farming implements at all are owned by the school. The school was founded February 1, 1935. In 1940 classes started on January 16 and closed on November 9. In the same year twenty-two students passed, twelve failed, and four were not present for examinations. At the end of the course the thirty-eight who had enrolled were still in attendance, and the average daily attendance was thirty-six.

1. Bajareque was translated to me as meaning bamboo, but this does not seem logical in view of the geographical environment. The building census describes the predominant material in the house walls as embarro which is either mud plaster or a stucco of some sort.

2. Strictly speaking, there is no Apaz ejido; all of the Zinacantán communities, except for Jocchenon and Tzequentic

The Nachig school, with one male teacher, meets in the mornings only. The school site is owned by the nation, and the building, made of bajareque and brick, was adapted into its present use. There are no offices for the school personnel. The two classrooms together are 80 meters square. The school is situated in the ejido of Nachig, which has 103 ejidatarios with an average of 80,000 square meters of land each. The school was founded July 1, 1935. In 1940 classes started January 16 and ended November 9. In 1940 forty-two boys were enrolled, seven did not take the examinations, twenty-six passed and nine failed. Attendance at the end of the year was still forty-two, with a daily average of thirty-six.

The Navenchauc school has one woman teacher, and meets in the mornings only. The school site is owned by the community, and the building, of bajareque and palm leaves, was specially constructed as a school. There is one school room of 40 square meters. The school is located in the ejido of Navenchauc, which has 290 ejidatarios with 80,000 square meters of land each. The school has twenty square meters of dry farming land, all of which was cultivated in 1940; cabbage, salt-wort and lettuce were grown. There are also twenty-five square meters for a garden plot. No agricultural implements are owned by the school. It was founded February 1, 1935. In 1940 the school year started January 16 and ended November 9. Forty-one boys were enrolled for 1940, the average attendance was thirty-two, five did not come for the examinations, twenty-nine passed and seven failed.

belong to the Zinacantan y Anexos ejido. This applies to the following statements for other towns regarding their ejidos, also.

The Salinas Tierra Blanca school has one male teacher, and meets in the mornings only. The school land is owned by the community, and the building, of bajareque and straw, was specially constructed. There is one school room 4,950 (sic) square meters large; there are no offices. The school is located in the ejido of Salinas Tierra Blanca which has 67 ejidatarios with 80,000 square meters of land each. The school has 72 square meters of non-irrigated farming land, all of which was worked in 1940; garden vegetables were grown. There is a 24 square meter garden plot. The school was founded June 1, 1934. In 1940 the classes started January 16 and ended November 9. Thirty-six students were enrolled, and there was an average attendance of twenty-six. Four did not take the examinations, twenty-two passed and ten failed.

The Zequentic school has one male teacher, and meets in the mornings only. The school site is owned by the community, and the building of bajareque and straw, was erected specially. There is one classroom, 870 meters square. The school is located in the ejido of Jochenen which has 250 ejidatarios. The school has and worked during 1940 1,800 square meters of dry farming land. Corn and beans were cultivated and the harvest brought the school \$10.00. There is a garden plot 144 square meters large. The school owns no agricultural implements. The school was founded June 20, 1937. The 1940 classes started January 16 and ended November 9. Forty-three students were registered, and six dropped out before the end of the year. The average daily attendance was 36. Four students did not take the examinations, twenty-three passed, and ten failed.

This information on rural schools is part of a larger project of gathering data on Indian regions which Economía y Cultura is at present elaborating. The plan is to obtain statistical data from the Dirección General de Estadística and other government offices where necessary, and to transform this data into maps and charts which will give a panoramic view of the social, economic and cultural conditions of Indian groups. These statistics will then be used as a basis for the Departamento recommendations and work on problems in Indian regions. Although the surface has been barely scratched in carrying out this project, an indication of its scope is profitable since if it is completed it should be a valuable source. Ultimately the information on Indian regions will include data on the dotation of ejidal lands; ejidal organization; land boundary problems; extension, quality and agricultural classification of lands Indians live on and work; species, amount and value of products cultivated; forest lands and Cooperatives of Forest Exploitation;¹ distribution of livestock and the location of Zootechnical posts; irrigation systems; fishing and hunting resources; social services developed; class and cost of transportation and communication facilities; public works in construction; economic resources such as minerals and other natural materials, small industries, waterfalls and so on; cooperative societies existing; medical-sanitary services; disease statistics and the mortality rate; distribution of medicos; alimentation; potable water supply and means of introducing it where it does not exist; schools existing, teachers who speak an

1. These cooperatives are groups given permission of controlled exploitation of forests by the Dirección General Forestal y de Caza.

Indian language, attendance and the school routine. If and when this ambitious project is concluded there will be little use in the ethnologist visiting other government offices if the community under study falls in a region considered Indian. Up to now the Departamento has collected data only on municipalities where over twenty percent of the population speak an Indian language, but they plan to arrange the 1940 data on the basis of localities, regardless of the Indian or non-Indian content of the municipality as a whole.

Oficina de Educación Indígena

All Indian schools used to be under the administration of the Secretaría de Educación but in 1936 Cardenas allowed Asuntos Indígenas the right to administer a certain number of schools in Indian regions (at the same time he transferred the schools for the Sons of the Army to the Secretaría de Defensa Nacional, or de Guerra, as it was at the time). These Indian schools, known as Escuelas Vocacionales de Agricultura during the Cardenas administration, now number twenty-one. (See the Appendix, No. 28, for list of these schools). Nineteen of these are called Centros de Capacitación Económica, and the remaining two are Centros de Capacitación Técnica. In these schools boys from the ages of twelve to eighteen are given vocational primary training in a six-year course. There are, besides, a few Misiones de Mejoramiento under Educación Indígena's administration.

The teachers of the Centros de Capacitación transmit a notice to the Oficina de Educación Indígena every time a boy enters or leaves the school. Thus a complete record of movement of students is available in the central office. The clerk in

charge of this record has a card for each student stating his age, what linguistic group he belongs to ("Raza Indígena"), the names of his parents or guardian, his native town (the schools are boarding schools), and the language he speaks. There is a school located in Zinacantán, but not in Ocotepec.

Summary on Zinacantan: The Centro de Capacitación Económica located in the town of Zinacantán has, out of a possible attendance of seventy an enrollment of only fifty-nine boys, all of which speak Tzotzil. This low enrollment is explained by the fact that at the beginning of 1942 the Zinacantán school was closed and all the students sent elsewhere, and that since the matter was reconsidered and the school reopened all the students have not yet returned.

The only other record kept in the central office regarding these special Indian schools is the "Relación de Personal", which gives, in list form, the names of the staff members, their salary and commission.

Summary on Zinacantán: The staff of the Zinacantán school is composed of nine people with salaries ranging from \$100.00 to \$220.00 monthly. There is a director, two teachers, a nurse, an economist, an agriculturalist, a mechanic, a musician, and a carpenter on the staff.

Procuradurías

There are thirty-five local Procuradurías in the republic (see the Appendix, No. 29, for a list of the locations of these offices), with the central office at the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. The procurador is an Indian defender, or advocate. He is supposed to represent the Departamento among Indian groups, transmitting information about their social and economic problems

to the central office, and informing the Indians what other agencies might be able to help them and the steps to be taken in any legal matter. His periodical reports to the central office relate both the necessities of the Indians, and the measures taken to meet them. Neither Ocoatepec nor Zinacantán are the sites of Procuradurías.

DEPARTAMENTO DE SALUBRIDAD PUBLICA

The functioning of the Departamento de Salubridad Pública is the general sanitary policing and administration of the republic. In each of the offices mentioned below where records are available, the data is taken from the Dirección General de Estadística of Economía Nacional (see page 50), and the civil registers throughout the country, as well as from reports made by Departamento employees.

Dirección General de Epidemiología¹

The Dirección General de Salubridad Federal y Servicios Coordinados is the administrative head of all the sanitary services and units operating throughout the country. All reports made by these field entities however are sent in to the Dirección General de Epidemiología which serves as a technical office to Salubridad Federal y Servicios Coordinados. Epidemiología makes the actual study of the problem and the planning of the health measures to be taken, then advises Servicios Coordinados as to what should be done. Under the Dirección de Epidemiología there are offices in charge of campaigns against malaria and other parasitic diseases, venereal diseases, tuberculosis, and leprosy, but information from any of these offices is centralized, and may be obtained directly from the Oficina Central of the Dirección. The data on file is taken from the surveys sent in by Unidades Sanitarias, the field units of Servicios Coordinados. The aim is to have a medical and sanitation survey on every place in

1. The technical full name of the division is Dirección General de Epidemiología y Profilaxis de las Enfermedades Transmisibles.

Mexico, but this, of course, is far from being achieved. Not only is this the case because of the difficult nature of the project, but, the Director General explained, when different officials take posts as the administrations change the work under previous administrations is perhaps duplicated, or important regions neglected, or the plan of the surveys changed in other ways.¹

Summary on Ocoatepec: The town of Ocoatepec is located on the highway from Cuernavaca to Tepoztlan. The population, almost all Indian, numbers 800. Potable water is obtained from a nearby spring, and hydrants have recently been put in the streets. The region is temperate, or rather cold, and consequently outside the malaria zone. The most recurrent diseases are of the respiratory apparatus, such as catarrh, bronchitis, and pneumonia. Small epidemics of measles may break out from time to time. Dysentery and other digestive system disorders also occur. In general, however, the town is healthy.

Summary on Zinacantan: Zinacantan belongs to the political jurisdiction of Ciudad Las Casas. It is located approximately 2,200 meters above sea level, and the climate is cold. The population, composed of Chamula Indians speaking Tzotzil, numbers 1,500. Agriculture, mainly corn cultivation, is the only means followed of making a living. The old road from Tuxtla Gutierrez to Las Casas passes through the municipality. There are many adobe houses, but the habitations of Indians in the Chamula

1. Curiously, the Unidad Sanitaria officials in Cuernavaca made no mention of such a program of surveys. They explained that the various Unidades Sanitarias submit periodical reports on the work they are carrying on throughout their whole zone (see page ____). Apparently another difficulty with the program, then, is that the field units are not always clear as to the wishes of Epidemiología.

region are generally made of ill-fitting tiles or blocks of wood. They are rude huts with one door and no windows at all. Water is supplied by small springs and wells. The food consists mainly of corn and chile. Sometimes beans are eaten and very rarely eggs and meat. Milk and bread are not consumed by the majority of the Indians because they are not able to obtain these foods. Alcoholic beverages are taken to excess in some instances. There is no sanitary problem in the area. Cases of typhus, typhoid and intestinal parasitosis are noted from time to time.

A great deal of the information given above is wrong. Although the Ocotepec population figure is supposedly obtained from the census, it is mistaken. The 1940 census gives 1,006, and even the 1930 census figure is not so low. Furthermore, there are no hydrants or other source of water supply in the streets of Ocotepec. There are only two water sources in the town - the fountain in front of the school and the cattle trough in back of it - both stemming from the spring in Santa María Ahuacatitlan and pipe into Ocotepec. The Zinacantan population figure, also supposedly from the census, agrees with neither the 1930 or 1940 figures for either the whole municipality or the town of Zinacantan. The statement concerning agriculture being the only means of making a living is also wrong, in view of the agrarian reports which describe the Zinacantan men as unable to support their families by farming alone, and supplementing their income to a large degree by acting as carriers of products between hot and cold regions in Chiapas. The Revista de Sociología article describes the Tzotzils as practising small scale agriculture,

domestic industries and commerce. The same article describes the houses as made of sticks and mud plaster, and the census uses the word embarro; no other source refers to the houses as made of blocks of wood and tile.

There is also an Oficina de Demografía y Estadística connected with Epidemiología which presents birth and death statistics. However, with each request for information an Oficina employee has to go to Estadística Continuas of Economía Nacional and compile the data. Since the ethnologist will presumably go to that source himself, there is little use in going through another agency.

Dirección General de Higiene Rural y Medicina Social

In 1936 rural sanitary and medical units were established in certain areas which were in particular need of permanent sanitary services. A year later the present Dirección General was established to take charge of these rural units. The plan is to set up the stations on a cooperative basis with the community and the federal government joining in supporting the work. However, units in Indian areas and in certain regions where cooperatives for some reason cannot be formed, are supported wholly by the federal government. The work carried on is seventy percent curative and thirty percent preventive; the latter services are available to any member of the community, but the former only to paid members of the cooperative. At present there are 103 such service entities. These are obliged to submit monthly reports to the Dirección General which can be obtained in the Sección Técnica of the division. These reports are called

"Informes de Labores" and present statistical data on the educational work carried on (i.e., number of lectures, pamphlets distributed, and so on), cases of various diseases treated, vaccinations made, laboratory tests made, and other such facts relating to the work of the unit.

Special reports are also sent in from the rural services on occasion. These may deal with the geography of a region, the principal population groups, communications, availability of water, dwellings, alimentation, schools and the medical and hygiene program being conducted.

There are no such rural units in either Ocotepéc or Zinacantan. The location of the units changes from time to time because of the failure of the community to live up to its financial agreement with the government, and because new units are established.

STATE AND LOCAL RECORDS

Since the state and local administrations are not identical throughout the republic this brief review of local records for Ocotepc must be taken as merely suggestive of what is true for other places. The Morelos state administration has few records which are not simply duplicate material of what is in the federal offices. The state Dirección Federal de Educación sends complete reports in to the Secretaría de Educación in Mexico City, Delegación Forestal submits copies of forestry permits,¹ and so on. However, there are two or three records which will be fairly useful to the ethnologist. The most important of these is the "Catastro del Estado de Morelos". This list of the real property of each municipality in the state is located in the Oficina de Catastro, of the state Administración de Rentas. The record contains data on the names and extension in hectares of rural property and the location and extension in square meters of urban property, and the value of both. When a property has been sold or inherited from the previous owner, a note is made of the transaction. This information is contained in large volumes which are indexed by the names of the owners. The various properties located in the same town or community are neither grouped together nor indexed; the names of the community members must be looked up separately to obtain the property data desired. A list of the inhabitants of Ocotepc is kept, for election

1. The Dirección General Forestal in Mexico City does not have individual permits for small amounts of kindling wood such as the Ocotepcans frequently take out. I wanted to check that situation with the Delegación Forestal of the municipality of Cuernavaca, but that office has very recently changed its location and I was unable to locate it in any of my visits to Cuernavaca.

purposes, at the Ayudantía Municipal of Ocoatepec, and this list could be used to examine the "Catastro", but because of the long time necessary to do this task, it was not attempted for this study. The names of two or three men only, with whom I was acquainted, were used for this purpose. Each record of property is numbered so that the corresponding number of the original tax forms, may be located. These forms are of two classes - one for rural and the other for urban farm property (see the Appendix, No. 30 for samples of these forms and the "Catastro" entries). These forms are filled out by the property owners for the Administración de Rentas staff to determine the property tax that must be paid. Engineers from Catastro go out and survey the properties when there is a doubt that the owner gave the right extension; this is true in most cases, especially when the unit of measure of the record is not very familiar to the owner.

The urban property forms include information on how and when the property was obtained (that is, was it inherited or bought, and who was it inherited or bought from); the location and boundaries of the property; constructions on the property and how many floors and rooms buildings have; the materials used in the construction; the monthly rent that is obtained from the property; and an estimation of its value. The rural property forms include information on how and when the property was obtained, its location and boundaries, its total extension in hectares and the part of it which is irrigated land, dry farming land, grazing and woodland, or uncultivated land; the kind of woodland; the nearest railroad and highway going by the station; what constructions there are; water supply; livestock; farm implements and machinery; and an estimation of the value.

The Registro Público de Propiedad also contains information on real property. Copies of land titles, either from sale or inheritance the title is sent to the Registro from the judge who passed on the legality of the inheritance.¹

The Office of the Juzgado del Ramo Penal del Primer Distrito en el Estado de Morelos, located in the state penitentiary and Procuraduría General unit of offices, has two sets of records of interest. One is the "Libro de Registro de Gobierno" which contains data on delicts committed and sentences passed. There was no data entered for Ocoatepec, in spite of the fact that the other record, copies of the "Procesos Iniciados y Presuntos Delincuentes" completed forms which are sent in to the Dirección de Estadística in Mexico City, does have like data. Copies of the Estadística records are on file only for 1940², although the staff intends to keep copies in the future. In these records Ocoatepec was always located in the municipality of Tepoztlan.

Summary on Ocoatepec: In 1940 there were seven cases of persons from Ocoatepec accused: three were accused of physical injury, one of homicide, one of robbery, one of discharge of a fire arm, and one of threatening and evading arrest. The first three were a 33 year old illiterate in a state of semi-intoxication, a 21 year old

1. This information was obtained from an Administración de Rentas employee. I visited the Registro Publico de Propiedad in Cuernavaca, where it is connected with the offices of the Procuraduría General, but was told that there was no data on Ocoatepec (without the man even looking to see), that all property was not registered there - registrations were made only in cases of dispute over property, and that I should go to Administración de Rentas. Undoubtedly when an Ocoatepecan inherits a field the case does not go before a judge, but it seems most probable that when land is bought the title is registered. I think the lack of information I was given at the Registro can be attributed to the actual situation of paucity of data and to unwillingness on the part of the man in charge of the Registro to help.

illiterate, and another on whom there was no information. The others were, respectively, a 21 year old illiterate day worker, someone on whom there is no recorded information, a 20 year old literate farmer who had reached the 6th grade in school, and a 36 year old illiterate day worker. All were confined to prison.

Also in the penitentiary unit is the Archive Judicial de la Procuraduría General. Here are assembled all the files on civil and penal cases since 1920, except for files on divorces which only date back to 1926. Each file contains all the depositions and other papers relative to the case. At the time of my visit the Archive was being reorganized and nobody had much of an idea where anything was. The files are not at present indexed by localities, and there is no plan to do so in the reorganization of the material.

Limited information on labor may be obtained at the Junta Central de Conciliacion y Arbitraje at the Palace of Cortez. The minimum wage for different regions in the state are available in list form, and any labor difficulties are noted. The latter should no doubt be obtainable in formal records but when I requested to see these all that was shown me was a note in a book listing cases about to come before the Junta Central.

Summary on Ocoatepec:¹ The minimum wages in the municipality of Cuernavaca are \$2.00 for skilled work, \$1.75 for unskilled work, and \$1.50

2. This is probably misinformation. There seemed to be reluctance to dig out the files I was interested in, and probably the staff was afraid that if told there were earlier records I would want to see them.

1. I do not believe this exhausts the material at the Junta Central, but since three visits to the office and repeated requests of a busy staff member brought forth nothing more, the time which would be necessary to spend did not seem worth possible additional cases in Ocoatepec in the past.

for work in the fields. The only reference to labor disputes in Ocotepc is a case pending of a corn-grinding mill worker against the owner of the mill.

Municipal records are either kept at the Municipal Palace or at the various Ayudantias Municipales pertaining to the municipality. In the municipal president's office a list of the population, number of families, buildings, commercial enterprises and industries, taken from the 1940 census, is kept for each place within the municipality. A name padron or list of the people of the town is kept at the Ayudantia Municipal in Ocotepc.

Summary on Ocotepc: There are 1,056 individuals,¹ 244 families, 240 buildings, 4 commercial establishments and 2 industries, both corn-grinding mills, in Ocotepc.

The Tesorería of the municipality has filed cards which present the amounts of municipal taxes paid by each locality during the year. This information is worthwhile when the taxes by locality instead of municipality as the census gives them, are desired.

Summary on Ocotepc: During 1941 \$70.00 of municipal taxes were paid in Ocotepc.

The Civil Register offices are also in the Municipal Palace. The Register magistrate and a staff of three or four girls inscribe by hand the births, deaths and marriages reported them (see the Appendix, No. 32, for sample entries) in large volumes. These volumes are in the office archives for every year since 1865. In the birth entries there is data on the parents,

1. The census as recorded at Estadística, Mexico City, gives 1,006.

including their ages, civil status, places of origin, and where they live; on the child, including the time and place of birth, name, whether it is a natural or legitimate offspring;¹ on the grandparents, both maternal and paternal; and on the witnesses. The death entries include the name, civil status, age and so on of the individual reporting the death; the name, age and nationality of the deceased; the cause of death and if the deceased had medical attention or not; and the order for burial in the common grave of the town cemetery. The marriage entries include the names, ages, civil status and origin and present home of the couple and of their parents. Only the death register is more or less correct as to how many deaths occurred in the year. A baby may be registered two or three years after birth, and the civil marriage ceremony may take place at any time after the religious.

Summary on Ocootepec: The average annual number of deaths for the last three years has been 29, and the average annual number of births has been 37. From a survey of the 27 births registered so far in 1942 the majority have been natural as opposed to legitimate offspring; that is, the parents were either living in free union or had been married only by the church ceremony. Of the seven deaths registered so far in 1942, six died from "pulmonia", or pneumonia, and one from measles. None of the deceased had medical attention. Four of the seven were young children. Only three marriages were registered for this year.

In each state in the republic there is a Servicios Coordinadas Oficina Central in charge of the Salubridad Pública

1. If the parents are married only by the church, and not by the civil authorities, the offspring is natural.

program. Then, spotted in different places in the state are Unidades Sanitarias to carry out the program in their respective regions. Under the Unidades there may be local Centros de Higiene, Oficinas Sanitarias Auxiliares some of which are mobile units, and so on. All of these units function with the cooperation of the Departamento de Salubridad Pública, the state government and the Rockefeller Foundation. The Unidad Sanitaria in Cuernavaca administers to several municipalities in the low hot malarial Morelos country, and to two or three in the higher temperate region including the towns of Ocoatepec, Chamilpa, Ahuatepec, Gabriel Maraca and Tepoztlan - all on the same road. The Unidad headquarters are located in the Cuernavaca Municipal Palace. Three kinds of reports are sent in to the central offices in Mexico City. There is the monthly "Labores Sanitarias Desarrolladas en el Estado de Morelos", which simply presents the amount of health work accomplished during each month. This covers hygiene education, sanitary engineering, dental service, laboratory tests and so on. The biannual "Informe Semestral de Sanitarias del Estado de Morelos" presents statistics on the contagious diseases and their treatments in the region, and hygiene work. Since the statistics are for the region as a whole - or sometimes at the most for the municipalities - they are not relevant to particular localities. For instance, the malaria figures in the total are the largest and Ocoatepec has practically no malaria. Towns may be mentioned specifically in some instances during the report, but Ocoatepec was not. The "Informe Anual de los Trabajos de la Oficina Sanitaria" also reports statistically by zones and municipalities. In the Cuernavaca zone there are eleven municipalities

and a population (calculated from the census) of 63,527. This report also covers sanitary engineering, hygiene, contagious diseases, treatments including vaccinations, and as well gives the births and deaths and their coefficients. Ocotepc is specifically mentioned nowhere in the report.

Summary on Ocotepc: (For the municipality of Cuernavaca only). In the municipality (Population 26,865) for 1940 there were 1,242 births, and birth rate of 46.231 per thousand; and 890 deaths, a death rate of 33.129 per thousand; 161 deaths of babies less than one year and a still birth rate of 129.630 per thousand.

Although a community may not be mentioned in the reports, some member of the staff is certain to be acquainted with the place and able to give verbal information. I was informed that Ocotepc was a relatively healthy village and consequently was not attended particularly by Unidad Sanitaria. Vaccinations are about all the work done in any of the towns located in the temperate or cold area of the otherwise hot malarial zone. The most common sicknesses are colds, pneumonias and so on. Ocotepc is supposed to have potable water, but from observation it looks anything but potable, and the doctor who did the health section in the reports carried on under Dr. Gamio's direction expresses doubts concerning the drinking water.

The Archivo of the Cuernavaca Cathedral has annual volumes with baptisms, confirmations, marriages and deaths copied by hand since 1790. The series is not complete, however, since many of the books were destroyed during the Revolution. The entries are copied from forms which are filled out on the occasion. Ocotepc entries are with the others of the parrish, in order of occurrence,

up until August 28, 1941. At that time the Cuernavaca parish was divided and the new San Jose parish was composed of Ocoatepec, Ahuatepec, Chamilpa, Tlaltenango and a few other towns. The records on all of these communities are now in the possession of Father Ayala at the San José church, Cuernavaca city. He has not started to copy the original forms into more durable volumes. Baptisms are kept in a small notebook with stubs. The stubs record the data for the archives and the leaf is given to the parents, if the child's birth is entered in the Civil Register. If not, this leaf is also kept. The entry simply states the names of the parents, if the child is legitimate or not, who the godparents are and the date of the baptism. Most of the Ocoatepec baptisms take place in Cuernavaca since the natives seem to prefer to go there for the event; \$2.50 is the fee for a baptism.

Marriages are recorded on a form entitled "Información Testimonial para el Matrimonio de ___ con ___ practicada en la ___ de ___ el día ___ de ___ de 19 ___ por el Pbro. D." It includes paragraphs which must be signed by the parents or guardians of the couple, if the bride and groom are under age, giving their consent to the marriage; the declarations of the couple stating that they are apostolic Roman Catholics, their place and time of birth, the date and place of baptism, that they have been confirmed, are single, and the names of their parents; the declarations of the four witnesses (two for the bride and two for the groom) stating where they were born, where they live, their age, profession, and how long they have known the bride or groom. The couple has to swear that they are not related by blood to the third degree, or related by marriage to the second degree, or already married. Funerals are managed by the village itself

without calling in a priest.

Summary on Ocotepec: For the months since August, 1941, to June, 1942, there have been forty-five baptisms, an average of five per month; and eight marriages, an average of one or two a month. The ages of the couples getting married are mostly between fifteen and eighteen, and the parents' consent is necessary.

CONCLUSIONS

A program of approximately a week's length conducted by the ethnologist before he goes into the field should be adequate to obtain the worthwhile data from government offices. Although all the information included in official reports has not been sufficiently tested, the outlines of such a program may be suggested. If the material collected is not absolutely accurate it is not overwhelmingly important since the community is to be studied carefully at any rate. If the material is to be used for comparative purposes, it must be done with reservations in all cases.

The ethnologist planning a few days in Mexico City before going to the field should spend the first day in going to those offices which need some time to prepare their data. That is, in many offices they prefer to go through, and in some cases insist on going through, their own files and summarize the information rather than allow a stranger to do so. The most important of these are the Dirección General de Estadística offices. It is imperative to go to the Oficina de Información of this Dirección with a complete and exact list of the items desired. For example, it is not enough to ask for data on deaths, or marriages, and so on. Rather one must ask for the number of deaths by causes of disease, or if desired also by age, and for the number of civil marriages and the number of church marriages.¹ A list of sugges-

1. This data is available from the census office, the civil status statistics, but I was unable to get it. The census office gave me marriage statistics without differentiating between church and civil marriages and when I petitioned for the information again it was sent to continuous statistics which only has data on registered civil marriages and I was told it was impossible to get the information requested.

tions of the items to include in the petition for data follows:

- I. From the Departamento de Censos
 - Population by sex and age, and number of heads of families
 - Civil status - under age; married by church, civil authorities or both; living in free union; widowed; divorced
 - Age of woman on celebrating her first marriage or free union
 - Number of children each woman has borne, and the number living
 - Literacy data - number that can read and write, only read, neither read nor write
 - Occupation or profession
 - Number speaking only Spanish, only an Indian language, and both Spanish and an Indian language
 - Number eating wheat bread; sleeping on tapexcos, the floor, cots or beds; wearing shoes, huaraches or going barefoot
 - Heads of families owning own home; number of population with rural or urban property
 - Houses in the community, classified into huts or houses, number of rooms and number of families and individuals living in them
 - Material predominating in the house walls
 - Number of beds and sewing machines in the houses
 - Extension and classes of land, for both private property and ejidal property
 - Land area planted in certain crops, their yield and value
 - Head of cattle, equine animals, pigs, goats, sheep and chickens

- II. From the Departamento de Estadística Continuas
 - Deaths, by cause and age
 - Births
 - Marriages, all civil
 - Criminal and civil suits, and suicides
 - Minimum salary
 - Vehicles in circulation
 - Municipal revenue and expenditures, by items
 - Prices of construction materials
 - Prices of articles of primary necessity in the nearest largest city

The above is rather a full list of possible information; it will be extremely unlikely that all the data requested will be secured.

My information on Ocoatepec and Zinacantan lacks many of the

items on which I petitioned for information. In some cases it was because getting the data would mean combing original census forms for the whole municipality and locality,¹ and in others simply because my list of requests was so long, and not given to them all at once. The offices are more likely to say they have not the material when approached a third or fourth time on the same place than if all the data is requested the first time.

The Dirección General de Epidemiología should be visited the first day also, so the staff may have time to prepare the material. The data on diseases only should be requested; the remainder of that office's data is most likely to be incorrect. The Sección de Inspecciones Rurales of Educación Pública should also be given at least a day to unearth the files desired, which must be gone over by the ethnologist and not abstracted by a staff member as is done in the offices mentioned above. If statistics on school attendance for the community is desired in more detail than occurs in the inspection reports, either the "Control de Escuelas" records of the Oficina de Escuelas Rurales, of the Estadística Escolar reports (including state as well as federal school attendance) may be consulted.

The remaining time should be devoted to examining: (1) the agrarian files in the Archivo of the Departamento, if the community of interest has petitioned for or possesses ejidal lands; (2) reports in the Dirección General de Organización Ejidal Agraria, if the

1. Outsiders are not allowed to work with the original census forms themselves. At any rate the process would involve such an amount of work that it would not be worthwhile.

community is in definitive possession of land;¹ (3) linguistic records at Asuntos Indígenas² and any other material they may have prepared at the time; (4) the crop production, tax and price data at Economía Rural - or the information on livestock prices may be omitted unless they are likely to have improved since this date; (5) the road maps obtained from the Oficina Concentradora de Información sobre Caminos of Comunicaciones - for railroads a regular timetable is more informative than a visit to any government office; (6) Ganadería files, briefly; and (7) maps and meteorological charts at the Dirección General de Geografía, Climatología, e Hidrología.

On the final day of the week the information requested on the first day should be collected. The possibilities of obtaining any other particular data desired not covered here may be ascertained by referring to the index of this report.

The usefulness of local records of course varies. However, either the Registro Público de Propiedad or the Administración de Rentas are important as regards land distribution. With the help of these records a plan of the land distribution of the community of interest could be drawn. Besides those records, the Civil Register, church records, and judicial files may prove fruitful.

1. This can be discovered at the Departamento Agrario's Oficina de Estadística, at Asuntos Indígenas, or simply by telephoning to Organización Ejidal before going out there.

2. This may be omitted from the census requests or used as a check. The data from the two offices should agree; Asuntos Indígenas data is already compiled and thus more readily available.

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DESCRIPTION OF OCOTEPEC FROM THE RECORDS¹

Ocotepec is located in the municipality of Cuernavaca, in the northeast portion of Morelos, on land creased with mountains and valleys but in general sloping gently from the northern Ajusco range to the south. The village, approximately at 18°57'45" north latitude and 99°13'31" longitude west of the Greenwich meridian, lies seven kilometers by road from the city of Cuernavaca, with Chamilpa on one side and Ahuatepec the other. Igneous rock is predominant in the region around Cuernavaca; sandstone and alluvial deposits can be seen at the borders of the barrancas of the region. The region around Ocotepec is drained by barrancas emptying into the Cuernavaca River. The whole Cuernavaca Valley has a high subtropical climate, Valley of Mexico type. Ocotepec at 1,787 meters above sea level is higher than the city of Cuernavaca, at 1,538 meters. Cuernavaca has an annual rainfall of 1,039 millimeters and Ocotepec falls within the area of from 1,000 to 2,000 millimeters annually. The monthly precipitation averages range from three to eight millimeters during the period from November to April and from fifty-two to two forty-four millimeters from May through October. The average temperature of Cuernavaca is 20.3 degrees centigrade and the maximum, falling in April, is 23.4, and the minimum, falling in December is 18.1.

The total population of Ocotepec, at the time of the 1940 population census, was 1,006, 54 percent of which was female and 46 percent male. In the Cuernavaca municipality 1, 194 of the 15, 102 total population speak Nahuatl as well as Spanish, and 46

1. The accounts of the communities from the records are very summary; many of the details included in the body of the report are omitted here since they are known about certain things and places only sporadically and would detract from a more rounded picture, and perhaps even cause the wrong impression. For example, the fact that Jocchenon has the Cantulum tree is all that is known from the reports regarding that tree's existence, but it may just as easily exist in other places in the municipality without it having been mentioned.

1
speak only Nahuatl. Regarding civil status of the population, there is the following distribution:

Under twenty-one (minors)	446
Unmarried adults	132
Married.....	268
Living in free union	106
Widows	41
Widowers	6
Divorced	7

A paved national highway goes from Mexico City through Cuernavaca; just before Cuernavaca a paved road branches off to Tepoztlan, and Ocoatepec is situated a short piece out on this road. The railway from Mexico City to Cuernavaca also passes very close to Ocoatepec. There are no communications system, either postal or electric, to the town, but telegrams may be sent by messenger to Ocoatepec from Cuernavaca.

There are 240 buildings in Ocoatepec to accommodate the 1,058 persons ² living there. The large majority of the houses are built of adobe, a few of twigs and sticks, and only three of masonry. There is neither potable water nor sewage disposal services in any house. From four to five individuals live in each dwelling; 169 of the dwellings are classified as houses and 71 as huts. 18 percent of the population eat wheat bread customarily, and 82 percent do not. The great majority of the latter sleep on the floor, a few sleep on tapexcos and still fewer on cots or beds. The majority of those eating wheat bread sleep on beds or cots, a large number on the floor and several on tapexcos.

The predominant diseases in Ocoatepec are those of the respiratory apparatus, such as catarrh, bronchitis and pneumonia.

1. The records do not indicate that a large percentage of this Indian language speaking population reside in Ocoatepec.

2. Population census gives 1,006.

21 of the 24 deaths in 1941 were classified as due to pneumonia. Dysentery and other digestive system sicknesses are also current. However, in general the town is healthy, and the Unidad Sanitaria station in Cuernavaca pays little attention to the town. The average number of deaths for the last three years has been 29, and the average number of births has been 37.

In the municipality of Cuernavaca, which covers 406 square kilometers, property is held by ejidos (10,604 hectares), large property owners, and small property owners. Ocoatepec's property belongs to the latter class. In the whole municipality 499 hectares are possessed by 551 small property owners, as compared to 5,875 hectares possessed by 15 large property owners. 214 men of Ocoatepec are occupied in agriculture and livestock raising. The most important crops in the general agricultural region in which Ocoatepec is located are corn, sugar cane, beans, wheat, tomatoes, rice and sweet potato. Broad beans, small tomatoes, peanuts, coffee, barley, alfalfa, greenbeans, green chile, watermelon, jicama and melons are of secondary importance. Beans are usually sown together in the same field with corn. Agricultural products are heavily taxed in the state; buying and selling is taxed 3 percent of the operation, except in the case of rice ($3/4$ and 8.01 per kilo for unhusked and cleaned rice respectively), tomatoes (\$.04 each 25 kilos), and melons (\$.08 each 25 kilos). The rice in the municipality of Cuernavaca is average quality, yielding 1,800 kilos per hectare; peanuts are average, yielding 1,300 kilos per hectare; coffee is poor quality yielding 250; sweet potatoes are also poor and yield 3,600; onions are average, yielding 3,150; green beans are good, yielding 2,250; jicama is average, yielding 4,750; corn yields from 900 to 981 kilos per hectare; tomatoes in irrigated

fields yield 3,500; and beans planted with corn yield 200 whereas beans planted by themselves yield from 600 to 1,130.

The prices for agricultural products bought in the field in the Tepoztlan area nearby (market prices are somewhat higher) are \$.12 a kilo for peanuts, \$.65 for coffee, \$.28 for beans, \$.07 for corn, \$.30 for avocados, \$.09 for jicama, \$.08 for lemon, \$.07 for mangos, and \$.10 for oranges. The principal market of the Ocotepc region is Cuernavaca; corn, the main crop, however, is grown for local consumption and very little marketed. There is no industrialization of agricultural products; these come into the region from Mexico City and Iguala, Guerrero.

Cattle are raised in the region for consumption and for work. The government has attempted to introduce cattle breeding, but the program has not been very successful because good care is taken neither of the indigenous or pure bred cattle. Forage is composed of such naturally growing grasses as Pelillo, Cat-tail, and Coyote-tail. These develop in the rainy season except for the perennial Coyote-tail. The shucks and chaff of corn, rice and sugar cane supplement the cattle diet at harvest time. Work animals are rice shucks, sugar cane stalks, ground corn and a sesame paste. Prices in the field (Tepoztlan) for equine animals range from \$13.00 for burros to \$106.00 for mules; for bovine animals from \$33.00 to \$96.00; for oxen \$110.00 or \$120.00; for pigs from \$5.50 to \$42.00; for chickens from \$1.16 to \$5.50 for pure bred roosters. Hatching eggs are \$1.20 per dozen. Animal products are \$.15 a liter for cow's milk, \$1.00 a liter for cow's cream and the same for a kilo of cheese or butter, from \$1.00 to \$5.00 for cattle and skins, and \$.50 for a kilo of lard. Cattle prices in the municipality of Cuernavaca are from \$15.00 to \$90.00 for criollo milk

animals, from \$30.00 to \$300.00 for crossbred, and from \$80.00 to \$500.00 for pure bred milkers. Meat animals are from \$10.00 to \$110.00 for criollo, and from \$25.00 to \$150.00 for crossbred. Prices in the Cuernavaca market for beef and veal are from \$.30 to \$.50 a kilo; for pork, ham and so on, \$.90 to \$1.00 a kilo; for goat meat, \$.80 to \$.90 a kilon for lamb, \$.90 to \$1.10 a kilo, and for milk \$.25 to \$.40 a liter.

The minimum salary in Ocoatepec is \$1.50 for work in the field. A boy watching cattle is paid \$.75 while a man is paid \$1.50 a day. \$2.00 a day is the wage for other work.

While Ocoatepec belongs to the municipality of Cuernavaca, an ayudantía municipal is located in the village since the municipality is so large. In 1940 seven cases of persons from Ocoatepec accused of physical injuries, homicide, robbery and so on were tried, and all were confined to prison.

The registration of the federal school in Ocoatepec is 82 out of the 267 children of school age. The school teachers are supposed to make visits to the homes and be an example as far as hygiene is concerned but the present teachers do not live in the village and consequently do not have the confidence of the people. The teachers and parents have had difficulties over the matter of attendance, also, since the fathers frequently keep their sons out of school to work in the fields. The school building, made of adobe and brick, is located on town property. There are two rooms and a corridor porch. School facilities include a wash stand, sport fields, an open air theatre, and a small agricultural plot.

The village belongs to the newly created (eight months) San José parish. Since the creation of the parish there have been

forty-five baptisms at an average of five a month, and eight marriages at an average of one or two a month. The couples marry usually between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. Funerals are conducted by the villagers themselves without calling in a priest.

DESCRIPTION OF ZINACANTÁN FROM THE RECORDS

The municipality of Zinacantán is located in the Sierra Madre region extending into the north central portion of Chiapas. The capital of the municipality, Zinacantán, 2,450 meters above sea level,¹ lies on the highway going from Chiapa de Corzo to Ciudad Las Casas; the town is sixteen kilometers to the west of Las Casas on this road. The urban zone of Zinacantán occupies forty-seven hectares, but the village itself consists of only a few families. The majority of the natives live back in the mountain hollows. This situation is also true of the other towns. Other towns in the municipality are Las Salinas, 1,500 meters above sea level, to the west; Navenchauc, 2,400 meters above sea level,² to the south; Nachig also to the South; Pasthé; Elambó; Apaz; Chiquinabó; Patosil; Jocchenón, 1,900 meters above sea level, at the western extremity of the municipality; and Zequentic, also to the west. Jocchenón is made up of several barrios: Joyijel Chiquito, Joyijel Grande, Chainatic, Mazán, Tojtiquilbo, Muctajó, Tlatanarchito, Piedra Parada, and possibly Zequentic forms part of Jocchenón. Each barrio appears to be a separate town, they are so far distant, but all regard themselves as belonging to Jocchenón. The separation is caused by the broken topography of the region and the necessity of clustering around the springs in the vicinity in order to get water.

Archaic, Paleozoic, Cenozoic and Quaternary sedimentary rocks prevail in the central part of Chiapas; Zinacantán belongs to a lower Cretaceous region with an outcrop of Quaternary rock to the

1. According to Agrarian records. According to the map of Chiapas it is 2,000 and according to the Economía Rural publication it is 2,152, and according to the Salubridad Pública information it is 2,200.

2. According to the Agrarian reports. According to the map of Chiapas it is 1,500.

south probably entering the southern portion of the municipality. To the northwest of Zinacantán is the Blanco River, to the south-east of the Chiapillo and to the southwest a portion of the Chiapas. None of these streams enter the municipality, although one or two smaller ones do. The soil throughout the region is of volcanic origin, covered with clay sediments and gravel. There are sodium chloride deposits in the municipality.

The sharp rise and fall of mountains and valleys causes a great variety of temperatures throughout the municipality, but the general climate of the region is high subtropical, Valley of Mexico type. The vegetation is sub-Alpine forests. The climate, in more detail, is humid with dry winters and semi-cold without the winter season well-defined. Winds from the Gulf and the Pacific blow through the region constantly, modifying to a certain extent the climate. The rainy season starts in April or May and continues till October. The annual rainfall varies according to the locality from 1.50 to 2 and a little over meters.

The fauna of Chiapas include the badgers, tigers, jaguars, tapirs, white-tailed deer, temazate, pheasants, coguar, wild turkey wild boar, rabbits, codorniz, doves and aquatic and river birds.

The population in Zinacantán (1940) is 4,497. The distribution by locality is:

Zinacantán	.....651
Apaz	.....374
Navenchauc	.....820
Zequentic	.....661
Chiquinabó	.....215
Elambó	.....180
Jocchenon	.....217
Nachig	.....269
Pasté	.....274
Patosil	.....285
Salinas	.....239

The rest are on fincas and a vocational farm school in the region.

2 or 3 percent of this population speak only Spanish, 63 percent speak only Tzotzil and 17 percent speak both Spanish and Tzotzil. In all approximately 97 percent speak Tzotzil.¹ Throughout the Tzotzil-speaking area the density of these persons speaking the language is between fourteen and fifteen per square kilometer. Regarding civil status, taking the figures for the towns of Zinacantán, Apaz, Navenchauc, and Zequentic (the four largest settlements), there is the following distribution of 2,519 individuals, (1,206 male and 1,313 female):

Under twenty-one (minors).....	1,244
Unmarried adults.....	332
Married	445
Living in free union.....	431
Widows.....	162
Widowers	20
Divorced	5

The transportation problem is a serious one in the region, and is one of the chief factors holding back economic development. No railway goes through or near the municipality. The Pan-American highway will eventually cross Zinacantán but at present the transitable road runs through Tuxtla Gutierrez to Chiapa de Corzo, through the municipality to Las Casas, and only the western half of this road is passable in the wet season. There are besides numerous footpaths. The town of Zinacantán has a state government telephone line connecting with the main line in Las Casas. The charge for using this is \$.20 every ten words and \$.05 extra for five words or less. There is no postal service throughout the municipality.

1. These percentages do not match. The ninety-seven is from Linguistics statistics gathered by Asuntos Indigenas from the 1930 census; the others are my own calculations from the 1930 census, omitting children under five.

There are 1,431 houses in the municipality, all without water or sewage service. The large majority of these houses have walls made predominantly of plastered mud (embarro) and a very few are adobe. Almost correlating in number, the majority of the dwellings are huts, and only a few are better made. 1,552 families, or 5,964 individuals¹, live in these houses which makes an average of four and a fraction individuals per house. Twenty-four percent of the total population live in their own houses and own rural property.

The clothing of the Zinacantecans consists of shirts and trousers (short above the knees in at least some places) made of home-made cloth, a home-made straw hat, and huaraches bought in Las Casas for \$1.50. The whole outfit costs \$10.00. The women wear coarse white cotton blouse and a blue wool skirt, made by themselves, costing \$6.00. The wool used in the clothing is taken from their sheep, and spun by hand and woven into cloth on simple looms. The women usually go barefoot.

The alimentation in the region consists of corn and chile, beans sometimes, eggs and meat very rarely, and milk and bread practically never. Out of the population of 2,519 of the four largest towns in the municipality only ninety-six eat wheat bread customarily. Of the same population all but sixty-three, and those all from Zinacantán town, sleep on tapexcos rather than beds and cots. The pilico herb is masticated, at least in Jocchenon, and has a tonic effect described by the Indians as giving them strength.

1. According to the building census; according to the population census it is 4,497.

Small pox has been prevented in the municipality by vaccinations. Most of the diseases are intestinal sicknesses. In 1941 there was a total of ninety-two deaths. Thirty-eight of these were from malaria, twelve from diarrhea, enteritis or intestinal ulcers, fifteen from whooping cough, and the others from typhoid and paratyphoid, dyptheria, tuberculosis, dysentery, grippe or influenza, measles, rheumatism, heart disease, pneumonia, liver diseases, infant diseases other than from congenital weaknesses, and violent death. From 1938 to 1940 there was an average of 103 births annually.

Approximately 33 percent of the population of the municipality practice agriculture and livestock-raising. Even a few women are included in this percentage. By far the most important agricultural product is corn; besides this some beans, sugar cane, wheat and maybe coffee are grown. In 1940, 61 hectares were planted with beans intercalated with other crops, 28 in broad beans, 56 in sugar cane, 71 in potatoes, and 15 in wheat, while 210 to 816 were planted in corn¹. There is 7,618 hectares in all of land in the municipality, 1,500 of which is tillable. 1,420 hectares is dry farming land, 14 is humid and 66 is irrigated. The harvest is not enough to feed the families, but there are supplementary sources of income so that a small amount of produce is taken to Las Casas, the chief center of consumption; Sundays are the market days on which the Indians go to town. The rest of the land in the municipality is grazing land, non-timber yielding forests,

1. In spite of coffee and sugar cane mentioned in different places as Zinacantan crops they are not noted in the 1940. The 1940 census however, includes only beans, (Cosechas Generales.) sugar cane and corn. The 1930 census included coffee.

productive but uncultivated land, unproductive and 3,776 or almost half of the whole is timber-yielding forests. The land used for farming has become very poor agriculturally because of being constantly washed by currents of water and because of antiquated cultivation methods. The arable layer, at least in the town of Zinacantán region, varies from twenty to eighty centimeters. From five to six kilos of grain are used in planting corn (yield equals sixty or eighty kilos). Not only are the agricultural lands owned by the Indians poor but so are their grazing lands; their properties have few trees because they have been felled immoderately. In many parts of the municipality the land is so broken that it can be farmed only in very small patches. These patches are used as corrals for the sheep and fertilized by the sheep dung. In Jocchenon at least the frost often ruins corn and bean crops.

Corn, which is planted in March or April and harvested in November, yields sixty to eighty (A)¹, or 378 (C), or 600 (ER) kilos per hectare. Wheat, planted in November or December and harvested in May, or in June and harvested in August according to the place, yields 100 to 120 (A), or 450 (ER) kilos per hectare. Beans, planted with other crops, yields 30 to 50 (A) or 100 (ER) kilos per hectare. Broad beans yield 3,000 kilos per hectare, potatoes 5,000 and sugar cane 10,642.

Various fruit trees, such as peach, apple and granadilla are cultivated in the region also.

1. A - Agrarian Reports; ER - Economia Rural's publication "Regiones Económicas Agrícolas"; C - Agricultural census.

Agricultural products and land are not taxed by the municipality, although they are by the state. State taxes include \$12.00 per \$1,000.00 of the value of rural property annually. Ejidal rural property is taxed five percent of the value. The production of coffee is taxed \$.35 a kilo, of tobacco and lard, \$.05 a kilo, of beans \$.01 a kilo. \$5.00 is the tax on a corn grinding mill.

The prices for agricultural products bought in the field in the Chiapa de Corzo region (market prices are somewhat higher) are \$.06 a kilo for broad beans, \$.08 for beans, \$.10 for tomatoes, \$.09 for corn, \$.07 for potatoes, \$.05 for avocados and oranges and membrillos, \$.04 for peaches and apples, and \$.10 for green beans.

By far the greater proportion of the livestock in Zinacantán is sheep, which are tended mainly by women and children. In 1940 there were 7,394 head, as well as 197 horses, 70 head cattle, 1,334 mules, 31 asses, 7 goats and 946 pigs. The fowl numbered 17,979. Municipality taxes on slaughtering cattle is \$2.50 to \$3.50 a head, on slaughtering a hog \$.50, both with an extra fifteen percent educational tax. There is a tax of \$1.00 a head for the buying and selling operation of mules and cattle. State taxes on slaughter are \$4.00 per head for cattle, \$1.50 for pigs and hogs, and \$.50 for sheep and goats. Prices in the field for equine animals range from \$10.00 for burros to \$50.00 for riding horses and \$100.00 for breeding burros; for bovine animals from \$10.00 to \$30.00; for oxen \$50.00; for sheep and goats \$1.00 to \$2.00; and for rabbits \$.25. Animal product prices are \$.15 a liter for cow's milk; \$1.00 a liter and kilo for cow's cream, cheese and butter, \$5.00 for cattle skins, \$1.00

for lamb or goat skins, and \$.50 for a kilo of lard.

There are several fincas in the municipality - San Nicolas, San Isidro, Santa Rita Agil, Yaleitaib, Tierra Colorada, Agua Zarca, San Rafael Mazan, and so on. The remainder of the land is owned in small property plots by the Indians, with some communal lands. In 1925 the town of Zinacantán (Las Salinas) petitioned for ejidal dotations, and in 1933 or 1934 Nachig, Navenchauc, Pasthé (Elambó), Jocchenón (Zequentic), and Apaz petitioned also. In the ruling made by the Governor granting provisional possession of ejidal land all are considered together as Zinacantán y Anexos except for Jocchenon and Zequentic at the western extremity of the municipality who were considered apart because they get land from other fincas than the others. Zinacantán y Anexos was judged to receive 13,111 hectares and 77 ares of land. This does not provide for all those with agrarian rights to a dotation but does reduce the affectable fincas to the limit. 422 parcels of eight hectares each are assigned 416 farmers and six parcels for school land. Jocchenon was assigned 1,670 of cultivable land and 700 of grazing and the ownership of 2,661 hectares and 40 ares was confirmed. The President has recently signed the Decree making the Jocchenon grant definitive when the Decree is published in an official paper. As long as both grants are in a provisional status, the ejidal organization and occupation of lands is only a project and not a fact in the municipality.

The minimum salary in Zinacantan urban areas is \$1.00 daily. For work in the fields it is \$.80 daily.

Because the families could not live on their agricultural produce, livings are made in other ways also. Many men act

as intermediaries in carrying products between the hot and cold regions of Chiapas. A salt water well in Las Salinas provides a certain amount of salt to be sold in the Las Casas market. Aside from the 38 percent of the population engaged in working in their homes and the 33 percent in agriculture and livestock-raising, a few are in industries and 29 percent have anti-social or unknown occupations.

The municipality politically belongs to the jurisdiction of the Las Casas District. The total revenue of the municipality for 1940 was \$55.20. \$48.00 of this was income on commercial transactions and was used for governmental expenses, and \$7.20 in additional taxes of 15 percent was used for public education.

There is a federal school, El Zapata, located in the town of Zinacantán with a registration of 33 of the 64 children of school age, and a daily attendance of 28. The school carries on various small scale social and economic programs. Besides this there are state schools in Zequentic, Apaz, Nachig, Navenchauc and Salinas Tierras Blancas with an accumulative registration of 200 and average attendance of 146. In 1940, 122 of these students passed their examinations and 48 failed and the remainder did not take them. There is also a Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas school, "Centro de Capacitación Económica" in Zinacantán town with an enrollment of 59 boys. The large majority of the population (1930) can neither read nor write. A little over a hundred can, and a very few can only read.

CONSULTANTS AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS

The Instituto Pan-Americano de Geografía e Historia, under the directorship of Ing. Pedro Sanchez, has been functioning since 1929 as an organ to coordinate interests of geographers and historians throughout the Americas and to make or cooperate on studies involving more than one country. Actually, most of the Instituto's work has been by Mexicans about Mexico. No formal records of any sort are kept, and the only systematic collection of material is done by the map archive which consists of duplicates of the maps available in the Dirección General de Geografía, Meteorología e Hidrología; Sanchez was in charge of the map-making section of the Dirección before his appointment as director of the Instituto. The Instituto Indigenista Inter-Americano, a recently established organization under the directorship of Dr. Manuel Gamio, acts as a clearing house on matters pertaining to Indians. Both organizations are building libraries in their respective fields; the library of the Instituto Indigenista contains the series of reports presented at the Patzcuaro Conference on Indian Life, in 1940. Many of these reports deal with special problems in Mexico or regions of Mexico and some are written by government employees in the various fields, such as livestock-raising, health, and so on. However, in the cases of both of these inter-American bodies, as well as with the Mexican organizations mentioned below, the chief source of information on communities of interest are the staff members, who may have particular relevant data at their disposal.

Although the Instituto Nacional de Antropología belongs to the Secretaría de Educación Pública and perhaps should properly

be dealt with under that heading, the nature of the organization is more in line with this discussion. The Instituto, under the directorship of Lic. Alfonso Caso, conducts linguistic, ethnological, physical anthropological and archaeological investigations in Mexico. The archives of the Instituto contain, besides some of the reports on the investigations carried on, the Monumentos Coloniales and Monumentos Pre-Hispanicos files. Information about important churches and other colonial buildings may be found in the Coloniales files and data on archaeological ruins in Pre-Hispanicos.

The Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, belonging to the National University, is carrying on an ambitious program of ethnographical research and publication under the directorship of Lic. Mendieta y Nunez. A monograph on the Tarascans has already been published, and one on the Zapotec is being worked on at present. Besides these volumes, various articles on Indian groups have appeared in the periodical *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, edited by the Instituto. One article in the issue No. 3, 1941, is on the Tzotzil, and makes specific reference to Zinacantán a number of times.¹

Prof. Miguel O. de Mendizabel has collected two sets of data of interest. One consists of linguistic charts compiled from the 1930 census for the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. Mendizabel has two copies of this series, of which the Departamento has none. His charts are more complete than the ones the Asuntos Indígenas staff compiled over again in that they present monolinguals and bilinguals by municipalities as well as simply by states. For example, of the 1,705 individuals more than five

1. I have used this material as a check on the government reports on Zinacantán in a few cases.

years of age who speak Tzotzil in the municipality of Zinacantán, 1,348 speak only Tzotzil and 377 speak both Tzotzil and Spanish.¹

Mendizabel, in his capacity of director of the Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas of the National University, has collected Estadística Continuas data on revenue and expenditures for every municipality in the republic. The record, "Situación Económico de los Municipios" (1938), presents the number of inhabitants of each municipality, the total revenue, revenue per inhabitant, total expenditure and parts of the revenue expended on the various social services. A series of maps presenting the data graphically has also been composed. Zinacantán in 1938 had a total revenue of \$64.20, or \$.02 per individual² and the same total expenditure, \$7.20 of which was spent on education.

Historical documents and records have not been referred to in the body of this report. The Archivo General de la Nación was visited but since the majority of the Archivo material dates from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century, it was not used. Wigberto Jimenez Moreno, of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia staff, is particularly well acquainted with the Archivo files and believes that the files on Tierras, Indios, Mercedes and the Hospital de Jesus documents are important historical sources on Indian communities. Another individual who might be consulted if Archivo material is to be used is the historian Luis Chavez Orozco, who has made an index of the "Cedulas y Disposiciones Dictadas Durante La Epoca Colonial Acerca de los Indígenas Durante Los Años de 1602 a 1786.

1. These figures are obviously calculated wrongly since their total is 1,725 instead of 1,705.

2. The total number of inhabitants is given as 4,078.

THE SECOND APPENDIX

(Summaries of the Instituto de Estudios Sociales Reports on Ocoatepec)

- (1) Estudio de la Geología Económica de la Region en que se Encuentra el Pueblo de Ocoatepec, Cuernavaca, Morelos, by Ing. Enrique Díaz Lozano

The area occupied by Ocoatepec and its neighboring villages is located at the foot of the southern spur of the Ajusco mountain region. The relief of the area with its rolling hills and barrancas is due to volcanic eruptions and the action of erosive agents upon the lava deposits. Tributaries of the Tetlama and Xochitepec rivers run through the region. The group of villages in the general region lie at 1,670 (Sta. Catarina), 1,750 (Ahuatepec), 1,780 (Ocoatepec), 1,790 (Chamilpa) and 1,860 (Sta. María) meters above sea level. The southern watershed of the slope of Ajusco gives origin to the surface waters of the region which rush by the villages rapidly in barrancas and the tributaries of the Cuernavaca or Aputlaco rivers. The surface waters of the Ocoatepec barrancas (Teteles, San Pedro, Olatzingo, Chamilpa, and Tejesquite) belong to the fluvial system of the Cuernavaca. Subterranean waters consist of perennial and seasonal springs fed from the southern slope of Ajusco. There is no irrigation water since the regular rainfall makes it unnecessary.

Basalt is the predominant igneous rock in the geology of the region. The subsoil is basalt, and it crops out in many places. Such outcrops can be seen in the streets of the villages. The barrancas are made of basins carved out of basalt. The remainder of the geologic material is calcareous tufa, sands, clays and sandy gravel. The basalt is used for construction purposes by the vill-

agers; streets, house walls, fence walls, and land boundaries - all are made of this igneous rock. Clay is used as an adherent; mortar is used in only the most important buildings. Clay is also utilized in making tiles and utility ware. The red clay of the region is used as paint by the San Anton pottery-makers. A red lava gravel is laid down for garden ornamentation and walks; it is transported to Cuernavaca for this purpose also. Mixed with a lime liquid, this gravel would make an excellent floor, but the villagers do not take such advantage of it. Adobe and brick are used along with basalt for construction purposes.

- (2) Recursos Agrícolas de los Pueblos de Chamilpa, Ocotepc y Ahuatepec del Municipio de Cuernavaca, Morelos, by Ing. Agronomo Manuel García Santibañez

The economic life of the three villages of Ocotepc, Chamilpa and Ahuatepec depends upon their agricultural production and forestal exploitation. Agricultural activities are the cultivation of beans, sweet potatoes, and corn, livestock-raising, and, as the only agriculturally derived industry, bee-keeping of a rudimentary sort. The land inclines from north to the south, the degree of the slope varying from six percent to the north to two percent to the south. In the north the arable layer of land is not deep, being from thirty to forty centimeters, and is poorly fertilized and difficult to work. Cultivated parcels here have to be rested two years for every one of cultivation. To the south the situation is different. The arable layer reaches as high as seventy centimeters due to a clay which is washed down from the mountains. The soil of the whole region is a ferruginous clay which proceeded from the disintegration of basalt; the subsoil is basalt. To protect the cultivated parcels

of land from erosion due to the slope, the farmers dig small ditches perpendicular to the land slope, fifty centimeters deep and sixty centimeters wide. These ditches are called apantles.

Corn is by far the most important crop. Beans have been popular but there has been a falling off in their cultivation due to the plagues attacking the plant; this is unfortunate since the land is highly suitable for bean cultivation. Sweet potatoes are grown only on a small scale because of the lack of irrigation. The villagers have as yet to discover the variety best suited to the rainfall in the region.

In the cultivation of corn, ancient methods are still used. The yield per hectare of land is lessening as time goes on since the farming methods take from the land but give nothing back. Fallowing is done in May and June after the first rains. This is to soften the earth to make the plowing of the furrows easier, and to remove vegetation left over from previous cultivations. Three kinds of plows are used, according to the economic situation of the individual: the wooden plow with an iron plowshare, and Mexican plow which is a combination of the other two, and a modern plow which is drawn by an equine beast instead of by the team of oxen used for the other plows. The wooden plow cuts down to from ten to fifteen centimeters, the Mexican from fifteen to twenty. The cut is made obliquely in the general direction of the slope. Fallowing a hectare of four percent sloped land is done in slightly less time, three seven and a half hour days, with a wooden plow than with a Mexican plow, which takes three seven and three quarter hour days, but the work is not done as well. The modern plow does more efficient work but is not physically adapted to the Indians of the region. Furrowing and sowing starts five days

after fallowing, when the earth is sufficiently humid. The same plow as used in fallowing is employed with the addition of a trapezoidal piece of wood which opens up the furrow. This is not necessary when a two mouldboard plow is used. The furrows are made perpendicular to the general slope of the land, and three or four seeds are deposited every eighty centimeters and covered with dirt by foot by someone following the plow. The seeds used are simply selected from the middle of ears which have been hung up on the house tops awaiting planting. Broad corn is sown since it is more suited to the climate of the region. Fifteen kilos of kernels are used to sow one hectare, and it takes two workers three days to furrow and sow a hectare of land. The first weeding takes place twenty days after the sowing. When the plot is small a hoe or coa is used by the persons following the plow. The plants are uncovered, dirt is heaped up around them, and small dykes are built at the end of the furrows to prevent water carrying off the soil. The farmers of the region are not accustomed to using paletas, which are small shovel or trowel-like tools, but hired hands from the state of Mexico do use them. The second weeding is twenty days after the first. Hilling is done twenty days after the second weeding. Men follow the plow heaping the dirt up around the plants. Two men work for two days in this process for a one hectare field. When this work is finished the event is celebrated by making a jarilla cross adorned with flowers which is erected in the center of the field, and libations are made with weakened alcohol. The ears are picked off the stalks five months after the land was sown, in November or December. A tool called pizcador is used in the glean-

ing. Afterwards the ears are shucked with machetes. The shucks are piled in stacks and taken to the yard, where they stay until fed the animals during the dry season. The gleaning and bundling of one hectare takes ten men one day. The normal yield of one hectare is eight cargas of grain and 700 bundles of shucks; this is rarely sold, but used for home consumption. The average price for the grain is \$.06 a kilo, with a minimum of \$.03 and a maximum of \$.09, and for the shucks \$1.75 per hundred bundles. By adding wages, rent for animals and other costs, a total cost is arrived at of \$69.15 per hectare of corn. The crude utility of the same area is estimated at \$84.25. This means a net gain of \$15.10 worth of use of the corn. The ears of corn are kept in bins called cencolotes, rectangular boxes made of wood. These bins are one meter on each side and the height varies according to the amount of corn to be stored. The corn stays there until dry, when it is removed and shelled for home use or the market. The shelling is done by the women and children as a rule; a small circular-shaped tool called olotera is used in this work. The shelled corn is kept in the houses in piles limited by outlining planks. Some people keep it in special granaries called vescomatles. These are sphere-shaped, truncated above, and rest on a pedestal base. They are gradually disappearing from use; no one is alive who knows how to construct them. They are made of clay bound with shucks. Pieces of wood are crossed over the top, and then a roof of shucks is placed over a cone framework. The roof is lifted at one point as an entrance for the grain. The walls are perfectly smooth both inside and out. These granaries last for about seventy years; they hold from twelve to twenty

cargas of grain. In them, the grain is preserved from ants, rodents, rain water and humidity. Because of the lack of air, however, if the grain is not completely dry it spoils quickly.

Agricultural deficiencies are due to the lack of knowledge of the people about the growth and development of corn, and the lack of money with which to replace old tools, and the lack of certain techniques such as adding lime, which is available in the nearby San Andres de la Cal, to the soil, and rotating crops instead of resting land two out of three years, fallowing after harvesting instead of right before sowing, selecting planting seeds from best plants when growing, and so on. Although plagues lose them eight percent of their crops, the Ocotepicans have as yet discovered no effective way of combating them. The chief enemies of the crop are grama grass, rodents and ants.

In spite of the fact that the iron in the soil is good for the cultivation of beans, very little are grown. The soil is fallowed with a wooden plow a few days before sowing; furrowing and sowing are done at the end of June or the first of July, using forty liters of seed for one hectare. Weeding is done with the hoe, paleta, or coa about twenty days after sowing. The beans are picked by hand in October, before the pod has dried. They are dried in the house yards before being thrashed, by sticks if the harvest is small and by animals if large. The beans are stored in the same manner as the corn. The total cost of the product is \$47.90 a hectare, the worth is equivalent to \$60.00 and the gain in value is \$12.10. The black bean beetle, the Conchuela, and the grub attack the plant in the field to such an extent that its cultivation has been greatly discouraged. The advantage of sowing the bean in rotation with other

crops to fix the atmospheric nitrogen in the soil is not recognized.

The sweet potato is cultivated on a small scale in Chamilpa, and it has recently been introduced to Ocotepec. A variety of white sweet potato is planted in thick soil, leaving a point of the shoot uncovered by earth. Afterwards the field is plowed, weeded and six months after the planting harvested by plowing the potatoes loose and then picking them by hand. There is a yield of 2,500 to 2,700 kilos per hectare. They are valued at \$40.00 a ton and \$30.00 to \$40.00 are cleared on one hectare of sweet potatoes.

Fruit trees grow in the yards of the villages, but no particular care is given them. Plum, peach and avocado are the most important, but mango, lemon, lime, Cherimoya and Guava trees are also grown, as well as coffee plants.

The principal market of the region is Cuernavaca, where the prices approximate those of Mexico City. Corn and beans are usually eaten in the rural area where grown but fruit is crated and taken to the market, where it is not particularly successful, however, because it is usually worm-eaten.

The work tools in the region made by the natives themselves are the wooden plow, also called the Criollo plow made of oak and valued at \$3.00; the plow beam and handle of the Mexican plow; the oak oxen yoke; the strap for yoking oxen made of untanned cowhide and maguey fiber; yoke rings of untanned hide; oak wedges for the yoke; oak goad sticks, perhaps with an iron prick, for the oxen; a muzzle of maguey fiber to prevent the oxen from eating the plants; reins of maguey fiber; parts of harnesses and digging tools; and

maguery fiber nets. The Oliver, John Deer and Apulco plows are imported, as are the blades of the paletas, coas, hoes, axes and machetes.

Every house surveyed in the course of the study had from ten to fifteen beehives. Sabino Hidalgo, of Ocotepec, made his entire living from his forty-eight boxes of beehives. The hives are wooden boxes eighty millimeters long, twenty wide, and thirty high with five sides covered with loose lids and the sixth with the entrance hole. These boxes are placed on wooden beams, supported by forked poles up out of reach of the domestic animals. Honeycombs are cut out twice a year. Maguery fiber cloth is put over the operator's face and after stupefying the bees, the combs are removed. These combs are pressed in canvas cloths, with the hands, to separate the honey from the wax. The honey is sold in Cuernavaca for \$.30 a kilo. The remaining wax is sometimes used to make religious candles. The Ocotepec beehives are not efficient since they are not large enough for the activities of the swarm. When the swarm gets too big and some of the bees leave, the villagers call them back loudly since they believe noise attracts the bees back again.

Day laborers on the village farms are paid \$1.00 daily for whatever work they are told to do. They work from eight to five or five-thirty with an hour out for lunch. \$.75 is paid for workers doing only work for which they contracted. \$.50 is the wage when the noon meal is included. Women are paid \$.50 for farm work and boys employed for the planting are paid \$.25. A cowherd gets paid \$.50 per head of cattle he watches if he is a boy, and \$1.00 a head if he is a man.

The land is all in small property holdings. Ejidos were petitioned for at one time, but the petitioners were assigned land so far away that they refused it. The small holdings are inherited, and some titles go back before the conquest. The land holdings vary from two to five hectares, distributed in small lots in various places. This is because women inherit as well as men, and when they get married their lands are worked by their husbands. Land near the forest is valued at from \$30.00 to \$40.00 a hectare, and in the lower regions from \$60.00 to \$80.00 a hectare. Up to a few years ago communal land was held which was exploited to pay for the expenses of religious festivals. The only communal lands now in existence are woodland and grazing lands.

- (3) Estudio Ganadero y Forestal de la Zona que Comprenden los Pueblos de Chamilpa, Ocotepec y Ahuatepec del Municipio de Cuernavaca, Morelos, by Arturo Martínez Garza

Livestock-raising: Cattle graze in small pastures used communally. These pastures are fairly satisfactory when the rainfall is abundant. Livestock-raising is secondary to cultivation in the economic life of the three towns, but the two occupations are complementary in that the animals consume much of the produce thus converting them into more obvious benefits. Various cattle diseases are known, and many of them are due to lack of proper care. At the time of the study there were 847 animals in exploitation in the three towns.

Breeding is practised but it does little good for two reasons: (1) breeding without improved care is of little worth, and (2) the three Holstein bulls used for crossing are treated more carelessly even than the others since they themselves render no direct product.

The yield of milk cows varies in direct proportion to the rainfall. The cattle are pasture-fed during the rainy season and fodder-fed during the dry. Salt is placed on the rocks in the pastures every two months. Drinking water is taken from the troughs, in which dirty clothes are washed, and from pools of water in the summer. The alimentation of the cattle is analyzed in detail in the report.

Forestry: The dominant species of trees are pine and oak. Exploitation of the forests is under the technical control of the government to prevent the irrational despoilation of the woods. Chamilpa has a cooperative organized to exploit the forests by cutting kindling wood for sale. The proceeds from this industry are used for its rural school and toward the installation of telephone wires connecting with Ocotepec and Ahuatepec. Ocotepec and Ahuatepec are not allowed to exploit forest resources: they do, however, buy charcoal in Santa Catarina and resell it in Cuernavaca and other towns. Several of the villages in the region add to their incomes by acting as charcoal intermediaries.

- (4) Habitación, Construcción, Comunicaciones, Irrigación, Agua Potable - Region de Cuernavaca; El Pueblo de Ocotepec Desde el Punto de Vista de la Ingeniería Civil, by Ing. Roberto Galvan

Ocotepec, five kilometers northeast of Cuernavaca, occupies 480,000 square meters of territory. A map of the town included in the report is attached. The streets are oriented north to south and east to west, crossing at right angles. The majority of the streets run directly through the town, and only two are shorter lanes. The principal street is Hidalgo. Hidalgo running east to

west and Espiritu Santo running north to south form the axes of the four barrios of Ocotepec. These are Tlacopa to the northeast, Colhuacán to the northwest, La Candelaria to the southeast, and El Centro to the southwest. The large church is located in El Centro; its grounds cover 3,160 square meters, 820 meters of which is occupied by the building proper. The church, built of basalt, consists of one nave with arches and basalt buttresses. A lime and sand mortar is used in the construction. The interior walls are smoothed with lime mortar and painted with water and oil. Smaller chapels, each occupying approximately 200 square meters of land, are located one in each of the other three barrios. A building containing the rural school, jail, and Ayudantía Municipal is located on the street in back of the main church at the corner of Hidalgo and Jesús.

There are four types of dwelling houses in Ocotepec. "Type A" is a construction of stone, adobe and tile. The foundation and the lower wall are basalt masonry with lime and sand mortar used. Then adobe is substituted, united with a sand-clay-water mixture and with a stone or brick stuck in at various places. A blank wall usually faces the street side, and the entrance leads into a yard. The customary two rooms have independent entrances from this yard. A wooden roof framework of two slopes is topped by tiles. Within the house the wall partitions are of wood, or sometimes brick. Small windows and doors are always closed with adobe blocks or wooden boards. The entrance door is padlocked. Slabs of bricks form the floor. "Type B" is made of straw and other foddors. This may be used for the kitchen of other type houses, or as the house itself. The framework of the house is

made of forked poles and transverse and longitudinal beams. This framework is hung with reeds and straws tied with rattan. The roof, which has a two-way slope, is made of straw. There are no windows and only one door, which may have a wooden slab articulated by a wire and forked stick arrangement, in the opening. The house and kitchen are enclosed in the yard by a stone wall. "Type C" is a combination of "A" and "B", with adobe walls and straw roof or straw walls and tile roof. "Type D" has stone walls with no mortar and a straw and reed roof held up by forked poles. "Type A" is by far the most common structure. Far behind in number follows "B", and then "D" and "C". There are no specialists at house building; each farmer builds his own dwelling, although some may get a reputation as being particularly good at construction work.

Each house is within a yard of approximately forty by sixty meters which includes a patio and a garden. A small masonry ditch catches water from the roofs and dumps it into the streets; this is the only drainage in the town.

The sand and gravel used in construction is obtained from the barrancas, and the lime from San Andres de la Cal, twelve kilometers east of Ocotepc. Clay and basalt are abundant in the region.

Ocotepc is three kilometers off the road branching off the Mexico City-Cuernavaca road at Buenavista, kilometer 71. The road goes through Chamilpa, then Ocotepc and continues on to Ahuatepec. Near Chamilpa there is the Ramón railway station, and one kilometer from Ocotepc is another station, the Alarcón. There is no mail or telegraph service; the three villages have one local telephone.

A spring at Santa María Ahuacatlán provides potable water for Chamilpa, Ocotepec, and Ahuatepec, by means of two tubes which have outlets in storage tanks, one for Ahuatepec, and one for Chamilpa and Ocotepec together. Both tanks are protected by stone walls. From the storage tanks a tube goes into each town. Water to Ocotepec is funneled into a fountain in front of the Ayudantía Municipal. Another tube here takes the overflow into a basin used for washing clothes, and as an animals' drinking trough. The overflow here is drained by a ditch to a small hollow running through town. Ocotepec does not have taps, as does Ahuatepec, and consequently the fountains are subject to contamination. The dipping of dirty jars into the water may be a source of contamination.

There are no toilets in the village; the fields, yards or streets are used. The topography with its slope and numerous barrancas offers good drainage for a sewage system but there is not enough water. There are two springs at Chamilpa which could be utilized for this purpose, but the whole project would be very costly.

- (5) Técnica Agrícola y Capacidad de Trabajo de los Campesinos de Ocotepec, Morelos, by Manuel Basauri.

This report is concerned with detailed physical anthropological data and the results of a test of fatigue resultant of different farming techniques. Since the report aims to be an experiment rather than describe the life of the village any more than was done in the other agricultural report, a complete summary of it is omitted.

(6) Breves Apuntes Sobre las Condiciones Sanitarias que Guardan los Pueblos de Ocotepec, Chamilpa, y Ahuatepec del Estado de Morelos, by Dr. Salvador Perez Alvarez

Health in the region is on the whole good. The moderate climate is beneficial and the pine forests nearby give the air an invigorating quality. The village houses are rectangular with two rooms, a kitchen and a yard. The walls are adobe, and the roofs tile. The rooms, which do not communicate with each other, are used for sleeping and storing tools and seed. The house is dark and badly ventilated; floors are often not stamped down and walls are not smoothed, thus providing a rough surface to harbor insects. The kitchen, made of twigs and stalks, is an independent unit away from the other rooms. It is open to dust, insects, and dampness. During the rainy season the woman cooking gets frequent colds and other respiratory sicknesses.

The streets, which are straight and wide, are never swept, but nevertheless always appear clean, probably because of the rains. There is no market place of selling food; there are small stores in a few houses where sugar, bread, lard, and meat are sold, but luckily most people go to Cuernavaca to buy since these foods are not protected from insects and dust. Milk and meat from Ahuatepec are the only foods in the region inspected by health authorities, and this is because those products go to the Cuernavaca market.

The cemeteries are located far enough away from the towns so that they do not present a problem.

Water for domestic uses is piped from the spring at Sta. María Ahuacatlán, six kilometers west of Ocotepec. The spring source is not protected in any way and the water comes out of the

pipes into a place so imperfectly covered that contamination is almost inevitable. In each town the water is deposited in a tank from which two canals lead the water to basins, one for washing clothes and one used for a cattle drinking trough. Excess water runs off through ditches into barrancas or evaporates. In Ocotepc drinking or cooking water is taken in jars, usually dirty, directly from the deposit tank which is an open welcome to germs. In Chamilpa and Ahuatepec such water is taken directly from the pipes through taps, and so the water is protected. Although the water from the Ocotepc fountain is judged potable by the sanitary authorities the author does not see how this can be the case.

In spite of the house itself being cleaned daily, the dwelling is extremely unhygienic because the yard is never cleaned out. All waste is thrown into the yard to be burned or fed to the chickens and hogs. The kitchen debris, and human and animal excrement are all left out in the yard for long periods of time.

Concerning personal cleanliness, the natives take a bath every eight or ten days. Hands and faces are never washed in between baths. Fingernails are allowed to grow very long, and since they are agriculturalists, get extremely dirty. Their hair is cut once in a long while at bath time; generally the lice are not disturbed. No attention is paid to bucal cleanliness at all. Dirty clothes are changed for clean every Sunday. At night before sleeping hot water is poured on the floor to kill the fleas, and afterwards the people lie down on planks and benches, or maybe beds, up off the wet floor. With the whole family sleeping in the same room together the air becomes very foul.

The alimentation of ten families was studied. Batters (pastas), bread, corn, cereals, vegetables, greens, salads, fruits, meat, fats, milk, coffee, sugar, and chile are always consumed. Breakfast is taken between six and eight, and is made up of coffee or milk, sugar, bread, tortillas, beans and chile sauce. For dinner, between one and two, they have a batter or rice, cooked meat or cooked vegetables, eggs, beans, tortillas, chile sauce and water. Supper, between seven and nine, consists of coffee, sugar, bread or tortillas, beans and meat or vegetables. From the point of view of the calories necessary per kilogram of weight, the diet is satisfactory both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The dominant diseases in the area are those of the respiratory apparatus, such as colds, tonsillitis, bronchitis, pneumonia and pleurisy. Next are the diseases of the digestive system, including gastroenteritis, typhoid and para-typhoid, dysentery and other intestinal parasites. These latter illnesses are due to unhygienic preparation of food and water. Some rheumatism, miocarditis, goiter, mange, gonorrhoea and syphilis is present as well as sporadic cases of malaria brought in from the Morelos hot zones. Children get the usual children's diseases.

If the disease is very serious the individual may go to Cuernavaca for medical attention. More often he will get help from a neighbor or curandero. Or perhaps the two techniques will be combined. For example, for a cold a native may take a cafe-aspirina and mentholatum, and will also have the soles of his feet massaged with before breakfast saliva. For bronchitis and pneumonia the people will prepare draughts of slices of salt-wort, celery and other things which have diuretic, expectorant and

soothing qualities. Various poultices, plant decoctions, and tallow massages are favorite cures. A cord tied around the big toe cures tonsillitis, but Sloan's linament and bicarbonate of soda are also popular cures. Witchcraft is practiced by them but the author could not get information on the subject. Special remedies cure diseases caused by the evil eye and other supernatural reasons.

Vaccinations are accepted in the community due to the propaganda work of the Unidat Sanitaria of Cuernavaca.

In 1933 twenty-seven persons (nineteen children and eight adults) died of bronchial pneumonia and diarrhea. The average life span is forty-five years.

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Nov. 1, 1950

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CEREMONIAL STRUCTURES IN THE PRESENT-DAY MAYA AREA

A RESEARCH PAPER SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

BY
BETTY W. STARR

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: OBJECTIVES AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

The Problem

This thesis treats, on a broad comparative basis, certain organizational aspects of the ceremonial systems within Indian communities in the present-day Maya area. The study deals with a sociological problem, based on ethnological data, and is not concerned with psychological problems that may arise out of such data; that is, the primary interest is not in the individual and his relation to the ceremonial system, but rather in the structure of Indian ceremonial systems per se, and how a particular structure serves to perform certain functions considered necessary to the welfare of the community as a whole.

The study is founded on a number of basic assumptions which should be made explicit at the outset. The first assumption is that all the communities with which this study deals are within the same general culture area, and that such variations as are observed constitute variations within a single culture area. Secondly, the systems of values and patterns of ritual are incorporated within two religious traditions; all the organizations and ceremonies to be analyzed lie within either the Catholic or the native ritual contexts, or represent a combination of both. Finally, the study is concerned with sociological situations which exist at relatively the same time period in each community. It is synchronic

rather than diachronic. The time period is defined rather broadly as "the present"; specifically, it constitutes the 1930's and early 1940's, during which time most of the ethnographic studies, which serve as the primary sources for the study, were made.

Examination of ethnographic data dealing with the ceremonial systems of the present-day Maya area reveals certain broad similarities which, at this preliminary stage, may be assumed to be common to the area as a whole. Among these are a relatively high degree of dependence on the supernatural, the channelization of belief in the supernatural into two religious traditions, the tendency toward a close relationship between community religious organization and community political organization, the delegation of religious obligations and functions to sacred specialists and sacred office-holders, and the operation of an hierarchical principle in ranking office-holders. However, from a more thorough examination of the ethnographic data, the suggestion arises that there are significant differences of structure in the ceremonial systems in different parts of the present-day Maya area. For example, in Yucatan, the political and religious organizations are separate and more dependence is placed upon the sacred specialist, while in the Midwest Highlands of Guatemala, political and religious offices are incorporated

within a single organization, and the officials of this organization are more important than the sacred specialist who assumes his profession on the basis of personal abilities or powers.

This, then, constitutes the working hypothesis of the study: that there are significant differences in the structure of ceremonial organizations as between various sub-areas of the present-day Maya area.

In order to indicate some of the methodological difficulties involved in setting up schematic representations of ceremonial structure--or of any type of social structure, for that matter--and because it is believed that others with a similar problem may encounter the same difficulties, it is proposed, in this chapter, to illustrate the method employed in this study, step by step, making explicit the various operations performed, and the degree of abstraction necessary in order to arrive at the conclusions. As one progresses from the particular to the general, successive levels of abstraction are encountered, which involve successively greater degrees of inference. This is, essentially, a problem with which every social scientist must be concerned.

Tumin has made a number of observations dealing with this problem, from the standpoint of the field worker dealing with the data of a single community.¹ He states that

¹Melvin Tumin. "San Luis Jilotepeque: A Guatemalan Pueblo", Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, no. 2. (Chicago: University of Chicago Library. 1946). Preface, p. 1.

there are three levels of distance from the observations, and he considers the probable error of each level. The three levels of distance, and the probable error of each, are, according to Tumin: (1) Field notes, consisting of materials reported directly upon observation of incidents. These constitute the most reliable data; (2) Field summaries, made in situ, consisting largely of generalizations on meagre data. These summaries are less reliable, since there are obvious discrepancies discovered after checking initial generalizations with later observations; (3) Summaries written after the field study is completed. It is Tumin's opinion that these summaries have the least reliability.

It appears to the writer that the factor here involved is not so much that of reliability, per se, but rather that of the amount of abstraction involved, and the resultant departure, with each level of abstraction, from the reality situation reported by the ethnographer. This is particularly true when the problem involves generalizing from the data for several communities. The difficulties encountered, and how the writer attempted to resolve them, may be illustrated by an examination of the operations performed during the course of this study.

Assessing the Data

The data consist of ethnographic reports on widely separated Indian communities in Chiapas, Guatemala, and

Yucatan. In form, the data on the various communities range from roughly organized field notes, with few summaries, to highly organized, full monographs. Significant details of ceremonial organization are given for certain communities and not for others. Likewise, summaries which would serve as a guide to interpretation of the data, have been made for some communities and not for others. There is, in addition, a further unevenness of the data. Some of the ethnographic studies were conducted with particular reference to the subject of this paper; others were concerned with ceremonial organization as only one aspect of the general culture of the community. There is thus, at the outset, a high degree of noncomparability, both in the form and content of the data.

The student who attempts a comparative study of a particular aspect of culture, based on the ethnographic reports of others, begins, even when his data consist of detailed field notes, at a point at least one step removed from the reality situation. In order to make adequate use of the field materials of others, he must, first of all, make two assumptions: (1) that the data are completely reported, and, (2) that the data are accurately reported. He can test the first assumption by comparing a number of ethnographic reports, and assessing their relative completeness with respect to one another, or with respect to the elements which he would expect to be contained in such

reports. He can test the second assumption only if there are available to him two or more reports by competent ethnographers of the particular community with which he is concerned. If these reports agree, in the main, he can make a judgment that they are accurate; if they are in disagreement, he has then the further problem of assessing not only the data but the assumptions, biases, methods, and so on, of the ethnographers themselves. After he has done this, he is ready to begin his research.

Delimitation of the Sub-areas to be Studied

Tentative delimitation of seven sub-areas was made on the basis of a preliminary study of the data; i.e., the sub-areas established were those between which significant differences in ceremonial structure were found, and from which variant structural types were abstracted. The delimitation of the sub-areas is shown in Fig. 1. It will be noted, by referring to Fig. 2, that these sub-areas tend to be separated, one from another, by physiographic barriers and linguistic differences. A list of the communities within these sub-areas, from which data on ceremonial organization were drawn for the purpose of this study, appears in Table 1.

Determination of the Structural Units of the Ceremonial System

This involves the determination of the structural units

Fig. 1.--Sub-areas and Communities

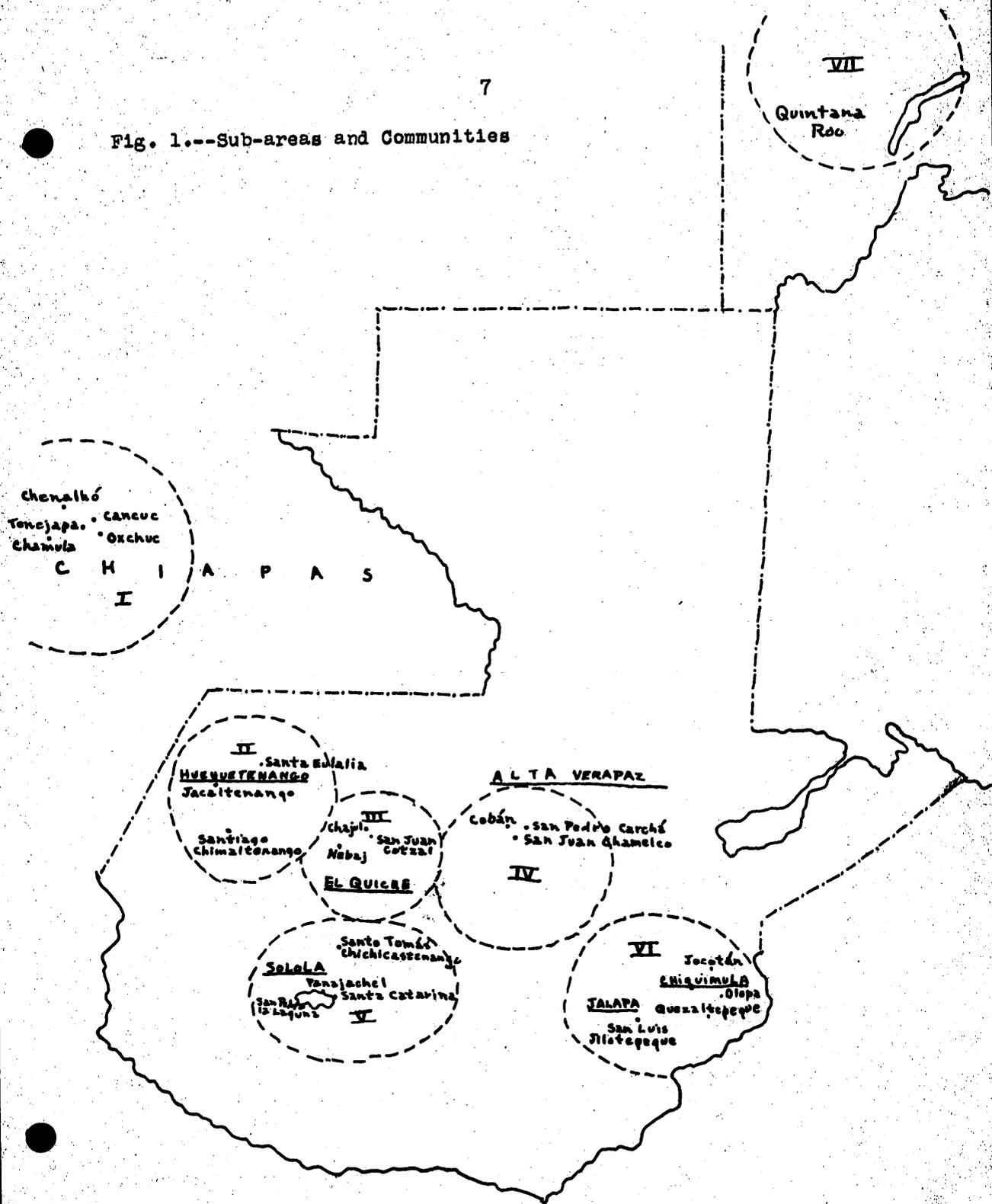


Fig. 2.--Sub-areas and Physiographic Features

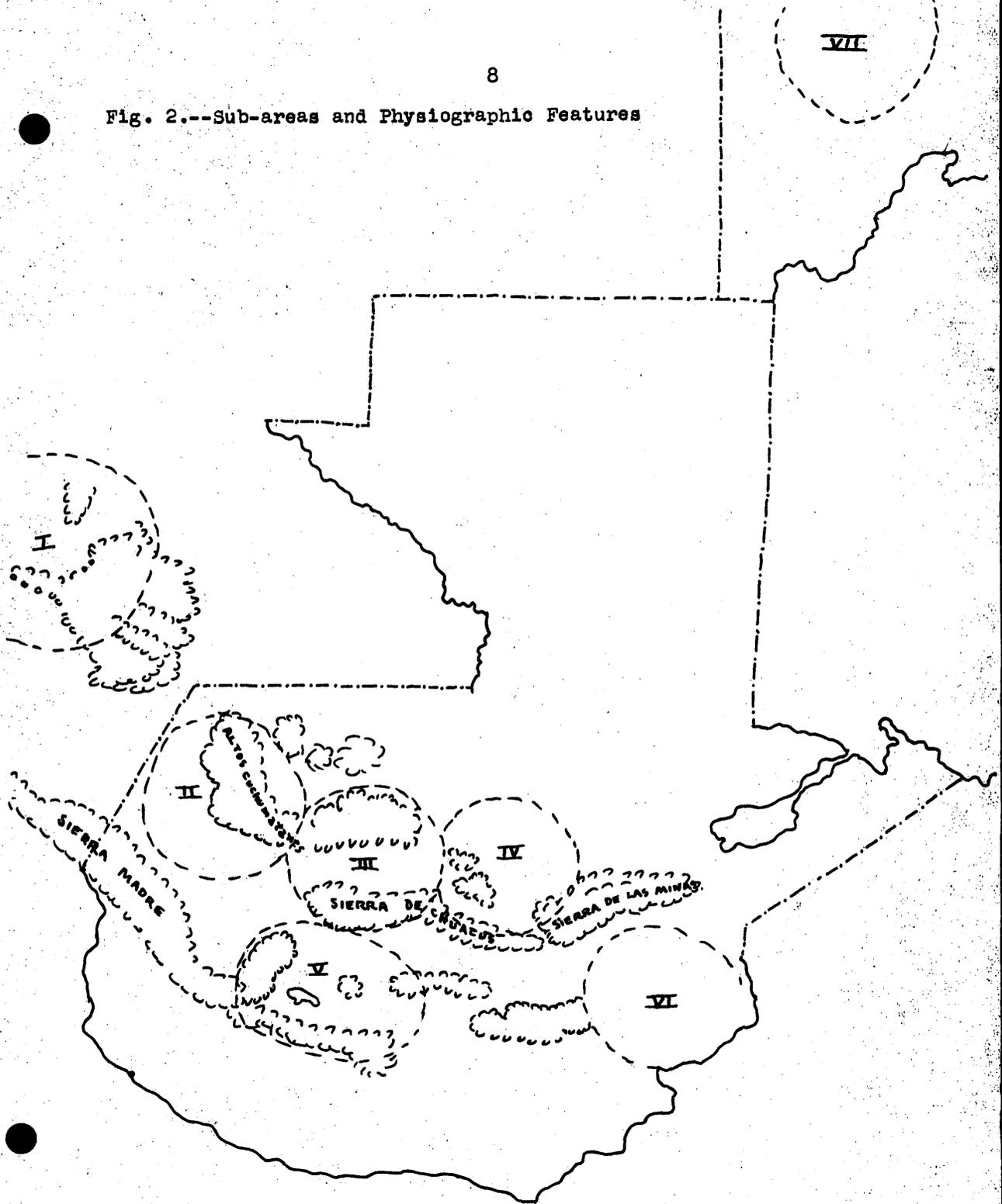


TABLE NO. 1.

LIST OF SUB-AREAS, AND THE COMMUNITIES WITHIN THOSE SUB-AREAS FROM WHICH DATA WERE UTILIZED FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY.

Area	General Location	Communities		
		Name	Popula- tion*	Language
I. CHIAPAS	Highlands of Chiapas around Ciudad las Casas	a. Cancuc	649	Tzeltal
		b. Chamula	16,010	Tzotzil
		c. San Pedro Chenalhó	5,289	Tzotzil
		d. Oxchuc	3,034	Tzeltal
		e. Tenejapa	5,378	Tzeltal
II. NORTHWEST GUATEMALA	Cuchumatanes Highlands, Dept. of Huehuetenango	a. Jacaltenango	4,000	Jacalteca
		b. Santa Eulalia	7,200	Kanhobal
		c. San Andrés	772	Jacalteca
		d. San Marcos	894	Jacalteca
		e. Santiago Chimaltenango	1,500	Mam
III. IXIL	Highlands, No. part of Dept. of El Quiché	a. Nebaj	13,552	Ixil
		b. Chajul	8,000	Ixil
		c. San Juan Cotzal	7,000	Ixil
IV. VERAPAZ	Dept. of Alta Verapaz	a. Cobán	26,774	Kekchi
		b. San Pedro Carchá	55,235	Kekchi
		c. San Juan Chamelco	10,648	Kekchi
V. MIDWEST HIGHLANDS	Midwest Highlands, especially around Lake Atitlán	a. Panajachel	1,450	Cakchiquel
		b. San Pedro la Laguna	2,226	Zutuhil
		c. Santa Catarina Palopó	844	Cakchiquel
		d. Chichicastenango	25,137	Quiché
VI. EASTERN GUATEMALA	In Depts. of Jalapa and Chiquimula	a. Jocotán	14,385	Chorti
		b. Olopa	7,308	Chorti
		c. Quetzaltepeque	1,140#	Chorti
		d. San Luis Jilotepeque	7,500	Pokomam
VII. YUCATAN	Yucatan and East Central Quintana Roo	a. Chan Kom	250	Yucatec
		b. Subtribe of X-Cacal	720	Yucatec

* 1921 Census

Pueblo only

of the ceremonial system of each community within a given sub-area and subsequent abstraction of the units characteristic of the sub-area as a whole.

In consideration of the fact that terminology for a given structural unit differs not only from sub-area to sub-area, but also from community to community within a given sub-area, it appears best to define these units on a functional basis. By this it is meant that the units will be distinguished according to the specific functions they perform in the community. Thus, the political organization performs the functions of administration of justice and the maintenance of order. Its higher ranking personnel is primarily concerned with these functions. A subordinate group of members of this unit is concerned with the carrying out of the orders of the authorities and is charged with the physical care of the administrative offices or buildings.

The formal religious organization structures the relationship of the community to the supernatural. Together with the formal political organization, it serves to distribute community duties and to provide preferred status for individuals who have passed through these organizations.

Within the formal religious organization, there are a number of sub-units, differentiated from each other on the basis of the varying functions they perform.

Of these sub-units, one of the most important is that known as the Stewardship of the Saint. This is a generalized

term applied to an institution which, in a variety of forms, and referred to by a diversity of terms, exists with but a few exceptions throughout the present-day Maya area. It has been characterized as follows:

A lay member of the community, usually assisted by several helpers, undertakes as a sacred charge the organization of an annual offering to a patron saint. Securing the help of others by certain recognized means, he renders to the santo certain services and honors due him from the community as a whole in return for his good will and protection. The focal point of this communal offering is the yearly religious fiesta held in honor of the patron saint. On this occasion the man serving is responsible for the organization of specific offerings to the santo and the holding of ritual meetings which are a part of the recurring cycle of activities carried out in connection with the stewardship.²

Since, in some sub-areas, the function of care of the santo--this being the material image which represents the saint--is differentiated from the function of responsibility for organizing and bearing the expenses of the annual fiesta in honor of that saint, in the present study, Doll's definition is employed in modified form. By the stewardship of the saint is here meant only the care of the physical santo--the image itself--and not the related function of responsibility for the annual fiesta of the saint.

The second sub-unit of the formal religious organization, then, consists of the function performed by the individual, or individuals, who assume responsibility for the organization of

²Eugene Edgar Doll. "The Stewardship of the Saint in Mexico and Guatemala," M. A. Thesis, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1940. p. 4.

the annual fiesta, this obligation including the incurrence of the necessary expenses--for decoration, candles, incense, food and drink for participants, and the like. As will be seen, upon examination of the data, this sub-unit, which will be termed the fiesta bearer, is sometimes, but not invariably, merged with the stewardship of the saint.

Church personnel constitutes a third sub-unit of the formal religious organization. Church personnel may, in turn, be subdivided into two sub-groups: church officials and church servants. Church officials include those individuals who conduct ritual activities within the church, and who pray, in the church, for the benefit of the community.³ Church servants consist of subordinates, concerned with carrying out the orders of church officials, and with the physical care of the church building and its equipment.

There are, in addition to the sub-units of the ceremonial organization already discussed, individuals known generally throughout the Maya area as principales. The principales constitute a body of elders which stands at the head of the Indian ceremonial organization. They are accorded respect and authority by virtue of their superior knowledge. This

³The Catholic priest is relatively unimportant throughout the entire area, even in the performance of Catholic ritual. In some communities, he is called upon only for baptismal purposes, or to celebrate the mass at an annual fiesta. One of the reasons for the unimportance of the Catholic sacerdote may perhaps be found in the fact that there are but few priests in the region; they have headquarters in one town and periodically visit others in the parish.

knowledge has two aspects: (a) the experience and wisdom of elders, and, (b) the specialized knowledge of those who are conversant with the details of ritual and of ceremonial organization generally. Principales, in some of the sub-areas, perform ceremonies involving native ritual, for the benefit of the community as a whole, and in such communities could be classed with the next unit of the ceremonial structure, the performer of native ritual. However, in other communities, they do not have such a function. Therefore, for the purposes of analysis, they will be considered separately. Principales in every community, however, are, in the eyes of their fellow villagers, the principal individuals, and therefore the leaders of the community.

The final unit in the structure of the Indian ceremonial system is the performer of native ritual. It is admitted that the term is an heuristic one. It may be objected to on two grounds: (1) It is difficult to determine, throughout almost the entire area, the distinction between Catholic and native ritual; (2) The term may perhaps be considered too broad; substitutive terms might be those of shaman, and priest.⁴ With regard to the first objection, it is indeed difficult in many communities to distinguish between Catholic and native ritual, and, therefore, between the performer of Catholic ritual

⁴As used in this study, the term, priest, refers to the individual who serves as an intermediary between man and God; the term, shaman, refers to the individual who is believed to have powers of supernatural origin.

and the performer of native ritual. However, in instances where there can be no doubt that the ritual context is of native origin, the term is applicable. Use of the term thus appears justifiable. As to the second objection, if shaman and priest were here distinguished, difficulty would arise in treating those situations where the performer of native ritual is both shaman and priest, or, where he is one and not the other.

Deriving the Ceremonial Structure of a Community

The first abstraction performed is that of deriving a chart representing the ceremonial structure of a given community from statements of ideal behavior and descriptions of actual behavior contained in the ethnographic data. As an illustration of this operation, and to indicate how different the ceremonial structures within a given sub-area may be and yet be classified within the same structural pattern, structural charts for a number of Indian communities in Chiapas will be presented, together with an explanation of the method employed in their construction.⁵

The selection of a number of communities in the Chiapas sub-area, rather than a number of communities in another sub-area, was for the reason that ethnographic reports of a

⁵The generalized chart for the Chiapas sub-area will also be presented for the purpose of comparison with the community structural charts. Explanation of the derivation of a generalized sub-area chart is presented on p.24 ff. Details concerning the ceremonial structure of the Chiapas sub-area are given in Chapter II.

relatively high degree of completeness, and, presumably, of accuracy, were available for several communities in Chiapas. This sub-area was selected as a sample case, therefore, because the data were comparable.

Two questions must now be asked: (1) How were these community structural charts derived? (2) How far do the schematic representations of the ceremonial structures of these communities depart from reality; that is, how much abstraction is involved in their construction?

With regard to the first question, the verbal descriptions of the ceremonial organization in a given community were studied carefully, with the established units and sub-units in mind. Various ways of representing the ceremonial structure were considered, and the one selected which seemed most closely to fit the definitions of the categories. An attempt was made not to force the data into a specific category without sufficient evidence to justify doing so. The relations of officials within a given category--e.g., Stewardship of the Saint--were represented on a vertical axis, reflecting the operation of the hierarchical principle, the more important officials appearing higher in the column than less important officials. Inter-relatedness between categories was represented on the horizontal axis, relative degree of inter-relatedness being indicated by relative distance of one category from another. Two-directional arrows (\leftrightarrow) indicate that a single individual may hold the two offices thus linked; single-directional arrows (\rightarrow) indicate the

order of progression through the hierarchy; dashes (- -) linking officers in two units or sub-units indicate a close relationship between these two officers, e.g., an advisory relationship. Since there was no way of measuring these relations quantitatively, these representations are, at best, estimates of relationships.

With regard to the degree of abstraction involved in the construction of the community structural charts, there is, first of all, the mechanical problem of condensing hundreds of pages of descriptions of actual behaviors and statements of ideal behaviors into a single chart. There is, secondly, the problem of selecting the base from which the abstraction is to be made; that is, whether the ideal pattern or the behavioral pattern is to be represented. In the descriptive portions of this study, wherever possible, the ideal pattern was presented, with the behavioral pattern also indicated. However, in the structural charts, variations or alternatives could not be effectively represented. The community charts which follow (Fig. 3 and Fig. 4) are representations of the preferred ideal pattern of ceremonial structure.

By referring to Table No. 1 (p. 10), it will be observed that the five Chiapas communities may be subdivided linguistically: Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Tenejapa are Tzeltal-speaking communities; Chamula and San Pedro Chenalho are Tzotzil-speaking communities. It might, therefore, be expected that structural similarities would be confined to one

CANCUC

Political Organization		Religious Organization		
Constitutional and Regional		Fiesta-Bearers	Stewardship of Saint	Performer of Native Ritual
Agente	Primer Principal	Principales	6 Mayordomos or Cofrades for each saint	Cabildos de Milpa and Cabildos de Misa
Presidente				
Síndico	Capitanes			
1st Alcalde	Capitanes			
2nd Alcalde				
1st Regidor	Capitanes			
2nd Regidor				
3rd Regidor	Capitanes			
4th Regidor				
4 Suplentes				
Mayores				

Shamans outside formal religious organization

CHAMULA

Political Organization		Religious Organization		
Constitutional	Regional	Pasados		
Constitutional	Regional	Stewardship of Saint	Fiesta-Bearers	Church Personnel
Presidente	Presidente	Mayordomos	1 Alferez ↔	1 Sacristan
2 Regidores	3-4 Gobernadores			
Propietarios				
2 Regidores	3-6 Alcaldes		1 Pasión	
Suplentes				
1 Síndico	2 Síndicos			
1 Secretario	4 Regidores			
	Mayores			

Shamans outside formal religious organization

SAN PEDRO CHENALHO

Political Organization		Religious Organization			
Constitutional	Regional	Stewardship of Saint	Fiesta-Bearers	Church Personnel	Performer of Native Ritual
Presidente ↔	Gobernador	2 Mayor- domos for each saint	1 Al- ferez for each saint	1 or more Sacris- tanes	Princi- pales
2 Jueces	2 Alcaldes				
2 Regi- dores Pro- pietarios	5 Regidores				
2 Regi- dores					
Suplentes	1 Martomo- rey		2 Cap- itanes	2 Co- brer- ios	
Secretario	2 Jura- mentarios		for each saint		
Comandante	2 Mayores				
	5 Alguaciles				

Shamans outside formal religious organization

Fig. 3.--Ceremonial Structures of Cancuc, Chamula, and San Pedro Chenalhó.

OXCHUC

Constitutional Political Organization		Regional Political Organization and Religious Organization			
Presidente		Catinab Okil-Cabil Principales			
Regidor Proprietario		Political Offices	Fiesta-Bearers	Church Personnel	Performer of Native Ritual
Síndico			Capitán	Chuykales	Dzunubiles
Regidores Suplentes		Alcalde	Capitán		
Secretario		2 Gobernadores	2 Síndicos		
Alcalde Proprietario				8 Mayor-domos	
Alcalde Suplente		4 Regidores (X-tul)			
Comandante			Capitán (of any saint)		
Policías					

TENEJAPA

Political Organization		Religious Organization			
Constitutional	Regional	Stewardship of Saint	Fiesta-Bearers	Church Personnel	Performer of Native Ritual
Presidente	Gobernador	2 Mayor-domos	4 Capitanes	2 Cabil-dos de la Iglesia	25-30 Cabildos para la Milpa
Síndico	4 Alcaldes (ranked)	2 Mayor-domos Menores	Pri-meros		
2 Regidores Proprietarios	Regidores	Mayor-domo	Capitán		
2 Regidores Suplentes	Fiadores	Mayor-domo	Capitán		

Shamans outside religious organization

CHIAPAS

Political Organization		Religious Organization			
Constitutional	Regional	Fiesta-Bearers	Stewardship of Saint	Church Personnel	Performer of Native Ritual
Presidente	Presidente				
Secretario					
Síndico					
Juez Municipal	Alcaldes	Capitanes or Al-fereces	Mayor-domos	Sacris-tanes	Cabildos de la Milpa
Regidores Proprietarios	Regidores			Cabil-dos de la Ig-	
Regidores Suplentes					
Mayores	Mayores				

Shamans outside religious organization

Fig. 4.-- Ceremonial Structures of Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Chiapas.

or the other of these subdivisions, or that differences in ceremonial structure would crosscut these subdivisions. However, such is not the case.

From a careful comparison of the structural charts for the three Tzeltal-speaking communities--Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Tenejapa--it will be noted that they differ:

- (1) in degree of relationship between the constitutional and regional branches of the political organization
- (2) in degree of relationship between the political and religious organizations
- (3) in degree of relationship between the sub-units of the religious organization
- (4) in the status of the shaman (inside or outside the formal religious organization).

Thus, in the community chart for Cancuc, the constitutional and regional branches of the political organization are represented as a single governing body with a single panel of officers. Secondly, the relationship between the political organization and the religious organization is demonstrably close, with progressive alternation between offices of the political organization and offices of the fiesta-bearer sub-unit.⁷ In Cancuc, there appear to be no individuals who serve solely as Church Personnel; the principales, among other are charged with making necessary repairs to the church building. The Stewardship of the Saint, as a sub-unit, is represented

⁷ Thus, the incumbent 3rd and 4th regidores will be the capitanes of the next fiesta of San Lorenzo; the incumbent 1st and 2nd regidores will be the capitanes of the next fiesta of the Virgen de la Caridad, and so on. Ibid., p. 101.

by a definite number of mayordomos for each santo. Performers of native ritual are termed cabildos de milpa and cabildos de miga. The shaman is outside the formal religious organization; such ceremonies as he performs are for individual or familial benefit, not for the welfare of the community as a whole.

The ceremonial structure for Oxchuc⁸ differs considerably from that of any of the other Chiapas communities. The first point of difference is seen in the identity of the regional branch of the political organization and the formal religious organization. Secondly, the relationship of the constitutional organization to the combined regional politico-religious organization is of a lesser degree than in either Cancuc or Tenejapa. There is no overlapping of function, except in the lower offices.⁹ Within the combined politico-religious organization there is progressive alternation between "political" offices and those which fall within the category of fiesta-bearers. Church personnel and performers of native ritual are not subject to hierarchy. The latter, known as dzunubiles, or pulseadores (pulse-takers) achieve their position solely by virtue of the supernatural power ascribed to them. Their high status within the formal religious organization constitutes the most radical

⁸ Data from Alfonso Villa Rojas, "Notas sobre la Etnografía de los Indios Tzeltales de Oxchuc", Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, no. 7. University of Chicago Library. Chicago. 1946.

⁹ The regidores suplentes of the constitutional organization consist of regidores of the regional politico-religious organization; the policías of the constitutional organization are also drawn from among the regidores in the regional politico-religious organization.

point of difference between the ceremonial structure of Oxchuc and that of other Chiapas communities. Here the shaman is an important official in the formal organization. In fact, ability to rise to the highest possible office, that of catinab (chief) of either of the two calpules (politico-religious divisions of the community) is dependent upon possession of supernatural power. The sub-unit designated as Stewardship of the Saint is not represented on the Oxchuc chart, due to the fact that the saints are kept permanently in the church, except when they are taken out at times of procession.

In Tenejapa,¹⁰ the constitutional and regional organizations are closely linked, as evidenced by the fact that an individual may serve as presidente in the constitutional organization and gobernador in the regional organization at the same time. However, there is a separate panel of officials in each organization. The ceremonial structure of Tenejapa differs from that of Oxchuc in that, here, the calpul is not a political entity but serves only to delimit two groups of religious functionaries.¹¹ There is, in Tenejapa, a greater elaboration of the sub-units, fiesta-bearers and stewardship of the saint; there are more capitanes and a larger number of

¹⁰Data from Fernando Cámara Barbachano. "Monografía sobre los Tzeltales de Tenejapa", Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, no. 5. University of Chicago Library. Chicago. 1946. Also from Fernando Cámara Barbachano. "Cambios Culturales entre los Indios Tzeltales de los Altos de Chiapas". M.A. Thesis. Escuela Nacional de Antropología. Mexico. 1948.

¹¹Fernando Cámara Barbachano. "Cambios culturales", p.238.

cofrades. As in Cancuc, and in contrast to Oxchuc, the shaman is outside the formal religious organization.

With regard to the ceremonial structure of the two Tzotzil-speaking communities--Chamula and San Pedro Chenalhó--certain general points of difference, similar to those listed for the Tzeltal communities, may be noted.

Thus, in the structural chart for Chamula,¹² the constitutional and regional political organizations are represented as sharply separated. The constitutional authorities do not intervene in the solution of local problems; it is the regional authorities who attend to all the religious, political and penal affairs of the community.¹³ Of interest, so far as broader comparisons are concerned, is the practice, in Chamula, of designating principales as pasados,¹⁴ a term which will again be encountered in the Midwest Highlands sub-area.

The formal religious organization, as well as the regional political organization, is represented by separate panels of officials for each barrio, there being three barrios in Chamula. Thus, of the officials listed on the structural chart, there is approximately this number for each barrio.

On the Chamula structural chart there is no separate category represented for the performer of native ritual. The members of each sub-unit of the formal religious organiza-

¹²Data from Ricardo Pozas Arciniega. "Monografía de Chamula", Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, no. 15. University of Chicago Library. Chicago. 1947.

¹³Ibid., p. 338.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 358.

tion (stewardship of the saint, fiesta-bearers, and church personnel), together with the pasados, perform all community ceremonies. The shaman, in Chamula, as in Chiapas generally, is outside the formal religious organization.

In San Pedro Chenalhó,¹⁵ the constitutional and regional branches of the political organization are represented as having a number of close ties. Thus, the four regidores (two regidores propietarios and two regidores suplentes) in the constitutional organization also constitute four out of the five regidores in the regional governing body. Similarly, the two alcaldes in the regional organization also act as municipal judges in the constitutional body. In operation, the two ayuntamientos form a single governing body, although there is a panel of officers for each. Principales are here designated as the chief performers of native ritual, although, indeed, the presidente, síndico and alcaldes also pray for the benefit of the community.

As a result of comparing the structural charts for the Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities in Chiapas, the conclusion has been reached that it is not fruitful to distinguish these communities, one from another, on the basis of linguistic differences.

¹⁵Data from Galixta Guiteras Holmes. "Informe de San Pedro Chenalhó", Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, no. 14. University of Chicago Library. Chicago. 1946.

Another hypothesis to account for differences in ceremonial structure within these geographically contiguous communities within a single sub-area might be that the differences are due to the relative degree of acculturation which has taken place in the various communities. Cámara has thus effectively contrasted the politico-religious organizations of Tenejapa and Oxchuc, Tenejapa representing the most acculturated community and Oxchuc the least acculturated.¹⁶ Whether this hypothesis could be extended to account for differences in ceremonial organization existing between other communities in the Chiapas sub-area would have to be tested by similar studies.

This brief discussion is sufficient to indicate that the problem of accounting for differences in ceremonial structure, as between sub-areas of the Maya area as a whole, is also encountered in the consideration of differences in ceremonial structure as between communities in the same geographical sub-area.

Deriving the Ceremonial Structure of a Sub-area.

It has been noted, in the sample case presented, that there may be considerable variation in ceremonial structure among the communities within a given sub-area. One may ask, then, why it was decided to use sub-areas as a basis of classification, rather than structural types without reference to

¹⁶Fernando Cámara Barbachano. "Cambios culturales".

area. The reason is twofold: (1) The ethnographic data available are in terms of communities which tend to cluster within a given sub-area; (2) each of these sub-areas is isolated from the others by natural physiographic barriers which tend to restrict the amount of contact between them. (This latter characteristic may be noted by reference to Map 2).

With the areal concept in mind, then, the generalized structural chart for each sub-area was abstracted from the specific community charts, on the general basis of the comparative method: that of ignoring the differences between the ceremonial structures of the various communities, and concentrating on the similarities between them. Obviously, the number of communities in the sample sub-area (or in any other sub-area) was too small to make use of statistical analysis; moreover, there are no quantitative measurements in the data. A statistical norm, then, can not be established. Thus, the method has been to abstract those features which tend to be represented in each, or most, of the communities in the delineated sub-area. The resulting generalized structural charts, therefore, approach an ideal type for each sub-area, and do not represent the actual ceremonial structure of any particular community within a given sub-area.

In the sample case--that of Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities in Chiapas--it will be noted that the structural chart for each community closely resembles the generalized chart

for Chiapas in some respects, and differs from it in others. Furthermore, these points of resemblance and points of difference may not be the same for any two communities.

Two questions must now be asked: (1) How was the generalized chart for Chiapas abstracted from the Chiapas community charts, and, (2) whether the ceremonial structure of a particular community in one sub-area may more closely resemble the ceremonial structure of a community in another sub-area than it resembles other structures in "its own" sub-area.

With regard to the first question, the generalized structural chart for Chiapas (as well as the generalized charts for other sub-areas) was constructed on the basis of the following considerations:

1. Degree of relationship between the constitutional and regional political organizations;
2. Degree of relationship between the political organization and the formal religious organization;
3. Degree of relationship between the various sub-units of the formal religious organization;
4. Status of the shaman (inside or outside the formal religious organization).

It will be noted that these are the considerations with regard to which points of difference between the various communities were emphasized. However, in the construction of the generalized charts, specific points of difference were minimized and specific points of similarity maximized. Thus, with the exception of Oxchuc, the rest of the communities could be conceived of as having a general ceremonial structure

similar to that represented on the generalized Chiapas chart.

The second question may be restated as follows: may the ceremonial structure of a particular community in sub-area I (Chiapas) resemble more closely the ceremonial structure of a particular community in sub-area V (Midwest Highlands) than it resembles the structures of other communities in the Chiapas sub-area? If this is true, it would tend to detract from the validity of the areal classification as it is here employed; if it is not true, it would tend to support the utilization of this concept. As a sample case, the structural chart for a particular community in sub-area V--that of San Pedro la Laguna (Fig. 5)--will be compared with one of the community charts for sub-area I--that of Oxchuc¹⁷ (Fig. 4)--which it superficially resembles, to indicate how two communities in different sub-areas may resemble each other with regard to ceremonial structure and yet be classified within different structural patterns.

In both communities--San Pedro and Oxchuc--there is unity of the regional political organization and the formal religious organization. The ceremonial structure of both is marked by an alternate progression through political and religious offices. These are, indeed, strong points of resemblance. Yet by reference to the structural charts, certain significant points of difference will be noted:

¹⁷The structural chart for Oxchuc was selected, rather than that of any other community in Chiapas, because Oxchuc is atypical in the Chiapas sub-area.

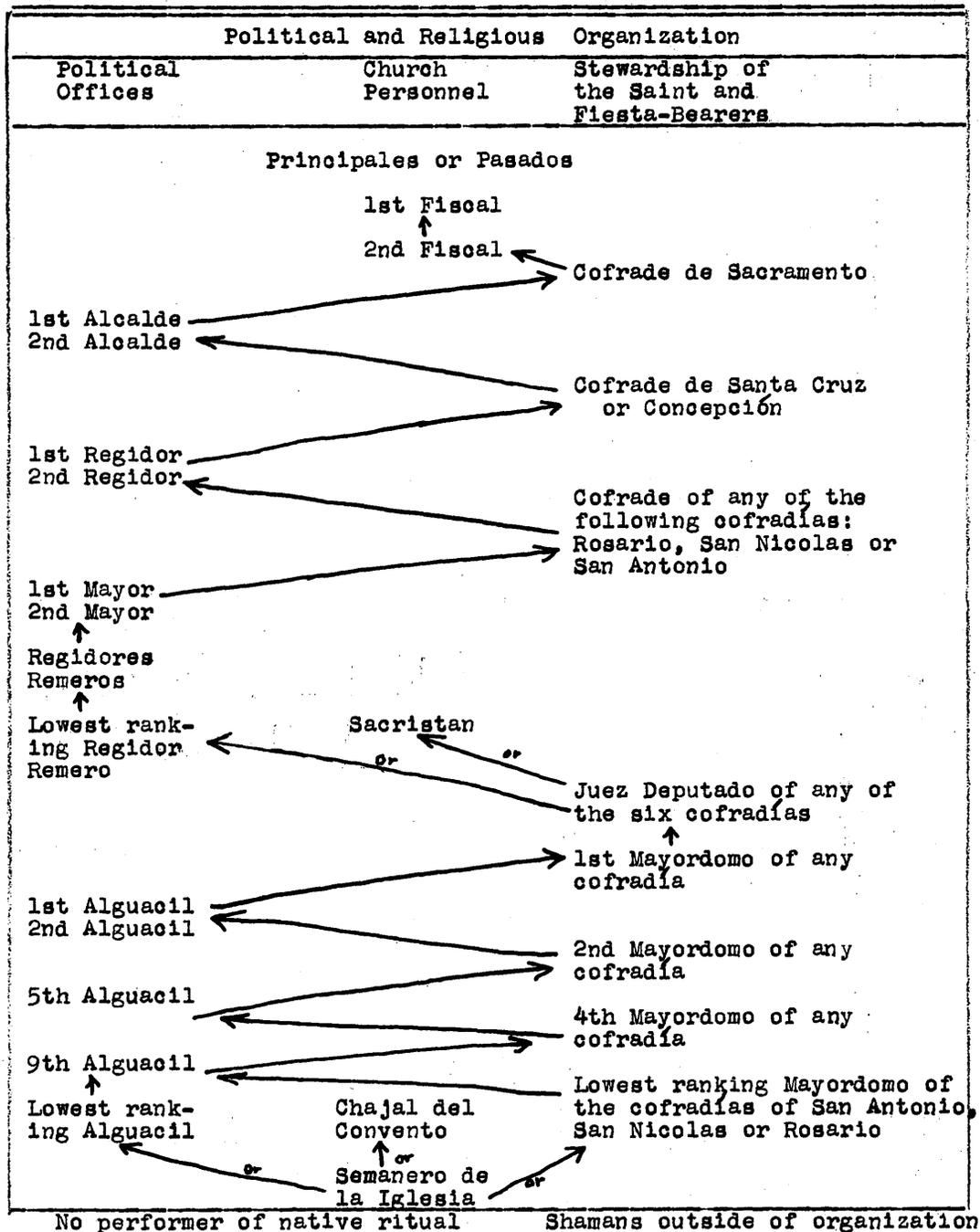


Fig. 5.--Ceremonial Structure of San Pedro la Laguna¹⁸

¹⁸Data from Juan de Dios Rosales. "Field Notes on San Pedro la Laguna". Unpublished Ms. pp. 743-744.

(1) In Oxohuc, church personnel is not integrated in the hierarchy; in San Pedro, it is; (2) in Oxohuc, there are certain officials designated as performers of native ritual, while in San Pedro, there are no performers of native community ritual; (3) in Oxohuc, the shamans are an integral part of the formal religious organization, while in San Pedro, the shamans are outside of the organization; (4) in Oxohuc, a group of officials is listed for each calpul, while in San Pedro, there are no calpules; (5) in Oxohuc, it is the fiesta-bearers who assume greater importance, while in San Pedro, the stewardship of the saint is of equal importance with the function of fiesta-bearing.

This brief statement of similarities and differences should be sufficient to indicate that, although the structural charts of these two communities show certain superficial resemblances, the points of significant difference far outweigh the resemblances. It therefore appears justifiable to place these two communities, which are in different geographical sub-areas, within different sub-types with respect to ceremonial structure. As a second result of this comparison, it should be evident that the use of such structural charts should be accompanied by sufficient descriptive material to make quite clear the relationships between the units represented on the charts.

Establishment of Structural Types for the Maya Area

Classification of the ceremonial structures obtained for the various sub-areas, with a view to establishing one or more structural types for the Maya area as a whole, was made on the basis of the following criteria:

1. Degree of inter-relatedness of the units of the ceremonial structure.

The difference in the relative importance of this criterion has been represented on the horizontal axis of the sub-area structural charts. However, in order to reach a closer approximation to the degree of inter-relatedness of the units of the ceremonial structure, it is necessary to take into consideration a number of factors which may not be easily represented on a chart of this kind. These are: (1) the consideration of membership; i.e., whether (a) a given individual may hold office in two units, (e.g., political organization and religious organization) or two sub-units, (e.g., stewardship of the saint and church personnel) of the ceremonial structure at the same time; (b) a given individual may hold office in one or the other at different times; (c) he may hold office in only one, and not the other. (2) the consideration of the method of selection of offices; i.e., whether (a) each unit, or sub-unit, designates its own officers, or, (b) the officers of one unit, or sub-unit, designate the officers of another unit, or sub-unit. (3) the consideration of joint participation; i.e., whether (a) the members of one

unit, or sub-unit, participate jointly in ceremonies with members of another unit, or sub-unit, or, (b) the members of different units, or sub-units, do not participate jointly in ceremonies.

2. Degree of operation of the hierarchical principle.

Difference in the relative importance of the hierarchical principle in the ceremonial structure has been represented on the vertical axis of the sub-area structural charts. Here, also, there are a number of considerations which must be taken into account. These are: (1) whether a given individual may hold a number of lower offices in the hierarchical ladder; that is, may begin at the bottom of the ladder, and go all the way to the top; (2) whether a given individual may hold a number of lower offices in the hierarchy, and then be unable to progress to the higher offices; (3) whether a given individual may enter the system at a higher point; that is, may hold higher offices without first passing through the lower ones.

The application of these criteria for the purpose of establishing one or more structural types for the Maya area as a whole is set forth in detail in Chapter IX, in which chapter, also, three sub-types for the Maya area are suggested.

It will be observed that, with each successive level of abstraction, a larger degree of inference is necessary. Likewise, successively, the differences in ceremonial structure tend to be leveled out, and the similarities tend to become more emphasized.

The next step is to abstract a basic ceremonial structure common to the present-day Maya area as a whole, from which the three structural sub-types suggested would be seen as variations. In turn, the basic ceremonial structure for the Maya area may be viewed as a representative of the structural types common to the whole of the Middle American culture area, of which the Maya area is but a part; however, that construction lies outside the province of the present study. Nevertheless, it must be stated that the construction of such a structural type for Middle America, as a whole, would be prerequisite to the comparison of similar ceremonial structures in other culture areas. Since the significant characteristics of the ceremonial structure for the Maya area, and, indeed, for Middle America as well, appear to be the result of the overlay of Spanish institutions upon native institutions, it might be profitable to make a similar comparative study of a number of sub-areas within a given culture area in South America, where the same, or a similar, process has occurred.

CHAPTER II
THE CHIAPAS SUB-AREA

The ceremonial structure for the Chiapas sub-area is represented in Fig. 4. This structure may be briefly characterized as follows: (1) There is a close relationship between the political and religious organizations; (2) the institution designated as stewardship of the saint is of great importance; (3) the sub-unit of the religious organization designated as fiesta-bearers is likewise strongly formalized; (4) there exist a number of officials designated as church personnel; (5) a group of principales, as individuals who have passed through some of the offices in the formal organization, is recognized; (6) the performer of native ritual is within the organization; (7) the shaman--as diviner and curer--is outside it.

The outstanding social unit among these Chiapas communities consists of the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the entire community derives its name. Politically, these communities are distinguished as free municipalities (municipios libres) or dependent municipalities (agencias municipales) according to their relative importance and the number of their inhabitants. As in Guatemala, the municipio is the social and cultural unit.¹ The free municipios have the

¹Sol Tax. "The Municipios of the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala", American Anthropologist, vol. 39, no. 3, July-Sept., 1937, pp. 423-444.

right to choose their own government; the dependent municipios look to a free municipio in administrative matters.

The political organization of these Chiapas municipios generally consists of two governing bodies: the ayuntamiento constitucional, or constitutional government, and the ayuntamiento regional, a governing body appointed by the local Indians, whose members are Indians. In some of the communities, these two governing bodies function as one. In all communities, some of the members of the constitutional organization are also members of the regional organization. This is particularly true of the office of presidente. The President of the constitutional organization and the President of the regional organization are often one person. In communities where the two offices are not held by one individual, the head of the regional organization, known as the gobernador, or Governor, is frequently consulted by the head of the constitutional organization on matters of importance to the welfare of the community.

The office next in importance in the constitutional organization is that of síndico, customarily held by a ladino.² The principal function of the síndico is to supply labor for public works, and this, in fact, is practically his only relationship

²A ladino is an individual who speaks Spanish, wears "city clothes"; i.e., shirt, trousers, and shoes, and who, in general, participates in, or attempts to participate in, modern Latin American culture. It is not a racial term, inasmuch as many individuals who are of Indian origin, become ladinos by preference, or by accident.

with Indian community life. Next in order of authority are the regidores (councilmen), whose primary function is to communicate the orders of the higher authorities to the people of the community, and to see that these orders are carried out. There are, customarily, from two to four regidores, and they are ranked, either numerically, or in two classes, the more important of these classes being designated as the regidores propietarios, and their helpers designated as regidores suplentes. Regidores are commonly Indians, although in one community (Oxehuc) the regidor propietario was a ladino and had little connection with Indian life.

There is, in most of these communities, a Municipal Judge (juez municipal), who also fills a position in the regional organization, to be discussed below. A relatively new office, but an important one, is that of Secretary (secretario), who obtains his position by virtue of being bilingual, able to read and write Spanish. This official is found in but a few of the Chiapas communities; where the office does exist, it is usually held by a ladino, who is appointed by the higher authorities at Ciudad las Casas, the political "seat" of the region. The Secretary has little connection with the Indian regional organization.

The office-holders of least importance in the constitutional organization are those designated as mayores. The mayores are young, unmarried youths, who serve as messengers,

clean the governmental buildings, and serve the higher officials of both the constitutional and regional organization.

The regional organization, as stated above, is that managed by the Indians themselves. The head of this organization is commonly known as presidente or gobernador, and his relations with the head of the constitutional organization have already been mentioned. In addition to these relationships, the President constitutes the actual head of Indian civil life in the community, acting as judge and mediator in cases of discord and in penal cases. As for his personal qualities, he must be wise, able to speak well, to handle people, and, in some communities (especially in Oxchuc) he must be the possessor of supernatural power. In those communities which are divided into barrios, parajes, or calpules (local territorial units), some of the President's functions are performed by lesser officials, who, however, constitute the supreme authority in their respective neighborhoods. If these authorities are unable to come to a satisfactory decision, the case is referred to him. In many communities, the President, together with his assistant, chooses the incoming officials of the formal religious organization. In short, the President of the regional government is the repository of authority in the Indian community.

Next in order of importance in the regional organization are the alcaldes (lit. mayor), of which there are generally two,

ranked numerically.³ The alcaldes are charged with the collection of necessary funds for the operation of the regional organization, such as collection of plaza market taxes, collection of money for the salary of the Secretary in communities where this office is in existence. Where the community is divided into barrios, parajes or calpules, the alcaldes select the officials for the local or neighborhood political and formal religious organizations. They also may act as judges in local or neighborhood cases; in two communities,⁴ the alcaldes are also designated as Municipal Judges. In the latter capacity, they have close relationship with the constitutional organization. In some communities, the alcaldes play an integral part in the formal religious organization, in addition to their role of selecting officers for it, having in their charge the obligation of organizing a particular annual fiesta.

The regidores, as a group, form the next position of rank in the regional organization. Of these, from four to five are generally considered of higher rank, with another group of from two to four, acting as their assistants. The regidores, individually, are numerically ranked. In some communities, this body of officials is one with the regidores in the constitutional organization. The regidores, generally,

³There are four alcaldes in Tenejapa.

⁴Cancuc and San Pedro Chenalhó.

perform the function of communication of orders from the higher officials to the people; they collect money when necessary for a specific purpose, and call the people together for important meetings. In two communities⁵ they are also an integral part of the formal religious organization. In one community⁶ in the year following fulfillment of obligations connected with the office of regidor, the individual holds an important position in the religious organization, that of being held responsible for the annual fiesta of one of the saints. Thus, it may be seen that this particular body of office-holders has relationships both with the constitutional political organization and with the formal religious organization.

Lowest in rank are the mayores or alguaciles. These are unmarried youths, whose function it is, as in the constitutional organization, to perform the physical labor necessary in the care of the municipal buildings.

Religious Organization.

Since, in Chiapas, as well as in other sub-areas, terminology for a given set of offices varies considerably, the sub-units of the formal religious organization will be defined on a functional basis, as was suggested in the Introduction.

⁵Cancuc and Oxchuc.

⁶Cancuc.

In Chiapas, there appears to be a fairly well recognized distinction between the sub-units of the formal religious organization. There is, firstly, a set of officials concerned with the stewardship of the saint. These officials are generally designated as mayordomos, and there are, usually, from one to three mayordomos for each saint. In Chiapas, in contradistinction to some of the other sub-areas, the images of the saints are kept throughout the year in the church.⁷ The first mayordomo, however, keeps the saint's fiesta clothes in his own house, usually in a special trunk set aside for this purpose. It is his obligation to pray to the santo daily at his own house altar, and, at fiesta time, to "dress the saint" in a special ceremony which takes place in the church. This cargo, or office, also involves the practice of sexual abstinence during certain periods, particularly during the fiesta for the particular image which is the mayordomo's responsibility.

The second sub-unit of the formal religious organization in this sub-area consists of a group of individuals whose responsibility is to organize and carry out the annual fiestas for the various saints. These individuals are designated, in some communities, as capitanes (Captains), and in others as alfereces, but everywhere their function is the same: they are

⁷ except in Tenejapa where not all the images are kept in the church.

the fiesta bearers. Their principal obligation is to provide food and drink--usually aguardiente--for other officials of the politico-religious organization who participate in the annual fiesta. Customarily, there is one fiesta bearer for each saint, and the fiesta bearers are ranked according to the relative importance of the saints whose fiestas they organize. In some communities, the fiesta bearers have the additional obligation of hiring musicians for the days of fiesta. These offices are desired because of the social prestige attached to them, but not all individuals in the community may serve in this capacity, due to the fact that a necessary requirement is the possession of enough maize to take care of the expenses incurred.

The last of the sub-units of the formal organization is comprised of the individual, or individuals, directly concerned with the care of the church itself: the building, the altar, the images of the saints. There is a variety of terms applied to these individuals. In some communities, the individual is designated as sacristan and holds office for life; in some communities, these individuals are called cabildos de la iglesia; in another place, they are called chuykales.

This completes the list of specific offices in the formal religious organization. There is, however, another set of officials of great importance in Indian ceremonial

life. These are the individuals known as principales. Although, in some sub-areas, the principales are those men who have passed through every office in the formal religious organization, in Chiapas this is not a necessary requirement. An individual in these communities may become a principal after holding one or two of the lower offices. In this sub-area, with its characteristic subdivision of villages into parajes or barrios, the principal often constitutes the political and religious leader of his neighborhood. He has the obligation of supervising repairs to the church, collecting money necessary for neighborhood projects, is consulted by the higher officials in the political organization in matters concerning his paraje or barrio, and, in addition, often prays for the benefit of his local community.

In the Chiapas communities, the performer of native ritual appears to be within the formal religious organization. In several of the communities, this individual is designated as cabildo de la milpa, and has the obligation of performing the misa de milpa. This ceremony is not a mass, as the term would seem to indicate, but consists of the cabildo praying for the pueblo so that the harvest of maize will be abundant. Prayers may also be made for health, for rain, and for the general well being of the community. These cabildos are commonly also principales, and thus, closely related to the formal religious organization.

In the majority of these Indian communities, the shaman-- as diviner and curer--is outside the formal organization.⁸ He is called in on matters of importance to individuals, to diagnose illnesses, and to ascertain, by means of taking the pulse of the sick person, whether his illness is caused by natural or supernatural cause. In the latter case, the pulseador (pulse-taker), as he is commonly called, may state the name of the brujo (black shaman) who has caused the illness. The brujos, with their powers of doing harm to others, are also outside the formal organization.⁹

⁸except in Oxchuc, where the pulseadores constitute an integral, and an important, part in the organization.

⁹except in Oxchuc, where the fear of their supernatural power gives them added authority.

CHAPTER III

THE NORTHWEST GUATEMALA SUB-AREA

The ceremonial structure for Northwest Guatemala¹ is represented in Fig. 6. This structure may be briefly characterized as follows: (1) Political and religious officials are not dichotomized, so that the political and religious organizations may be separated, one from another, only with difficulty; (2) the formalized sub-unit designated as the stewardship of the saint does not occur; (3) the sub-unit designated as fiesta-bearer occurs but is relatively unimportant, compared with the role of this sub-unit elsewhere; (4) a number of individuals function as church personnel; (5) there exists a group of sacred specialists whose function is the performance of Catholic ritual; (6) the status of the principales approaches that of a permanent priesthood; (7) performers of native ritual may also be performers of Catholic ritual, except in such communities as have specific professionals devoted to the performance of the latter ritual; (8) the shaman, or soothsayer, is outside the formal religious organization, but has a strong influence upon it.

As in Chiapas, there exist in the Northwest Highlands two systems of government--the constitutional and the regional--which commonly function as one, the highest position in the constitutional government being held by a ladino and secondary positions held by Indians.

¹Data from LaFarge, Oliver and Douglas Byers. The Year Bearer's People; LaFarge, Oliver. Santa Eulalia; Wagley, Charles. "Economics of a Guatemalan Village" American Anthropologist, Memoir no. 58, vol. 43, no. 3, part 3, 1941.

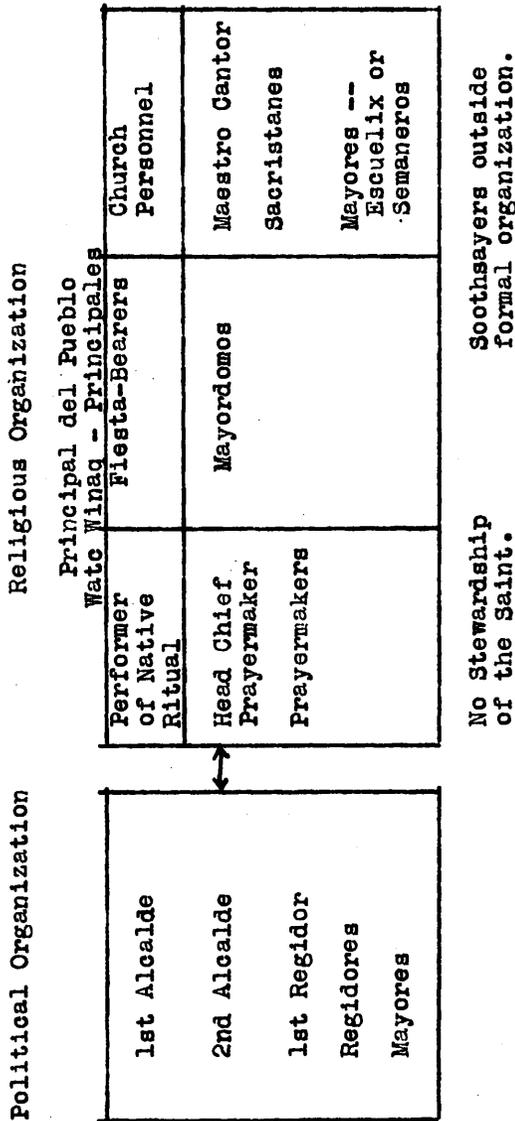


Fig. 6.--Ceremonial Structure of Northwest Guatemala

The first alcalde is usually a ladino, and has little to do with the Indian life of the community. In one community,² the first regidor is also a ladino, but in the others, the regidores are all Indians.

The second alcalde, or auxiliary alcalde is held responsible by his superior for the maintenance of public peace and enforcement of the law. Although he has little political influence, he carries heavy community ritual duty throughout his year of office, which is of equal, if not greater importance, than his civil duties. In these Northwest Highlands communities, perhaps even more than in Chiapas, the political and religious officials are not dichotomized, so that it is difficult to separate one institution from the other. As LaFarge has commented:

The tendency to pull civil officers back into the religious group is widespread among Guatemalan Indians. It contrasts with the Spanish pattern of unity between church and state, in that the latter consists of two separate entities working together, whereas the Indian pattern is that of a single unity pyramiding to a single control, deriving its authority from divinity.³

The political function of the next group of officials, the Indian regidores, is to act as aides to the alcalde to carry out his orders, as for example, supervising public work on roads or trails. In addition to their political functions, the regidores have constant ritual duties to perform.

²Santa Eulalia.

³Oliver LaFarge. Santa Eulalia: The Religion of a Cuchumatán Indian Town. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1947. p. 13.

Lowest in the ranking of offices in the political organization are the mayores, who serve as attendants to the alcalde and the regidores, acting as messengers, gathering firewood for government officials, and so on.

Religious Organization.

Of the sub-units of the formal religious organization that were noted in the Chiapas communities, one is lacking in the Northwest Highlands: the stewardship of the saint. Here there do not appear to exist the formally organized cofradías (religious lay brotherhoods) present elsewhere in Guatemala, which have for their principal function the care of the saint. There are, indeed, in some Northwest Highlands communities, small informal bodies of laymen, who undertake the maintenance of one of the many wayside crosses, but the important village crosses are under the direct charge of another sub-unit of the religious organization, the Prayer-makers.

As for the second sub-unit of the formal organization, the fiesta bearer, this function appears to be assigned to a particular individual in each of the Northwest Highland communities. However, there are fewer saints whose name days are celebrated in this sub-area, compared with the situation in Chiapas, and therefore, fewer individuals responsible for the celebration of the saint's day.

Those concerned with the care of the church building and its appurtenances are the sacristanes, and their aids or helpers here, as in Chiapas, are called mayores. In one community, the latter are called semaneros; in another, they are called escuelix. But everywhere their function is the same: to act as servants to the sacristanes.

In these Cuchumatanes communities, there exists a group of religious specialists whose function is the performance of Catholic ritual. Called cantores, or maestros cantores, they have learned Latin chants by rote from previous cantores. These men, generally, know how to read, and can recite the prayers and lead responses. They are especially active during Christian ceremonies, such as those of Holy Week. However, it must be said that this particular group of specialists does not exist in all of these communities.⁴ In one community, where the maestro cantor directs Catholic ritual, he is also closely connected with officials of native ritual, since he belongs to the group of principales which stands behind the whole ceremonial organization.⁵

The principales, in this sub-area, form a self-perpetuating group, holding office for life. They approach closely the status of a permanent priesthood, since their prayers are

⁴e.g., in Jacaltenango.

⁵LaFarge, op. cit., p. 83.

necessary at all important occasions, and there are, in addition, ceremonies which they alone are qualified to perform. In some communities, their authority is centralized in the person of a principal del pueblo, the chief principal; in other communities, four or eight principales are the leaders of the ceremonial organization. They are individuals who have held the important offices in the formal organization. It is they who select the officials known as Prayer Makers (performers of native ritual), and it is likewise the principales who preside over the installation ceremonies of incoming officials. Having held important offices in the formal religious organization, they have an extensive knowledge of both Catholic and native ritual. Primarily they perform ceremonies for the benefit of the community, but may perform domestic rituals as well.

Performers of native ritual may, only with difficulty, be separated out from performers of Catholic ritual, except in those communities where there exists a maestro cantor, who is the specialist of Catholic ritual. Elsewhere, these native priests participate in Christian ceremonies, as well as those of native derivation. The more "delicate"⁶ ceremonies, involving native ritual, are performed by the principales, but the native priests, known, in some of these communities as Prayer Makers, customarily make the "Prayer Round", a pilgrimage

⁶Ceremonies of such a sacred nature that supernatural danger is attached to them.

or procession to all the important crosses of the community. In addition, the Prayer Makers observe periods of intensive prayer in connection with the occurrence of certain days in the native calendar. It is the Prayer Makers who perform the rite of toai to bring rain.⁷ The Prayer Makers also perform the non-Christian rite, cahambal, involving turkey sacrifice, in connection with Year-Bearer observances.⁸ In addition, there are other ceremonies, intimately connected with the agricultural cycle, which may be performed only by these officials.

This completes the list of officials of the formal religious organization in Northwest Guatemala. Account must be taken, however, of possessors of supernatural power, the chimanes, or shamans. In most of these communities, the soothsayer, although not necessarily a member of the formal religious organization, has important relationships with it. In one community, he, as "Giver of the Road", practices divination in order to advise the principales where they may find the best man for a given office during the coming year. In yet another community, the soothsayer stands in close relationship to the Prayer Makers. No ceremony can be initiated without his consultation. Lesser chimanes

⁷Described by LaFarge, op. cit., p. 121.

⁸The concept of the Year-Bearer has been fully described in LaFarge, Oliver and Douglas Byers, The Year Bearer's People, Middle American Research Series, Pub. no. 3, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. 1931.

"make costumbre"⁹ for families and individuals. Magical power of any kind is regarded as a charge or burden from God himself, and a man becomes a chimane only after being "called by God". Although, as stated above, the chimane is not always a member of the formal organization, nevertheless, sometimes a soothsayer may also be a principal and former Prayer Maker.

⁹"Costumbre means literally 'custom.' It is used... throughout this region, to mean prayer, ritual, ceremony, etc." Wagley, Charles. "The Economics of a Guatemalan Village", American Anthropologist, Memoir No. 58. p. 16.

CHAPTER IV.
THE IXIL SUB-AREA

The ceremonial structure of the Ixil-speaking communities¹ is represented in Fig. 7. It may be briefly characterized as follows: (1) Ladino members of the political organization have little to do with Indian ceremonial life, but certain Indian civil officials are also officials in the formal religious organization; (2) the stewardship of the saint, as a sub-unit, is strongly represented; (3) functions of the stewardship of the saint and the fiesta bearer are combined within one group of officials; (4) church personnel are sharply separated from the above officials; (5) principales constitute an important group of Indian authorities; (6) the performer of native ritual is the calendar divinator priest, who is, at the same time, a shaman.

The officials of the political organization generally consist of an intendente, a ladino; a síndico, also a ladino; a number of regidores--usually six, ranked--of which half are ladinos and half Indians, alternating. That is; the first regidor is a ladino, the second regidor an Indian, and so on. Other officials of strictly political function are all ladinos.²

¹Data on the Ixil communities is drawn from J. Steward Lincoln, "An Ethnological Study of the Ixil Indians of the Guatemala Highlands", Microfilm Collection of Manuscript Materials on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, no. 1, University of Chicago Library, 1946, unless otherwise specified.

²Antonio Goubaud, Juan de Dios Rosales, and Sol Tax, "Reconnaissance of Northern Guatemala--1944", Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, no. 17, University of Chicago Library, 1947. Pp. 89-90.

Political
 Organization
 Constitutional
 and Regional

Intendente
 Síndico
 6 Regidores
 Regidores
 Auxiliares
 Mayores

Religious Organization
 Principales

Stewardship of
 the Saint and
 Fiesta-Bearers
 Mayordomos

Church
 Personnel
 1 Maestro Coro
 1 Fiscal
 Sacristanes

Performer of
 Native Ritual
 Rezadores or
 Zahorines
 (Shaman-priests)

Fig. 7.--Ceremonial Structure of the Ixil Sub-area.

This system has replaced the older system, in operation prior to 1936, whereby the political head of a municipio was the ladino alcalde, with an Indian second alcalde as assistant.

In addition to the above listed officials, there are a number of regidores auxiliares, whose function is to assist the sixth regidor. The latter is in charge of securing Indians for vialidad (work on the roads). There are also a number of mayores, who represent the various cantones, or divisions of the town. The latter are "captured" by their predecessors since the office entails much work and not much honor is attached to it.

Of the above officials, the ladinos have little to do with the Indian formal religious organization. However, an Indian regidor may be, at one and the same time, a rezador (Prayer Maker), the term used in the Ixil area for the shaman-calendar priest.

Religious Organization.

The stewardship of the saint, as one of the sub-units of the formal religious organization, is fully represented in the Ixil-speaking sub-area. This is in strong contrast to the situation in the Cuchumatanes sub-area, where this sub-unit appears only in rudimentary form, if, in fact, at all.

Thus, in the Ixil-speaking communities, there are formalized cofradías--brotherhoods, and sisterhoods--each one in charge of the image of some particular saint. The saint is usually kept

during the year in the cofradía house and brought to the church in procession on the saint's day, by the mayordomos or members of the cofradía. There are, in one of the representative communities,³ twelve cofradías, strictly ranked, for each of which there are ten mayordomos, numerically ranked. Five of the cofradías in this community have women's branches, with martomas, who are the wives of the mayordomos. The importance of the stewardship of the saint in this sub-area may be indicated by the fact that there may be, in a single community, as many as 120 individuals dedicated to this obligation.

The mayordomos are elected annually by cofradía members. Lincoln states that all cofrades or members of cofradías are chosen from principal families, with the resulting inference of the presence of social classes, but the group making a reconnaissance of this sub-area in 1944 did not find that this was the case.⁴

Within itself, the group of mayordomos, as a whole, combines the function of stewardship of the saint with that of the fiesta bearer. (These were separate sub-units in Chiapas, it will be remembered). In the Ixil-speaking area, it is the mayordomos who have charge of all fiestas and ceremonies, buying the necessary candles, rockets, incense and aguardiente for processions and for celebrations at cofradía houses. (It will also

³Nebaj.

⁴Lincoln, op. cit., p. 129; Goubaud, Rosales and Tax, op. cit., p. 91.

be remembered that in Chiapas this function was performed by the individuals designated as capitanes or alfereces). In addition to their religious and ceremonial functions, the mayordomos here are also called on to perform work on the highways or to act as mozos, or servants, for the ladino officials.

The next sub-unit of the formal religious organization to be considered is that of the church personnel. Here, the function of caring for the church is well separated from that of the stewardship of the saint and that of the fiesta-bearers. None of the individuals included in the church personnel are mayordomos of cofradías.

Although the Catholic priest is theoretically the head official of the church, he is of little importance in these communities beyond his annual visit for the purpose of conducting baptism. The highest church official is the maestro coro, which position corresponds to that of the maestros cantores in other sub-areas. This official, an Indian, serves for the period of a year.

Next in importance in the church organization is the fiscal, who is paid by the priest, and serves as his assistant. There are, in addition, from four to six sacristanes, officials of more or less permanence, who take care of the church building.

Here, as in other sub-areas, the principales constitute an important group of Indian authorities. Lincoln defines a principal as, "an Indian who at present has, or formerly had,

a part in the civil government such as former alcaldes or present regidores".⁵ He also states that natives speak of principal families or descendants of the old Indian top caste, adding, however, that "newly rich Indians who have acquired lands and later hold government office are also principales even though not descendants of top caste families".⁶ This would indicate a tendency to the growing unimportance of family status in this sub-area, with relation to office-holding, if, indeed, family ever was the deciding factor in selection for office. The influence of the principales is primarily evidenced by their privilege of selecting the regidores annually. They may also receive prestige by virtue of their familiarity with the native calendar which is of extreme importance in this sub-area. However, although a principal may be a calendar priest, or vice versa, this is not always necessarily the case.

The sacred professional known in the Ixil area as the calendar priest divinator is of the utmost importance, since Indian ceremonies in this area are performed primarily in accordance with the days of the native calendar. Here, perhaps more than anywhere else in the Maya area, the calendar still endures as the core of Indian religion.⁷

⁵Lincoln, op. cit., p. 87.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., p. 104.

The calendar priest, known in this area as rezador (Prayer Maker), or zahorin (shaman), is a shaman in that he is in direct contact with the supernatural, through dreams and by means of divinatory inspiration. He is, likewise, a priest, when he officiates at ceremonies which result from his interpretation of the sacred calendar. As in Chiapas and Northwest Guatemala, the shaman receives his obligation from God. Before becoming a calendar priest, a man has to have a dream, or a series of dreams, which determine his fate, and he cannot ignore them except under pain of death. Only the professional divinator calendar priests know the calendar thoroughly, as well as the sacred prayers, divination and rites connected with it. On any serious occasion when the calendar must be consulted, these professionals must be called in, paid a fee, and given the necessary paraphernalia to perform a given ceremony. These zahorines, or diviners are also called in by individuals for advice on almost all aspects of life. But these professionals are to be distinguished from the brujo, or black shaman, who does supernatural harm to others. Both types of individuals use the red pito beans, but for different purposes.

CHAPTER V.

THE VERAPAZ SUB-AREA

The ceremonial structure of the Verapaz sub-area is represented in Fig. 8. It may be briefly characterized as follows: (1) The political organization has few relationships with the formal religious organization; (2) the sub-units, stewardship of the saint and fiesta-bearers, are combined; (3) this sub-unit, in turn, is divided into two types of cofradías; (4) a group of officials exists which performs the functions of church personnel; (5) principales, as a group of elders who have passed through the offices of the formal organization, are recognized; (6) the outlying districts are organized into calebales,¹ each with its own religious center, the hermita; (7) the performer of native ritual is the chinam; (8) shamans, as diviners and curers, are called upon by individuals, but are outside the formal organization.

In Verapaz,² the constitutional political organization, the officials of which are primarily ladinos, is today headed by an intendente, who, as in other sub-areas, is chosen by the departmental authorities. Formerly, the regional political organization, which is now combined with the constitutional

¹The calebal consists of a group of perhaps a hundred outlying, scattered houses, which, however, is considered as a social unit; each calebal has its hermita, a church-like structure which serves as the religious center.

²Data from Antonio Goubaud, "San Juan Chamelco," unpublished Ms. to be microfilmed as part of the Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, University of Chicago Library; also from Goubaud, Rosales, and Tax, op. cit.

Political Organization		Religious Organization		
1st Alcalde	Stewardship of Saint & Fiesta-Bearers	Church Personnel	Performer of Native Ritual	
2nd Alcalde	Cofradías Beniles	Fiscal	Chinames	
4 Regidores	1st Mayor-domo	Sacristan	Assistants to Sacristan	
2 Mayores "cabecillas"	Mayordomos			
13 Mayores				
Policías				

Shamans outside organization

Fig. 8.--Ceremonial Structure of Verapaz

governing body, was headed by the first and second alcaldes, and it is this former organization which is represented on the generalized chart for Verapaz. There are, in addition, to the alcaldes, a corps of four regidores, elected by the people. Next, in order of importance in the political organization are the "head" mayores (cabecillas), and, following them in rank, a number of subordinate mayores, each of which performs municipal service during one week in each month. There are, in addition, a number of policías. The relationship of the political organization to the formal religious organization does not appear to be very close in this sub-area.

The sub-units of the formal religious organization follow somewhat the same pattern as elsewhere in this general area, but with certain elaborations that are not found elsewhere. Thus, the sub-unit known as the stewardship of the saint and that known as the fiesta-bearer are here combined; yet the stewardship of the saint sub-unit is itself divided into two categories. There appear to be a group of typical cofradías--eight of them, in one community,³ with a membership of six cofrades, together with their wives, making a total membership of 96 persons. These cofradías have the charge of the santos as their obligation, which cargo includes the bearing of such expenses as are necessary in conducting the fiesta of the saint. Concurrently with these cofradías, there is another group of cofradías called chinames, this name also being applied to the head of such organizations. The chinam appears to be a barrio

³San Juan Chamelco.

organization, there being a chinam for each barrio of a town. At the same time, the chinam appears to be closely connected with the outlying hermitas. The hermita cofradías are not integrated with those of the town and are completely independent. These also have six cofrades. The practice of having an hermita on a finca, or coffee plantation, is probably a device of the finca owners to keep their laborers from leaving the finca to go to ceremonies elsewhere. Here, there may not be a formal cofradía; instead, a neighbor and his wife may volunteer to provide flowers and other necessities for the finca hermita.

Church personnel is represented in this sub-area by a number of ladino officials, plus Indian sacristanes and a fiscal, who may also be an Indian. The church personnel is not integrated with that of the outlying cofradías, although the chinames participate in the mass when it is said. All the cofradías in the town are closely integrated with the church.

The principales as a group are represented in the Verapaz area by those individuals who have served as head of either of the two types of cofradías. There may be from 20 to 70 principales, depending upon the size of the community, and they are usually associated with particular barrios.

The performer of native ritual in this area is usually a chinam. A great deal of ritual activity here is structured about the agricultural cycle. There are ceremonies in May, for rain; in September, so that the harvest won't be damaged before it is taken; in October and

November, in thanks for the harvest. The old men go periodically to caves in the outlying districts throughout the whole year, and are in constant communication with the supernatural. It should be noted, however, in strong contrast to the Ixil area to the West, that here in Verapaz, the old native calendar plays little or no part in the structuring of ceremonies. The good days and bad days of the calendar are not here known as they are in the Ixil area.

There are shamans here--diviners and curers--but they are characteristically outside the formal religious organization, and perform ceremonies only for individuals. A diviner may receive his--or her--gift by means of a dream or a series of dreams. After receiving this visitation from the supernatural, the would-be diviner looks for the little stone that he will use in making divinations. Brujos--black shamans--are also known, and, it appears that one may be a diviner and a brujo at one and the same time, knowing how to bring danger, in the form of sickness or poverty, to others, and knowing, as well, how to cast out that danger.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MIDWEST HIGHLANDS SUB-AREA

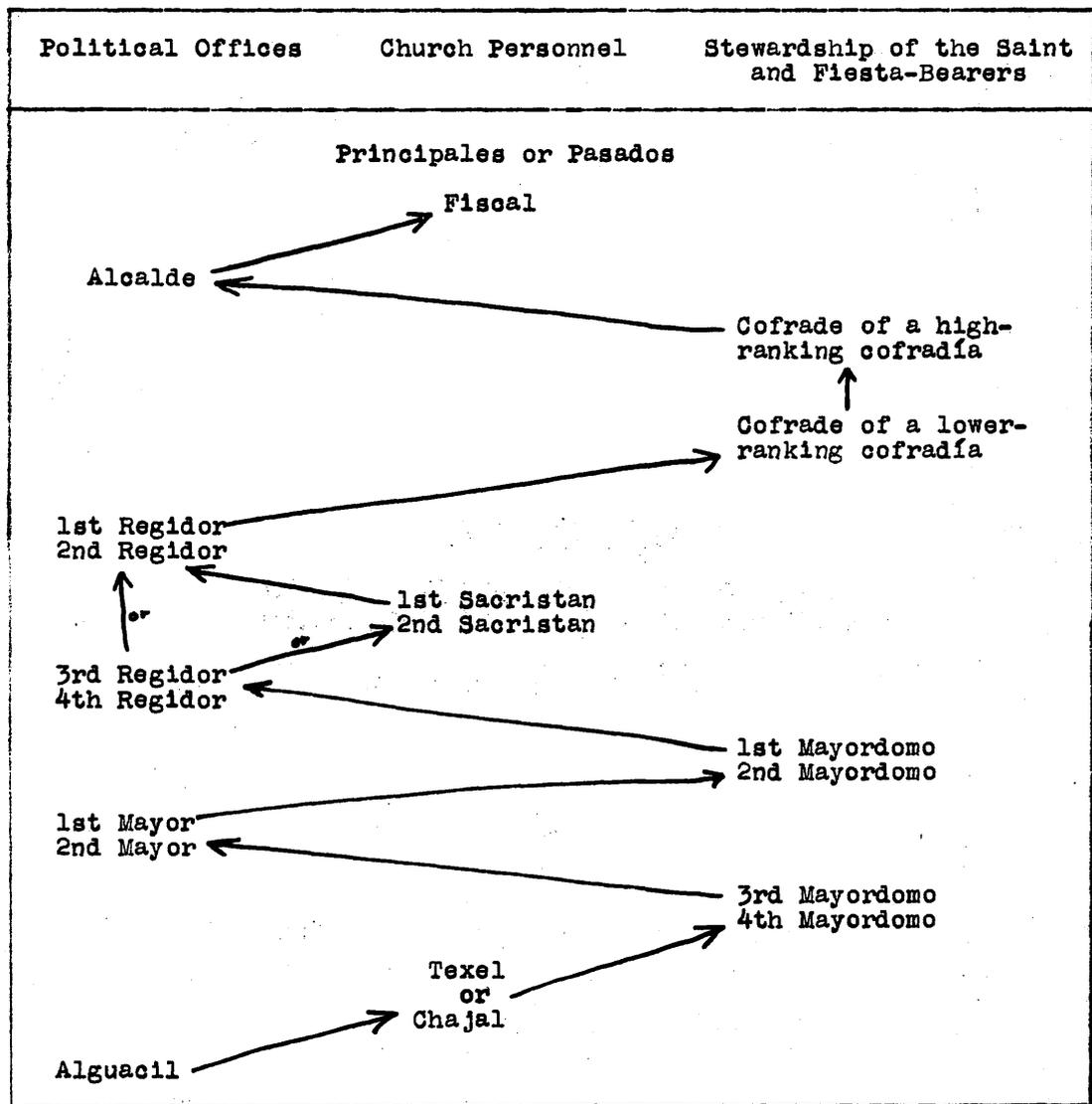
The ceremonial structure of the Midwest Highlands¹ is represented in Fig. 9. It may be summarized as follows:

- (1) The civil organization and the formal religious organization are so closely interlocked as to form but a single body;
- (2) the sub-units of the formal religious organization designated as stewardship of the saint and the fiesta-bearers are combined;
- (3) a number of officials and their subordinates have as their obligation the care of the church;
- (4) there is a group of highly respected men, who have theoretically passed through all the offices of the politico-religious hierarchy, and are known, in the Midwest Highlands, as pasados;
- (5) there is no performer of native ritual for community benefit;
- (6) the shaman performs native ceremonies for the benefit of individuals.

Customarily, in the Lake towns around the shores of Lake Atitlán, as well as in other Indian communities in this sub-area, the formal political organization is so closely interrelated with the formal religious organization that the two function as one. One organization may be abstracted from the other only on

¹Data from Juan de Dios Rosales, "Field Notes on Panajachel", unpublished Ms., and "Field Notes on San Pedro la Laguna", unpublished Ms. Both to be published as part of the Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, University of Chicago Library. Chicago. Also from Sol Tax, "Santo Tomás Chichicastenango", Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, no. 20, University of Chicago Library. Chicago. 1947. "The Towns of Lake Atitlán", Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, no. 13. University of Chicago Library. Chicago. 1946. "Lecture Notes on Panajachel". Unpublished Ms.

Political and
Religious Organization



No performer of native ritual. Shamans outside of organization.

Fig.--9. Ceremonial Structure of the Midwest Highlands.

a basis which is highly artificial. Thus, the offices having political function are recognized as such; however, these offices have religious functions as well. Furthermore, progression upward through the hierarchy of offices involves alternate holding of political and religious offices.

At the top of the politico-religious ladder in these communities stands a body of men corresponding to the groups of principales in other communities in the Maya area; here, these individuals are usually called pasados, indicating that they have passed through all the offices of the organization. There are, in some of these communities, from 15 to 20 pasados, or principales--men who have fulfilled all their obligations to the community--as well as a number of principales of lesser importance, who may have gone through some, but not all, of the offices.

Under the old system, before 1936, the highest Indian authority was the second alcalde (since the first alcalde was always a ladino). This office having been abolished by law, the next highest office which an Indian might hold in the civil organization was that of second regidor, (the first regidor also being a ladino). The change in the civil system has resulted in the second regidor being responsible to the ladino intendente, instead of, as formerly, to the second Indian alcalde. In his new status as the highest Indian official, the second regidor quite probably has more authority than was the case under the old system.

There are a number of regidores in each community, ranked by number, and in one community,² there are two kinds of regidores--those of the juzgado, or the regidores of the Municipal Building and the court, and regidores remeros, whose obligations are largely to transport authorities to other Lake towns when community business takes them there. The relations of the regidores of the law (or the juzgado) to the religious organization will be described below.

Lowest among civil offices is that of alguacil, of which there are several, ranked by number. These individuals, who may be boys of 15 or 16 years of age, and unmarried, act as servants to the higher authorities, serve as messengers, and perform the actual work necessary in keeping the juzgado or municipal building clean. Their cargo is not sought, except as a stepping stone to the higher offices.

Religious Organization

In the Lake towns, the sub-unit of the formal religious organization designated as the stewardship of the saint is combined with that of the fiesta-bearer. The heads of the lay brotherhoods, or cofradías, have for their responsibility the care of the material image of the santo for the period of a year, and have also the obligation of bearing the expense of the annual fiesta for that santo. In some towns there are

²San Pedro la Laguna

four cofradías, in others five, or even more, but the system, with minor differences, is the same everywhere in this sub-area. The cofradías themselves are ranked; one begins as the mayordomo of a lesser, or poorer, cofradía, and progresses upwards to serving as the head of a major cofradía. Bearing the fiesta expenses for the latter is a serious financial undertaking, and thus, in practice this office is attained only by a wealthy man who can well afford it.

Close relationship of the civil and religious organizations is evidenced by the fact that all the religious officials are selected by the civil officials--formerly by the alcaldes and the regidores of the juzgado. Close relationship is further evidenced by the fact that the regidores themselves have fiesta responsibilities. And, finally, the relationship is emphasized by the practice of cofradía officials to entertain the civil officials.³ In fact, it appears that this is a more important function than the veneration of the santo itself. Aside from the ceremonies at which food and drink are served to civil officials, and the annual fiesta of the santo, the cofradía serves little ceremonial purpose in these towns.

The sub-unit designated as church personnel is represented in the Lake towns by the fiscal, who is the head official in

³The Indians' conception of the politico-religious organization as a single unit is further demonstrated by the fact that, in Panajachel, an individual may serve either as regidor, a "civil" office, or as sacristan of the church, a "religious" office. These two offices are substitutive; i.e., if a man holds one of them, he is excused from obligation to hold the other.

charge of the church, by a sacristan, who assists him in this obligation, and by a number of young boys, called chajales, or semaneros, who, as the latter title indicates, take weekly turns in cleaning the church building and serving the sacristan and fiscal.

This completes the description of the sub-units of the formal politico-religious organization of the Midwest Highlands. It is a system through which all male members of the community are expected to pass during the course of their lifetime, and, in this regard, practice closely approaches the ideal pattern in most of these communities.⁴

As stated above, the pasados in the Lake towns fulfil the same function as do the principales in other sub-areas; that is, as men of authority and prestige. However, here, the pasados do not, as in Northwest Guatemala, for example, serve as performers of native ritual. The performer of native ritual for the benefit of the community does not, as a matter of fact, appear to exist in the Midwest Highlands. There are no rain ceremonies, or community ceremonies for the purpose of obtaining a good harvest, or for warding off epidemics, as in Chiapas. Such

⁴This, however, is not true of Santo Tomás Chichicastenango, where there are about 5000 families and only about 350 offices. Obviously, in a town of large population, there are not enough offices to go around, and thus, every man cannot expect to go through the organization. He may hold some of the offices but his chances of reaching the top of the hierarchical ladder are very slight. Sol Tax, "Notes on Santo Tomás Chichicastenango", Micro-film Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, no. 16. University of Chicago Library. Chicago. 1947.

ceremonies as exist are all within the context of Catholic ritual.

The shaman is a figure of some importance in these Lake communities, but not as a member of the formal religious organization. There are a number of shamans, or zajorines, as they are termed here; they are called upon by individuals for the purposes of divining and for curing. They perform ceremonies, both in the Catholic church, and at special crosses or other places in the countryside, "making costumbre" for the purpose of curing. The zajorines divine, as do shamans elsewhere, with the red pite beans, and they have knowledge of the old Maya calendar. But the calendar, here in the Lake towns, does not assume the importance that it does in the Ixil area, for example, where most ceremonies are held on the "good days" of the old calendar. Although the shamans here are in almost constant consultation, they cannot be strictly called performers of native ritual, in the sense of performing for the benefit of the community. Their function is to serve the individual and this is all they do.

CHAPTER VII

THE EASTERN GUATEMALA SUB-AREA

The ceremonial structure for Eastern Guatemala¹ is represented in Fig. 10. It may be briefly characterized as follows: (1) There is little relationship between the political and religious organizations; (2) the sub-units of the formal religious organization designated as the stewardship of the saint, and the fiesta-bearers, are combined; (3) there exist certain individuals who have as their obligation the care of the church; these individuals constitute the church personnel; (4) performers of native ritual are designated either as padrinos (in Chorti communities) or principales (in Pokomam communities); (5) shamans, as diviners and curers, are distinguished from the native priests, and are outside the formal religious organization.

The political organization, in present-day village communities in Eastern Guatemala, is headed by a ladino intendente, who is responsible only to the jefe político of the department in which the particular municipio is located. The jefe político, or political chief, is appointed by the president and is superior to all the officials of the municipios. He is in every way the chief departmental official. Under the old system, reported by Wisdom for the Chorti, the village head was the first alcalde, with an assistant, or second alcalde; the third alcalde or

¹Data from Melvin Tumin, op. cit. Also from Charles Wisdom, The Chorti Indians of Guatemala. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1940.

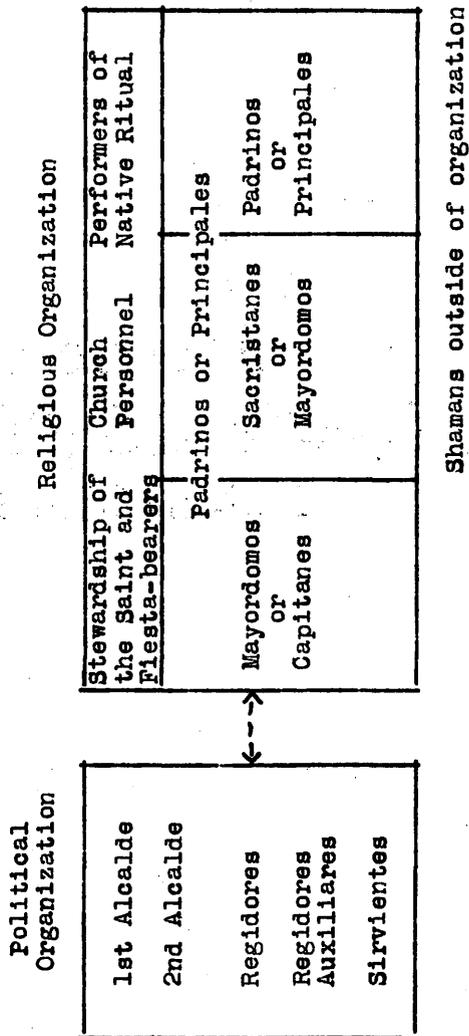


Fig. 10.-- Ceremonial Structure of Eastern Guatemala

regidor was always an Indian. The function of the regidor was to convey orders from the alcalde's office to the Indian community as a whole. Under the new system, the office of regidor is the highest which may be held by an Indian, and his functions are somewhat the same as formerly. In some Pokomam communities, however, Indian authority has been further decreased by making it impossible for an Indian to become more than a fourth regidor.² The first three regidores are ladinos; the remaining three are Indians. There are, in addition, six regidores auxiliares, the first of which is a ladino. Some thirty servientes complete the pueblo civil organization.

Division of the town into sections, or barrios, is common here, as in other sub-areas, and where such barrios exist, there are regidores to represent each. There are also officials for the aldeas, or outlying neighborhoods.

The military organization, in communities where it exists, is represented by a comandante, who receives his orders from the jefe político of the department. He implements the orders of the intendente, and has as his assistants, a number of soldiers who act as local police, known as policía.

Religious Organization

Although there are regional differences throughout the sub-area of Eastern Guatemala, and although officials perform-

²in San Luis Jilotepeque.

ing the same or similar functions are designated by different terms in the various communities, the over-all structure of the formal religious organization in these communities is remarkably similar.

In both types of communities--Chorti-speaking and Pokomam-speaking--the two sub-units which have, in this study, been designated as the stewardship of the saint and the fiesta-bearers, are one. That is; those officials having in their charge the care of the saint have also the obligation of bearing the expenses of the annual fiesta for that saint. In the Chorti communities, for example, there is one individual known as the capitán, who has as his cargo, both these obligations. In the Pokomam community, San Luis Jilotepeque, it is the mayordomos of the cofradías who have this obligation. In San Luis, likewise, the relationship of the civil and religious organizations is closer than elsewhere, in that the fourth regidor in the civil organization is also the head mayordomo of the cofradía of the fourth regidor. In other communities in this sub-area, there appears to be little relationship between the civil and formal religious organizations.

The sub-unit designated as church personnel is represented throughout Eastern Guatemala; although these individuals are designated in some communities as mayordomos, and in others as sacristanes, their function is the same.

Performers of native ceremonies are known in Chorti communities as padrinos, and in Pokomam communities as principales. However, in both areas, the performer of native ritual is also involved in Catholic ritual. The sacred specialist who performs in both cases is either a padrino or a principal. However, in the Chorti communities, there is a distinction made between the kind of padrinos who assist the priest in Catholic ceremonies (the mayordomos), and the kind of padrinos who perform important rainmaking ceremonies.

Throughout Eastern Guatemala, a distinction is made between the shamans--or diviners and curers--and the native priests, although it must be stated that in both the Chorti and Pokomam communities, a shaman may also be a padrino or principal. This overlapping of functions, nevertheless, appears to be purely fortuitous. It is not obligatory that a padrino or principal have the powers attributed to the shaman. Instead, it is his familiarity with native prayers and ritual which give him authority. These sacred specialists are the only ones who can fulfil these functions for the community as a whole.

As Tumin has stated of San Luis Jilotepeque, the principales are:

"the actual religious leaders and organizers of Indian religion in the pueblo. They are the only ones who know the prayers. They lead all processions, they conduct all worship, direct all cofradía celebrations . . . There are, besides the principales, no other strictly religious functionaries in Indian religious life, unless it be the (Catholic) priest on his monthly visits".³

³Tumin, op. cit., p. 344.

Tumin has designated the principal as the "major repository of the verbalization of Indian rites"⁴, and this characterization may well be applied also to the padrinos of the Chorti-speaking communities.

This completes the discussion of sub-units of the formal religious organization in Eastern Guatemala. It is necessary, however, to consider the great importance, in this sub-area, of the performance of individual and familial ceremonies. A great deal of this individual and familial ritual activity is concerned with the many crosses that are especially revered in these communities. This "Cult of the cross" is similar to that practised in Northwest Guatemala, except that here, in Eastern Guatemala, the ritual activity is activated primarily by the individual. (In Northwest Guatemala, it will be recalled, the "Prayer Round" of the community crosses was made principally by the Prayermakers). There is great importance attached, likewise, to household altars and crosses. This emphasis on individual costumbre will also be encountered in Indian communities in Yucatan, and it may well be that an explanation may be found for its occurrence to such an extent in these two sub-areas.

⁴Ibid., p. 343.

CHAPTER VIII
THE YUCATECAN SUB-AREA

The ceremonial structure of the Yucatecan sub-area¹ is represented in Fig. 11. It may be briefly characterized as follows: (1) There is little relationship between political and religious organization²; (2) the functions of stewardship of the saint and fiesta-bearer are combined; (3) a group of sacred specialists exists with the specific function of the performance of Catholic ritual; (4) the performer of native ritual is, at one and the same time, shaman and priest; (5) there are no principales, in the sense of elders who have passed through the ceremonial organization; (6) performance of native ritual by the layman is of considerable importance.

In Yucatan, the particular type of political organization noted for other sub-areas, with a well-defined hierarchy of offices, does not exist. There is especially, little relationship between the political or governmental officials and the ceremonial organization. The few officials of the formal government in one Yucatecan community, for example, consist of

¹The sub-area includes communities in Yucatan and in East Central Quintana Roo. Data from Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa Rojas, Chan Kom: A Maya Village. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publications No. 448. Washington. 1934. Also from Alfonso Villa Rojas, The Maya of East Central Quintana Roo. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publications, no. 559. Washington. 1945.

²except in Quintana Roo, where the Nohoch-Tata, or high priest, presides over the council of chiefs of the five military companies. Alfonso Villa Rojas, op. cit., p. 72.

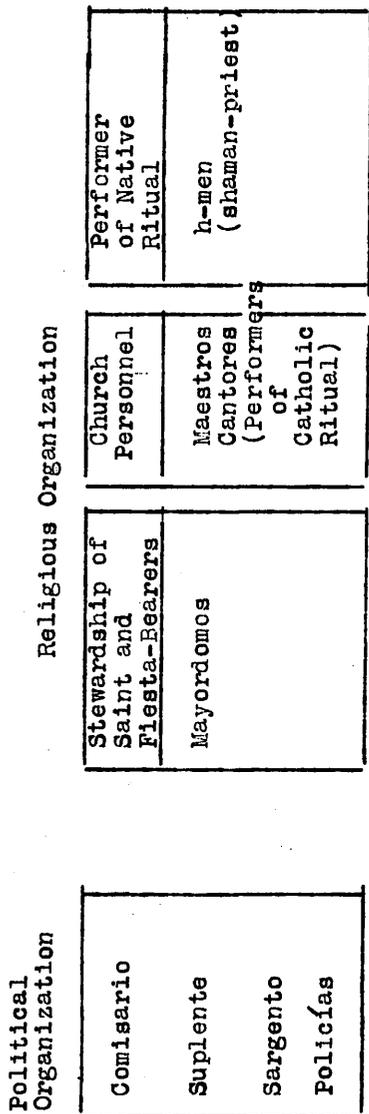


Fig. 11.--Ceremonial Structure of Yucatan

a comisario, or village leader, and a suplente, or aid, elected to assist him. These two--the comisario and the suplente--make a list of all adult males in the community, whom they group into units of four. The oldest man in each unit is the sargento, and he is responsible for, and directs the activities of the other three. The sargentos, together with the comisario, make up the administrative council of the village.

A variation from this type of organization is noted in the governing military theocracy in Quintana Roo. Here, the principle of hierarchy is a military one, and the organization has little connection with the ceremonial organization, except in that the Nohoch-Tata, or high priest, customarily presides over the council of chiefs of the five military companies. The Nohoch-Tata, then, is the only individual in the community who performs both religious and political functions.

Religious Organization

The sub-units of the stewardship of the saint and the fiesta-bearer are combined, in Yucatan, in the institution of the mayordomía. Here the sacred charge is to maintain the cult of the saint, which obligation is annually transferred to a successor in a ceremony characterized by the handing over of sacred objects symbolic of the charge. The obligation of bearing the fiesta costs entails principally the collection and preparation of the annual offerings made to the saint for the purpose of obtaining a good harvest. There is not, as in other sub-areas, a formal hierarchical organization to care for the saint. Instead, those who take on the cargo of the

mayordomía are volunteers chosen either by the men of the town, or by their predecessors. These men select assistants to help them perform their obligations.

The sub-unit of church personnel is represented in this sub-area primarily by the individuals known as maestros cantores. These sacred professionals officiate at all ceremonies involving Catholic ritual. They are men whom God has called to the role, but they must have special abilities besides. They must be able to recite prayers from the Catholic liturgy, in Spanish or Latin, and must also be able to officiate at novenas. There is, in Yucatan, a sharp distinction between the two types of sacred specialists: those who officiate at Catholic ritual, and those who officiate at native ritual.³

The performer of native ritual is the shaman-priest known as the h-men. This sacred professional conducts all important ceremonies dealing with the pagan gods. In addition, the h-men practises divination, performs exorcistic rites and conducts the ritual curing of disease. These professionals take no part in rituals involving the recitation of Catholic prayers, and the ceremonies performed by them are generally held in secluded places, the celebration of the h-men's ceremonies is not advertised in advance as are the Catholic ceremonies. In contrast to this

³ In Quintana Roo, however, "most of the ceremonies are performed inside the church or oratory, the Catholic and pagan rites being performed simultaneously before separate altars in different parts of the temple and by different sacred functionaries. Thus, although the two forms of ritual may enter into the same ceremony and have many elements in common, the distinction between them can always be recognized". Villa, 1945, pp. 106-7.

aspect of ceremonial structure in other sub-areas where the performer of native ritual and Catholic ritual may be the same individual, here the maestros cantores are not h-mens, nor are h-mens maestros cantores. Customarily a man becomes one of these sacred specialists because of particular personal aptitude. There is a tendency for a young man of mystical temperament to become apprenticed to a famous h-men. He may serve in this capacity for about a year, or until such time as he has acquired the knowledge requisite for his profession.⁴ Succession of the profession of shaman-priest from father to son does not appear to be institutionalized here, as it is among the shamans of the Midwest Highlands, although in one community this tendency was noted.⁵

In addition to the performance of ceremonies for communal benefit by the shaman-priest, the h-men, there is, in this sub-area, as was noted in Eastern Guatemala, the tendency for individuals or families to conduct private ceremonies themselves. For example, the layman makes offerings to the gods of the bush at the time of the burning of the milpa to make his peace with them so that he may have a bountiful harvest.

There are no principales in Yucatan, in the sense of leaders of the ceremonial organization. In one community⁶, there

⁴In Quintana Roo, he does not become a practising h-men until he finds the xunan of his profession in the bush. (The xunan is a piece of obsidian or glass used for purposes of divination). Villa, 1945, p. 74.

⁵Redfield and Villa, Chan Kom, p. 73.

⁶Chan Kom.

are three recognized leaders, sometimes referred to as the principales of the village. However, these men are secular leaders only, and do not concern themselves with affairs of a ceremonial nature. In certain respects, they resemble the principales of other communities in that they are men to whom great deference is paid, and their advice is sought in matters of importance. But they are not consulted in regard to sacred matters, and are not considered authorities of either Catholic or native ritual. Such authority is the province of the h-men and of the maestros cantores.

CHAPTER IX

ESTABLISHMENT OF STRUCTURAL TYPES FOR THE MAYA AREA

In previous chapters, a series of generalized descriptions were presented of the ceremonial systems of the various sub-areas of the present-day Maya area. The ceremonial structure of each sub-area was then represented on a chart at the end of the chapter dealing with each.

It is the purpose of this chapter, on the basis of the data presented in this study, to analyze the ceremonial structures of the various sub-areas through the use of a number of related criteria set forth in the Introduction, in order to ascertain whether structural types may be constructed. If structural types can be set up, it then remains to discover whether the spatial distribution of the structural types is significant.

The criteria to be applied are:

1. Degree of inter-relatedness of the units of the ceremonial structure.

This criterion can be further subdivided into the following considerations:

1. The consideration of membership: whether,
 - a. A given individual can hold office in two units, or two sub-units, of the ceremonial structure at the same time
 - b. A given individual can hold office in one or the other at different times
 - c. A given individual can hold office only in one, and not in the other

2. The consideration of the method of selection of officers:
whether,
 - a. Each unit or sub-unit designates its own officers
 - b. The officers of one unit, or sub-unit, designate the officers of another unit or sub-unit
3. The consideration of joint participation: whether,
 - a. The members of one unit, or sub-unit participate jointly in ceremonies with members of another unit, or sub-unit
 - b. The members of different units, or sub-units, do not participate jointly in ceremonies.

Applying the first consideration, that of membership, to the units of political organization and formal religious organization, it will be observed that, in the Chiapas sub-area, the political and formal religious organizations were not identical, but that higher officials in the civil organization might hold office, at the same time, in the formal religious organization; i.e., alcaldes also serve as fiesta-bearers. Similarly, in Northwest Guatemala, the second alcalde also served as Head Prayer Maker. In the Ixil area, a civil regidor might be, at the same time, a rezador, or calendar priest divinator. In contrast to this high degree of relatedness of political and religious units of ceremonial structure in sub-areas I, II and III, in Verapaz, sub-area IV, there is little or no overlapping of civil and religious offices. The ceremonial structure of the Midwest Highlands, sub-area V, was revealed as consisting of a single, highly-integrated politico-

religious organization, and evidence was cited for the existence of substitutive offices; i.e., an individual might serve in a civil office and be excused from religious obligations, or vice versa. In Eastern Guatemala, there is also a high degree of inter-relatedness between these units, inasmuch as the highest ranking regidor in some of these communities is also the head of the municipal cofradía. In sub-area VII, Yucatan, the data indicate that the civil and religious organizations are entirely independent of one another.¹

So far as the consideration of membership is concerned, therefore, it will be noted that sub-areas I, II, III, and VI, (Chiapas, Northwest Guatemala, the Ixil sub-area, and Eastern Guatemala) resemble each other more than they resemble sub-areas IV and VII (Verapaz and Yucatan). Sub-area V, the Midwest Highlands, exhibits the highest degree of relationship between the political and religious offices.

In applying the second consideration, that of the means of selection of officers, in Chiapas, it will be recalled, the President of the regional civil organization selected the incoming officials of the formal religious organization. LaFarge, in commenting on the civil organization in Northwest Guatemala, states: "The selection of candidates for these offices was largely influenced, if not outright controlled, by the native theocracy."² And, again, in speaking of the wate winaq (principales) of Jacaltenango:

¹with the exception noted for Quintana Roo.

²LaFarge, op. cit., p. 13.

Even today, although technically devoid of it, as far as the outside world is concerned, actually their temporal power is considerable. At Jacaltenango there is a semi-skeptical progressive group, as well as the Ladinos, to vote independently of them, but at such towns as San Marcos there is no doubt that they, really, control the temporal offices."³

These statements, then, mean that the officials of the religious organization in Northwest Guatemala select the civil officials, so that, again, a high degree of inter-relatedness between the political and religious organizations is evidenced (although the situation is the exact reverse of that in Chiapas). In the Ixil area, it appears that each unit designates its own officials, the mayordomos of the cofradías, for example, being selected by their predecessors. Similarly, in Verapaz, there appears to be no selection of officials in the religious organization by those of the civil organization. In the Midwest Highlands, on the other hand, all the religious officials are selected by officials of the civil organization. In Eastern Guatemala, in this respect, there does not appear to be a high degree of inter-relatedness, and, in Yucatan, there is none.

With regard to the consideration of the means of selection of officers, then, sub-areas I, II, and V (Chiapas, Northwest Guatemala and the Midwest Highlands) appear to resemble each other closely; sub-areas III, IV and VI and VII (Ixil, Verapaz, Eastern Guatemala and Yucatan) resemble each other.

The third consideration, that of joint participation in community ceremonies, when applied to the Chiapas sub-area, reveals

³LaFarge and Byers, op. cit., p. 150.

a high degree of inter-relatedness, for, in this sub-area, there is a large amount of co-operation between civil and religious officials in the organization of an annual fiesta.⁴ Similarly, in Northwest Guatemala, officials of both organizations participate in community ceremonies. In the Ixil area, officials of the two organizations do not participate jointly in ceremonies. This is likewise the case in Verapaz. In the Midwest Highlands, there is a high degree of inter-relatedness in regard to the consideration of joint participation, since the officials of both organizations participate jointly in every ceremonial affairs. In fact, as has been stated previously, one of the principal functions of the cofradía, or religious brotherhood, in this sub-area, is to entertain the members of the civil organization. In Eastern Guatemala, among the Chorti, there does not appear to be joint participation of this sort. However, among the Pokomam, Tumin reports that a local intendente set up a fiesta committee consisting of eight Indians who were responsible to him for the maintenance and conduct of all Indian fiestas and other Indian celebrations. This, however, is a comparative innovation, the committee being formed as late as 1939.⁵ In Yucatan, officials of the civil organization do not participate in ceremonial affairs.

In degree of joint participation in community ceremonies, then, sub-areas I, II, V, and, possibly, VI, resemble each other more closely than they resemble sub-areas III, IV, and VII.

⁴The manner in which these various officers function together in carrying out the fiesta of the patron saint is fully described by Villa Rojas, "Oxchuc", op. cit.

⁵Melvin Tumin, op. cit., p. 522.

Thus, according to the criterion of inter-relatedness, with specific reference to the political organization and formal religious organization, Chiapas, Northwest Guatemala, the Midwest Highlands have a ceremonial structure with the highest degree of inter-relatedness between these units, with the Ixil area and Eastern Guatemala intermediate in this regard, and Verapaz and Yucatan exhibiting the lowest degree of inter-relatedness.

This criterion will now be applied to the relationships between the various sub-units of the formal religious organization, which are, as set forth in this study: (1) stewardship of the saint; (2) the fiesta-bearer; (3) church personnel; and, (4) the performer of native ritual. The relationships of both principal and shaman to these sub-units will also be considered.

In Chiapas, so far as the consideration of membership is concerned, the four sub-units of the formal religious organization appear to be well separated at any particular time, but through time, an individual may alternate between the holding of office in the sub-unit, stewardship of the saint, and that of fiesta-bearer. Church personnel tend to remain such, and performers of native ritual, likewise tend to remain in this category, although, through accident, an individual may also be a member of one of the first two sub-units.

In discussing the relationship of the political and religious organizations in Chiapas, it was noted that certain officials in the latter were chosen by officials in the former. Other officials in the sub-units of the religious organization are generally selected by members of their own sub-unit, or, by principales.

In applying the consideration of joint participation, it is found that the members of the various sub-units of the formal religious organization in Chiapas participate jointly to a high degree in community ceremonies.

The shaman, not only by differential membership, but also by lack of joint participation with officials in the sub-units of the formal organization, is completely outside the organization (except in the case of Oxchuc, previously noted). Likewise, the method by which he becomes a shaman bears no relationship to the manner in which an individual becomes an official in one of the sub-units of the formal organization. He receives a call from God for this purpose.

In Northwest Guatemala, it was noted that the stewardship of the saint, as a sub-unit, was absent. Similarly, the sub-unit designated as fiesta-bearers was of relatively little importance. In some communities, there were individuals devoted to the performance of Catholic ritual, but not all communities had this class of officials. There remain the performers of native ritual, the Prayer Makers, who constitute the principal functioning unit of the religious organization in this area. One might say that there are no sub-units of the organization in this area; there is one unit, the Prayer Makers, who, together with the principales, who stand at the head of the organization, perform all the important ceremonies. In Northwest Guatemala, shamans are, as in Chiapas, outside the organization, so far as membership is concerned, although the soothsayers exert great influence upon the officials.

In the Ixil area, sub-units (1) and (2)--the stewardship of the saint, and the fiesta-bearer--are combined. Church personnel remain somewhat apart from the other units in the formal organization. The performer of native ritual--the calendar divinator--is at one and the same time shaman and priest.

In Verapaz, as in the Ixil area, the sub-units, stewardship of the saint and fiesta-bearer, are combined. However, the former is subdivided into two categories. The two types of cofradía appear to operate somewhat independently, due to the fact that one is primarily associated with the rural districts, and the other associated with the town. The town cofradías are closely integrated with the church. The performer of native ritual is usually also the head of one of the two types of cofradía. The shamans, as in Chiapas and Northwest Guatemala, are entirely outside the formal organization.

In the Midwest Highlands, the sub-unit, stewardship of the saint and that of fiesta-bearer are again combined. There is close co-operation between church officials and members of other sub-units. But there are no performers of native community ritual here, and the shaman, as a performer of native ritual for individual or familial benefit, is outside the formal organization.

As in other sub-areas, except Chiapas, in Eastern Guatemala, the first two sub-units are combined. Church personnel, as such, are relatively unimportant, as in Northwest Guatemala, for here, in Eastern Guatemala, the performer of native ritual is also concerned with Catholic ritual. Again, the shamans are traditionally

outside the organization, although a shaman may be, fortuitously, a member.

In Yucatan, as everywhere but Chiapas, the functions of stewardship of the saint and fiesta-bearer are combined. Here, however, the performer of Catholic ritual and the performer of native ritual are sharply separated. And the performer of native ritual, the h-men serves as both shaman and priest. There are no principales here.

In summarizing the application of the criterion of inter-relatedness to the sub-units of the formal religious organization, some very interesting comparisons arise: (1) The stewardship of the saint and fiesta-bearer are found to be combined in all sub-areas except Chiapas. It therefore appears that Doll's definition of the stewardship of the saint as an institution combining these two functions is a valid one; (2) Chiapas, Northwest Guatemala, Verapaz, and Eastern Guatemala evidence a high degree of relationship between the performer of Catholic ritual and the performer of native ritual, while the Ixil area and Yucatan show a low degree of relationship. Sub-areas I, II, IV, and VI, therefore, resemble each other more closely than they do sub-areas III and VII. Sub-area V, the Midwest Highlands, resembles all the other areas less than they resemble each other, since, in this sub-area, political and religious offices are so highly integrated, and there is no performer of native ritual for community benefit. The latter characteristic also separates the Midwest Highlands from the other sub-areas with regard to the

separation or identity of shaman and priest. In Chiapas, Northwest Guatemala, the Verapaz area and Eastern Guatemala, priest and shaman are separate; in the Ixil area, and in Yucatan, they are identical. Thus, in this respect also, sub-areas I, II, IV, and VI resemble each other closely; sub-areas III and VII show a high degree of resemblance.

Combining this analysis with that of the degree of inter-relatedness of political organization and formal religious organization, it is noted that there is, at the level of highest degree of inter-relatedness, the Midwest Highlands; an intermediate degree of inter-relatedness is evidenced in Chiapas, Northwest Guatemala, and Eastern Guatemala; the Ixil area and the Verapaz area resemble the second group in some respects but not in others; and finally, Yucatan appears to exhibit the lowest degree of inter-relatedness.

Thus, there appear to be three basic types of ceremonial structure in the area as a whole, based upon corresponding degrees of inter-relatedness between the units of the structure.

2. Degree of operation of the hierarchical principle.

In the application of this criterion to the data, the following considerations will be taken into account: (1) Whether any individual may begin at the bottom of the hierarchical ladder and go all the way to the top; (2) whether any individual may hold a number of lower offices in the hierarchy, and then be unable to progress to the higher offices; (3) whether any individual may enter the system at a higher point; that is, hold higher offices without first passing through the lower ones.

Intimately connected with the extent to which a given individual may progress through the hierarchical organization are conceptions as to the necessary requirements or qualifications of a high official. Such qualifications may be subdivided into two main classes: those of sacred nature, and those of secular nature. Of the former, the possession of supernatural power, bestowed on the individual by God, is of importance in some communities. But perhaps even more important, so far as the formal organization is concerned, is the knowledge of ritual which is acquired through having held a number of lower offices. Among the secular qualifications, that of financial solvency is of importance due to the fact that the obligation of fiesta-bearing is a costly one. One must be a man of some means to pay the necessary expenses of an annual fiesta, for example. A second qualification, of secular nature, has come into prominence within the last decades--that of knowledge of Spanish, and it will be seen that this qualification has done much to upset the operation of the hierarchical principle in ceremonial structure.

In Chiapas, it was noted that the qualification of financial solvency has limited the passage of individuals to higher offices in the sub-unit of the fiesta-bearers. These offices are desired because of the social prestige attached to them, but not all individuals may attain them.

In Northwestern Guatemala, on the other hand, due to the fact that the fiesta-bearers are relatively unimportant, the economic factor does not place as great a limitation upon the

individual. Nevertheless, the large amount of time necessary for the fulfilling of ritual duties does limit the individuals who attain higher offices to those who can afford to neglect their economic duties for a year at a time.

In the Ixil areas, there has been a growing tendency for newly rich Indians to hold the higher government offices and to become principales.

In Verapaz, as in Chiapas, the high expenses entailed by the fiesta-bearers naturally limit the number of individuals who can rise to higher offices.

In the Midwest Highlands, two factors are at work to disturb the functioning of the old hierarchical system. One is the growing tendency for men to be selected as higher officials because of their ability to read and write Spanish. Because of this, it is now possible to enter the system at some midpoint; that is, without serving in some of the lower offices. Likewise, the possession of a certain amount of wealth makes it easier for a man to pass through the hierarchy more quickly, thus becoming a principal at a considerably younger age than formerly. Thus, it is not uncommon nowadays to see a principal in his early forties. In the Midwest Highlands, however, the relative impersonality of the system has the result that the younger principal is shown as much respect as his elders.

In Eastern Guatemala, the increase in ladino authority has restricted to a considerable degree the extent to which an Indian may attain higher office. Indeed, it is now impossible

for an Indian to hold the higher positions, at the present time, in this sub-area.

In Yucatan, as has been noted, the hierarchical system of alternation between political and religious offices does not exist.

With reference to the operation of the hierarchical principle in ceremonial structures of Indian communities in the present-day Maya area, it must be said that, through the influence of wealth and the influence of a new qualification--the ability to speak Spanish--the ideal pattern in which every male individual in the community was expected to begin in the lowest office in the hierarchy, and through the years, pass through the organization to become a respected principal, is being broken down. In addition, there is a growing tendency to feel that the obligations of the ceremonial system are burdensome. Individuals seek to avoid heavy ritual duties, and the expense connected with them, by entering military service. This act relieves them of the obligation of holding office in the politico-religious system. This tendency is particularly noted in the Midwest Highlands sub-area. Another means by which the individual may escape the heavy obligations of the hierarchical system is by becoming a Protestant, which act completely removes him from the context of Catholic and native ritual alike.

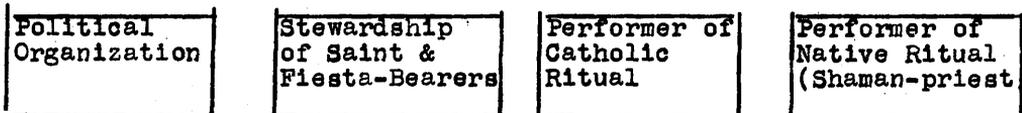
With regard to the operation of the hierarchical principle, it must be said that the ideal pattern is modified in various ways throughout the whole area. The hierarchy, in the sense of

having elders thoroughly versed in Catholic and native ritual at its head, is disappearing.

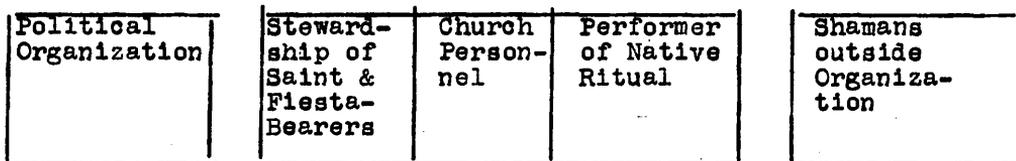
Application of the criterion of the hierarchical principle to the ceremonial structures of the various sub-areas has not effected a significant differentiation of these sub-areas, since, nearly everywhere, the economic factor has operated to place limitations upon the degree to which a given individual might rise in the system. Therefore, the sub-types set up will be based primarily upon the application of the considerations relating to the degree of inter-relatedness between the units and sub-units of such systems. These sub-types are represented in Fig. 12. The sub-types, arranged according to the degree of inter-relatedness are: Sub-type A, represented by the Yucatecan sub-area, with the smallest degree of inter-relatedness; Sub-type B, represented by the following sub-areas: Chiapas, Northwest Guatemala, Ixil, possibly Verapaz, and Eastern Guatemala--intermediate in this respect; Sub-type C, represented by the Midwest Highlands of Guatemala, with the highest degree of inter-relatedness.

One explanation for the differences in ceremonial structure in the various sub-areas of the present-day Maya area might be: that the distribution patterns of ceremonial systems are related to pre-Columbian differences between the region of "high" Maya civilization and some of the regions which the "high" civilization did not reach. In this connection, it is interesting to compare the relation between the geographical distribution of the three structural sub-types and the approximate southwestern limits of

Sub-type A.



Sub-type B.



Sub-type C.

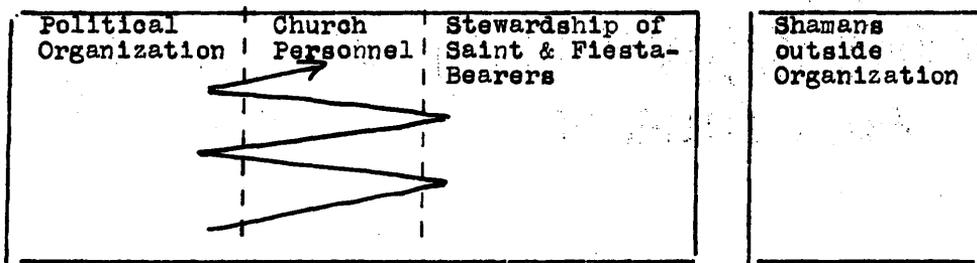


Fig. 12.--Structural Ceremonial Sub-types in the Maya Area.

the Maya Old Empire (Fig. 13). As a result of this comparison, it is noted that Sub-type C (Midwest Highlands) is farthest away from the area of "high" civilization; Sub-type A (Yucatan) lies within the region occupied by the New Empire, and Sub-type B--the dominant sub-type--lies just outside the boundaries of the Old Empire. It is conceivable that Sub-type B, because of its wide distribution, might be considered to constitute the basic ceremonial structure for the Maya area as a whole.

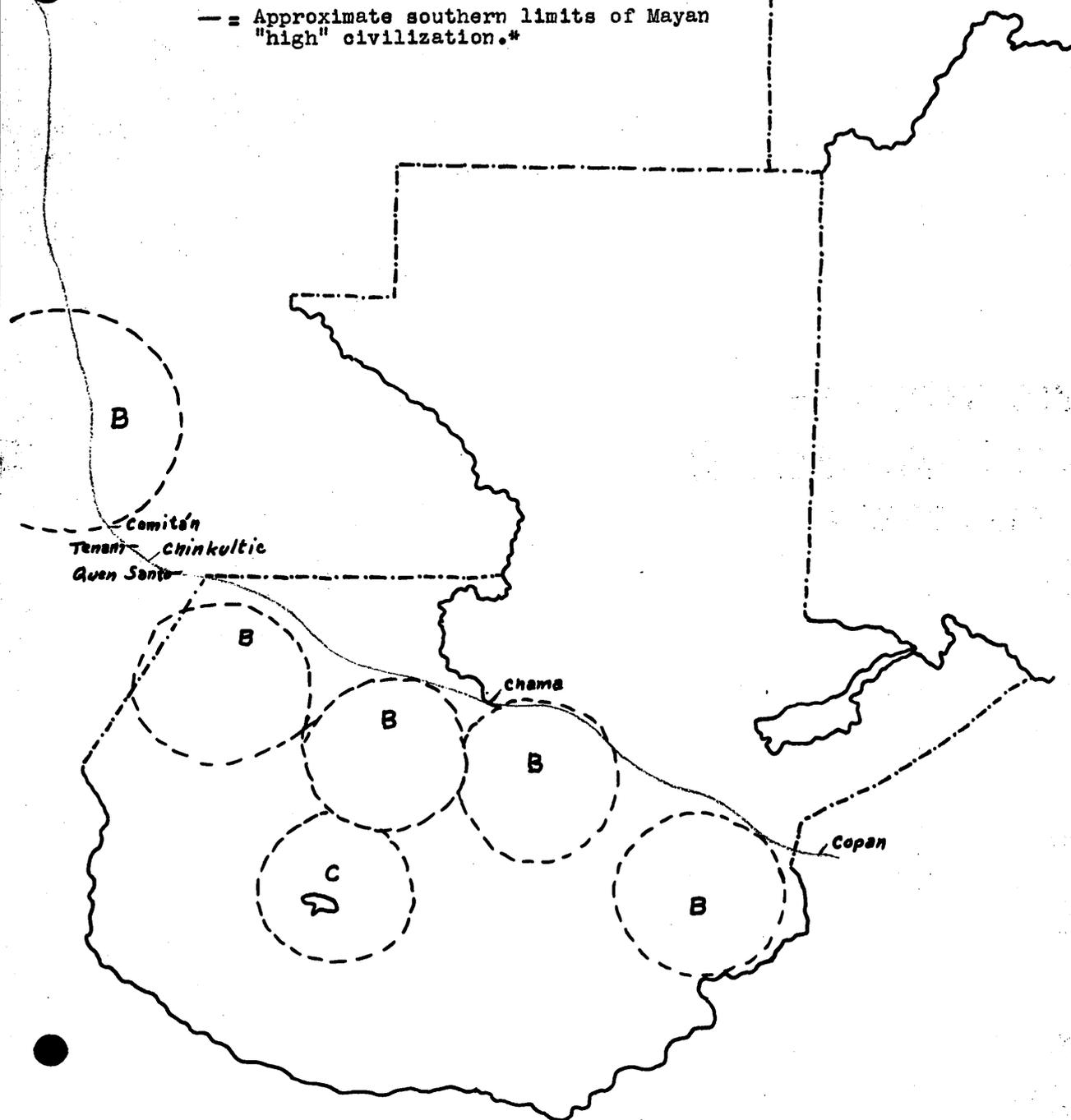
Validation of the hypothesis that differences in ceremonial structure in the present-day Maya area are related to pre-Columbian differences, however, would necessitate a thorough and painstaking investigation of old Mayan history, as well as considerable speculation. Another way of validating the hypothesis might be inferential. There appears to be a partially similar distribution of other elements of culture outside the ceremonial system.¹ The limits of several of these distribution patterns appear also to fall generally along a line from northwest to southeast, approximating the boundaries of the "high" Maya civilization. Difficulties attending this hypothesis are that, even if the correlation is established between the old "high" civilization boundaries and these non-ceremonial culture elements, it might be dangerous to infer that organizational distributions followed the same line.

Alternative explanations which might be considered are:
(1) That the significant differences revealed by distribution patterns of ceremonial structure are the result of regional

¹See Goubaud, Rosales, and Tax. op. cit.

Fig. 13.--Distribution of Structural Subtypes
in the Present-day Maya Area.

-- = Approximate southern limits of Mayan
"high" civilization.*



*Based on Morley's archaeological map of the Maya area. Sylvanus Morley, The Ancient Maya. Stanford University Press. 1947. Pl. 19.

differences in type of Conquest contact, e.g., possible differential treatment of the Mayas by Franciscan and Dominican friars, a difference in the number of priests who went into the various sub-areas, etc. This would involve considerable study of Conquest documents. (2) That the significant differences revealed by distribution patterns of ceremonial structure are the result of regional differences in culture change in post-Conquest times. This would necessitate study of the processes of social change and acculturation throughout the area, an investigation which might well constitute a fruitful study.

Conclusion

The working hypothesis of this comparative study was as follows: that there are significant differences in the structure of ceremonial organization in the various sub-areas of the present-day Maya area. With this hypothesis as a guide to research, the ethnographic reports describing the ceremonial systems of a number of Indian communities in sub-areas of the Maya area were examined, and the basic ceremonial structure for each sub-area was abstracted. These structures were then analyzed on the basis of the following criteria: (1) Degree of inter-relatedness of the units of ceremonial structure, and, (2) Degree of operation of the hierarchical principle. On the basis of this analysis, three structural sub-types for the present-day Maya area were abstracted. However, it is possible that, with the application of a different set of criteria to the

ceremonial structures of the various sub-areas, different sub-types for the Maya area as a whole would emerge. The structural sub-types abstracted by the method of this study are therefore not claimed to be definitive; they are rather to be viewed as the result of the application of a particular method.

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PART I
ANALYSIS OF THE SYSTEMS

INTRODUCTION

Ethnological literature is conspicuously lacking in detailed facts concerning the social organization of the Middle American tribes, particularly with regard to their kinship systems. Yet such information is highly desirable, since in this area native culture attained a great complexity and many traits found elsewhere in both continents seem to have radiated from the central focus.

There are two reasons in general for this gap in our historical perspective, conditions which indicate that no really satisfactory account can ever be obtained: (1) During the early days of discovery and exploration, during the entire sixteenth century, no trained ethnologist lived among these people and learned their customs; and (2) the present-day Indians have had certain aspects of their culture so greatly modified by Spanish influence that it now reveals scantily, if at all, the true nature of aboriginal custom with respect to sex, marriage, and kinship. Indeed, these constituted a part of native custom which received a most unsympathetic appreciation by men whose duty it was to uphold and spread the ideals of the Roman Catholic Church; and consequently from the beginning of European contact radical changes took place in family life, so that the early forms are perhaps irretrievably beyond our ken. Such was the logical outcome of Spanish objectives in colonization, for not only did the conquerors freely intermarry with Indian women and transplant their own kinship patterns en règle, but whereas the priests needed a fairly good

knowledge of native languages for success in their task of proselytizing, it was only necessary to reckon with the external form of an institution which was, from the sacerdotal point of view, repugnant and therefore to be completely remade in conformity with regulations established by the Holy Church.

Thus as faulty as our knowledge of the kinship terminologies must be, it is only by fortunate circumstance that any data exist for them, as it seems they were studied by these earlier writers only as instruments of communication and not as sociological facts. Kinship terms, so far as this inquiry could ascertain, were regarded simply as words necessary to a vocabulary for confessions, etc., or as nouns forming a part of grammatical study, and, worst of all, as Indian superstition. Compare the following words of Augustin de Quintana:

"Adviertese que al primer hijo, o hija, llaman Cob. Al segundo hijo, o hija, llaman Puut. Al tercer hijo, y los demas hijos, hombres que siguen, llaman Octz. A la tercera hija, y las demas hijas que siguen, llaman Oic. Los quales quatro nombres son de la Antigualla; y por esso supersticiosos: porque para ellos los Indios entre si, Cob es lo mismo que Coy, que significa al Conexo. Puut es lo mismo que Haichuu, que significa al Siervo, o Venado. Octz es lo mismo que Caa, que significa al Leon. Oic es lo mismo que Notz, que significa al Armadillo. Todo lo qual me declararon estando en cierta averiguacion; por lo qual sera muy del agrado de Dios Nuestro Senor el privarles que se llaman con dichos nombres, y persuadirles se nombren con los nombres de los santos, que les impusieron en el Santo Bautismo; en el qual, manda el Ritual Romano, no se pongan a los que bautizan, otros nombres, que de Santos, que les sirvan de Abogados perpetuos."¹

1. Confessionario en Lengua Mixe, pp. 89-90.

In the face of such obstacles this thesis proposes to test the possibility of recovering something of the ancient systems from the lexicons of these older priests and grammarians, works which after all must be regarded as primary sources.

Those from which the material for this venture was taken are:

1. For the Otomi - Diccionario y Arte del Idioma Othomi by Luis de Neve y Molina, 1767; and Luces del Otomi Compuesto por un Padre de la Compania de Jesus, published in 1893.
2. For the Tarascans - Vocabulario en Lengua Mechuacan, Maturino Gilberti, 1559.
3. For the Aztecs - Vocabulario en Lengua Mexicana, Alonso De Molina, 1571.
4. For the Mixtecs - Arte en Lengua Mixteca Compuesto por el Padre Fray Antonio de Los Reyes, 1593.
5. For the Zapotecs - Vocabulario en Lengua Zapoteca, five volumes, Juan de Cordova, 1578.
6. For the Mixe - Confessionario en Lengua Mixe, Augustin de Quintana, 1733.
7. For the Maya - Arte del Idioma Maya, Pedro Beltran de Santa Rosa Maria, 1742.

That the present study cannot be more authentic and accurate, due to the nature of the available material, is an unfortunate fact of which no one can be more fully aware than the writer. There is not the slightest desire to conceal this fact. Some of the difficulties have already been hinted at,

but may be made more concrete. For example, one would like to know just how far the Mayan distinction between "hijo bastado" and "hijo legitimo" went in every-day usage, or if the inclusion of the terms for "padre legitimo" and "madre legitima" is not solely due to the missionary interest in regulating Indian marriage. In not a few instances, as it will be seen, the recorders have not given account of the particular uses made of several terms which, never-the-less, they have listed as different expressions of the same relationship. Possibly the five terms recorded for Zapotecan "older brother" have no greater differences than our three terms "daddy", "papa", and "father", all referring to the same genealogical relationship, but we are not told so, and, moreover, distinctions might be made in these, for the first two are used principally to and by children and only the third is standard. It may seem fair to take it that in such cases there were differences, either of occasion, the nature of the speaker, the one spoken to, a vocative or non-vocative use, etc., which determined these forms, but these difficulties are only to be pointed out as reconstruction would be too hazardous even with a good command of the languages. Greater and more consistent details for relatives in the lineages more removed from that of the speaker are also desiderata.

Some of the terms which might pass at first blush as supernumerary are evidently not clear only for lack of linguistic information, as problems of language could not be included in this investigation. Aztecan yxuihtli and teixuiuh illustrate this, being merely variants of the same

word. In most cases where several terms occur for the same kinsman the one coming first in the original text has been used in the tables, the others being placed in parenthesis in the classified lists; the Zapotecan terms for siblings-in-law are exceptions.

There are other boundaries beyond which the greatest accuracy may cease to operate; some of these will be indicated and still others will be observed by the meticulous reader. Perhaps after all is said and done, the chief contribution here is negative: an exposal of the fact that, following this line of investigation, no significant conclusions can be reached.

It is to be clearly understood that the chief object here is to present the relationship systems of the several tribes considered and that no theory of their ethnological connotation is implicit in the task. Where an assumption might make a system more complete, it is either withheld or frankly admitted. Anyone with a fair measure of intelligence can make assumptions, given some kind of factual basis, but when exercising this prerogative he should with equal candor leave it to others to draw their own conclusions, even in contrast with his, for the hinges of most guesses operate on the ball-and-socket principle.

The thesis consists first of an analytical presentation of the seven systems in two forms: (1) A classified list of all the terms found for each tribe in its turn; and (2) a table composed of those terms to be considered as primary in the system. This two-fold scheme renders it easy for

the reader to compare the lists and criticize the subjective factors which were, at times, inevitable in the writer's tabulations. The concluding brief comparative discussion aims to present the area as a whole, in so far as these tribes may represent a sample. The order in which the systems are taken up is based on their geographical distribution from north to south.

OTOMIAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

From the list compiled it will be readily seen that this system was almost entirely lacking in the pattern of linking different genealogical relationships and calling them by one "classificatory" term. The only instance of this type is the term for man's father's brother, which also was used for woman's brother-in-law. Another possible case was perhaps a sibling-cousin term. In this feature the Otomian, Mixtecan, and Zapotecan systems stand somewhat apart from the rest. The Otomian system is relatively simple and, but for its emphasis upon the sex of the speaker, not greatly unlike European systems.

In no case has there been an attempt to isolate the elements of words. Where one term differs from another only in possessing an additional element it is treated as a distinct word.

Where the asterisk (*) appears before a term in this list, and in the other classified lists, it indicates that the term appears elsewhere in the system.

OTOMIAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-child Group

nahta. Father (natzu). nabahtzi. Son.
name. Mother. na nxubahtzi. Daughter.

Grandparent-grandchild Group

naxihta. Grandfather. na huc'htzu. Great grandmother.
na htzu. Grandmother. na bongbehto. Grandson.
na buc'xihta. Great grandfather. na bonganxubehto. Granddaughter.

Sibling Group

naqhuada. Man's bro. tzichuada. Younger brother.
na ida. Woman's bro. nanqhu. Man's sister.
chuada. Man's older bro. naqhuhue. Woman's sister.
yda. Woman's older bro. nathugue. Older sister.
tzichuh. Younger sister (cu).

Uncle-nephew Group

*namoo. Man's father's brother (namo).
ue. Woman's father's brother.
naque. Mother's brother.
ttzitzi. Man's father's sister (nazihtzi).
na hi. Woman's aunt; man's mother's sister.
nabedaztzi. Nephew. na nxubedaztzi. Niece.

Cousin Group

No data. It is possible that cousins and siblings were grouped under the same term, since with the exception of the Aztecs and Tarascans, where cousins are regarded as one or two generations below the speaker, the other tribes considered cousins and siblings as in some measure equivalent.

Indeed, it is interesting that although both texts consulted for this tribe were quite consistent, even in spelling, neither mentioned the term cousin. If cousins and siblings were linked, the authors must have considered it sufficient to list one term only. However, the geographical location of the Otomi would suggest that cousins and siblings were not classed together, although cousins might well be linked with some other group.

Step-relation Group

na hc'hta. Stepfather.	hobahtzi. Stepson (hotty).
na hc'-me. Stepmother.	hotxubahtzi. Stepdaughter (hottyxu).

Spouse Group

na dame. Husband.	na behhia. Woman (danxu).
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Parent-in-law Group

na ndc'hia. Wife's father.	naca. Husband's mother.
naztza. Husband's father.	nahc'b tzi. Son-in-law.
nato. Wife's mother.	nahc'tzu. Daughter-in-law.

Sibling-in-law Group

na co. Man's bro.-in-law.	nabehpo. Man's sister-in-law.
*namoo. Woman's bro.-in-law.	namuddu. Woman's sister-in-law.

Adopted-relations Group

nahtahqha. Godfather.	tychoe. Godson.
nameqha. Godmother.	ttyxchoe. Goddaughter (ttyxuchoe).

Child's Parent-in-law

tzohmi. Child's parent-in-law.

The primary relationship terms have been selected and listed in the following table to indicate their respective expression of the eight fundamental categories of relationship pointed out by Dr. A. L. Kroeber¹ In this table, and in all such tables, the numbered columns from left to right are to be read thus:

1. Generation.
2. Blood or marriage.
3. Lineal or collateral.
4. Sex of relative.
5. Sex of connecting relative.
6. Sex of speaker.
7. Age in generation.
8. Condition of connecting relative.

An x in a column means that the term is considered expressive of the category which the number at its head indicates.

List of abbreviations for this and the following similar tables:

a, aunt.	nc, niece.
b, brother.	np, nephew.
c, cousin.	o, older.
ch, child.	p, parent.
d, daughter.	s, son.
f, father.	sb, sibling.

1. *Classificatory Systems of Relationship*, J. R. A. I., Vol. xxxix, pp. 77-84.

g, grand.	sp, spouse.
gg, great grand.	ss, sister.
ggg, great great grand.	st, step-.
h, husband.	u, uncle.
l, -in-law.	w, wife.
m, mother.	wn, woman.
mn, man.	y, younger.

A letter also stands for the genitive, e. g., m is mother, but m f bl must be read "mother's father's brother-in-law.

OTOMIAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Terms	Categories								Terms	Categories								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
f (nahta)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:no :(na nxubedaztzi)	x	x	x	x					
m (name)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:w f	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	
s (nabahtzi)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:(na ndc'hia)									
d (na nxubahtzi)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:h f (naztza)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	
gf (naxihta)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:w m (nato)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	
gm (na htzu)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:h m (naca)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	
gs (na bongbehto)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:sl :(nahc'b tzi)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	
gd (na bonganxubehto)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:dl :(nahc'tzu)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	
mn ob (chuada)	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	:mn bl (na co)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	
wn ob (yda)	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	:mn ssl :(nabehpo)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	
yb (tzichuada)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	:wn ssl :(namuddu)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	
oss (nathugue)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	:									
yss (tzichuh)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	:									
mn f b, wn bl (namoo)	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	:									
wn f b (ue)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	:									
m b (naque)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	:									
mn f ss (ttitzi)	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	:									
wn a, mn m ss (nahi)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:									
np (nabedaztzi)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:									
Totals.....										29	28	28	28	29	3	11	5	0

TARASCAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

The data for this tribe show only twenty five primary terms, yet not one of the eight categories finds complete expression, the highest percentage being distinction between relatives by blood and affinities (96%). The percentage is reduced to this extent by including in the grandchild group the grandson-in-law. Another exceptional case is the single term for father-in-law, mother-in-law, and daughter-in-law. Father's brother is called father, and mother's sister is mother, but as the distinct terms *aita* and *tzitzí* for these relationships came first in the vocabulario, *tata* for father's brother and *nana* for mother's sister have been regarded as secondary when applied to the parallel uncle and aunt respectively. However, the terms for father and mother cover the other two relationships and are not regarded as expressive of category number three, lineal or collateral. The single term, *curauaquareti*, for cousin is included in table II since it gives the only possible means of designating a female cousin. Lagunas¹ gives *pipi* as older sister, male or female speaking; *pirenche* as younger sister, male speaking only; *vuece*, woman's younger sibling; *vrheco*, man's older brother; *vuengamberi*, simply younger sibling. *mimi* is given as woman's older brother and also as servant. His lists are very poorly arranged and ambiguous, as he falls into difficulties trying

1. Juan Bautista Bravo de Lagunas, *Arte y Diccionario Tarascos*, pp. 55-57.

to make the proper grammatical analysis; moreover, he regards the terms as "curious". The quadruple age grouping of children may be secondary; perhaps only the term vuache should find a place in the table. However, since vuache means child, son, and parent's brother's son, the change would not be more satisfactory.

TARASCAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-child Group

*tata. Father.	*cuxareti vuache. Daughter.
*nana. Mother.	vreti thascabegro vuache. Older ch.
*vuache. Son; child.	teruhuacuri vuache. 2nd. child.
mahco vuache. Only child.	tanipetan vuache. Middle child. (3rd, 4th, 5th)
xauiru vuache. Younger child.	

Grandparent-grandchild Group

*cura. Grandfather.	*nimatequa. Grandchild.
*cucu. Grandmother.	tsihuandinsqua. Great grandchild.
tsihuandihpensti. Great grandfather.	
cuxareti tsihuandihpensti. Great grandmother.	
angandinsqua. Great great grandchild.	
nometequa tsihuandinsqua. Great great great grandchild and descendants below this generation.	

Sibling Group

vreti velantzinuhperi. Older bro. (mimi).
vreti cuxareti velantzinuhperi. Older sister (pipi).
vuengamberi. Younger sibling. (vuece. Younger sister.)

Uncle-nephew Group

aita. Father's brother>(*tata).	*cura. Grandfather's bro.
papa. Mother's brother.	*cucu. Grandmother's sist.
vaua. Father's sister.	tsihuandihperi. Great grandfather's brother.
tzitzi. Mother's sister (*nana).	
tsihuandihpensri. Great grandfather's sister.	
chuuindihpensri. Great great grandfather's brother.	
*aitaequaro vuache. Brother's son.	

*yhtza. Sister's son; brother's daughter.

angandingansti. Grand-nephew; grand-niece.

Most of the women call nephew and niece *auitaequaro vuache and *cuxareti vuache respectively.

Cousin Group

*vuache. Parent's brother's son. *yhtza. Parent's sister's son.

curauaquareti. Cousin.

Step-relation Group

uparacuhpensti. Stepfather. peuahpensti. Stepmother.

uparacungansri. Stepson.

Spouse Group

minguarehpeti. Husband. minguarecata. Wife (quahhacucata).

Parent-in-law Group

tarascue. Father-in-law; mother-in-law; daughter-in-law.

taremba. Son-in-law. *nimatequa. Grandson-in-law.

tarascue nanemba. Grandmother-in-law.

Sibling-in-law Group

ytsicue. Man's brother-in-law. tuiscue. Woman's sister-in-law.

yuscue. Man's sister-in-law; woman's brother-in-law.

*yhtza. Sister's son; brother's daughter.

angandingansti. Grand-nephew; grand-niece.

Most of the women call nephew and niece *auitaequaro vuache and *cuxareti vuache respectively.

Cousin Group

*vuache. Parent's brother's son. *yhtza. Parent's sister's son.

curauaquareti. Cousin.

Step-relation Group

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uparacungansri. Stepson.

Spouse Group

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Parent-in-law Group

tarascue. Father-in-law; mother-in-law; daughter-in-law.

taremba. Son-in-law. *nimatequa. Grandson-in-law.

tarascue nanemba. Grandmother-in-law.

Sibling-in-law Group

ytsicue. Man's brother-in-law. tuiscue. Woman's sister-in-law.

yuscue. Man's sister-in-law; woman's brother-in-law.

TARASCAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Terms	Categories								Terms	Categories							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
f, f b (tata)	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	:m ss (tzitzi)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-
m, m ss(nana)	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	:b s, wn np (auitaequaro vuache)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
ch, s, p b s (vuache)	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	:ss s, b d, p ss s(yhtza)	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
d, wn nc (cuxareti vuache)	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	:fl, ml, dl (tarascue)	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
och (vreti thascabegro vuache)	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	:mn bl(ytsicue)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
2nd ch (teru- huacuri vuache)	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	:wn ssl (tuuiscue)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
Mid. ch (tani- petan vuache)	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	:mn ssl, wn bl (yuscue)	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
yeh (xauiru vuache)	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	:c (cursua- quareti)	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
gf, gf b (cura)	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-									
gm, gm ss (cucu)	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-									
gch, gsl (nimatequa)	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-									
ob (vreti ve- lantzinuhperi)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-									
oss (vreti cuxareti ve- lantzinuhperi)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-									
ysb (vuengamberi)	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-									
f b (auita)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-									
m b (papa)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-									
f ss (vaau)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-									
Totals.....									25	22	24	19	14	4	2	7	0

AZTECAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

With only twenty three primary terms the Aztec system resembles the European types more than any of the others at this point, though not at all points, as only twenty of these terms distinguish between lineal and collateral relatives. Women had the choice of two terms for son and three for daughter, the former being called tepiltzin, child, or noconeuh and the latter tepiltzin, teichpuch, or teconeuh. Fathers never used the terms noconeuh and teconeuh. The terms with the asterisk in the spouse group are confined to that group and therefore mean simply "spouse" or "married". monoclli is listed as grandfather-in-law, although it appears in the text with mon-moncitli as defining grandmother-in-law: "madre de mis suegros". Compare colli and citli. Terms for woman's father-in-law and woman's mother-in-law do not appear in the vocabulario. Carlos de Tapia Zenteno¹ gives only one term for father-in-law and only one for mother-in-law and does not mention the sex of the speaker: "nomonta. mi suegro; nomonnan. mi suegra". Only seven of the twenty two terms which he gives agree in spelling with those of the earlier writer whose material is used in the list. The gf is grouped with gp b; gm with gp ss (cihtli equaling citli); ggf with ggf b; ggm with ggf ss; and gch with c. It is very likely that the term for ggf and ggf b was also used for ggm b and that ggm, ggf ss, and ggm ss were grouped. No term

1. Arte Novissima de Lengua Mexicana, p. 14.

was found for either sb of ggm. Children and grandchildren may be grouped under the single term tepilhuan.

AZTECAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-child Group

tatli. Father (teta, yzcauhli, teizcacauh).

nantli. Mother (tenantzin, teciztli).

tetatenan. Parents. (tenanteta).

tepiltzin. Child. Woman says also noconeuh. (tetelpuch).

teichpuch. Daughter. Woman says also teconeuh.

tiyacapan. Older child. xocoyotl. Younger child.

tlacoyeua. Second child (tetlamamallo).

tlacoteycu. Middle child (3rd, 4th, 5th).

Terms other than the ones listed above for older child and younger child are yacapanitli and texocoyouh respectively.

tepilhuan. Offspring. (teixuiuan)

Grandparent-grandchild Group

*colli. Grandfather. (*tecol). *citli. Grandmother.

*achtontli. Great grandfather. *piptontli. Great grandmother.

*yxuiuhitli. Grandchild (*teixuiuh).

*mintonitli. Great great grandchild. ycutontli. Great grandchild
(*teminton). (teicuton).

Sibling Group

teachcauh. Older brother (tiachcauh). teiccauh. Younger bro.

cocua. Twin brother. teicu. Younger sister.

teuelituh. Older sister (tepi, teciuapo, tiuhitli).

Uncle-nephew Group

tlatli. Uncle (tetla). suitl. Aunt (teau).

*colli. Grandparent's brother. (*tecol).

cihitli. Grandparent's sister (teci).

*citli. Grandfather's-sister.

*achtontli. Greatgrandfather's brother. (teachton).

*mintontli. Great great grandfather's brother (*teminton).

*piptontli. Great grandfather's sister (tepipton).

machti. Sibling's child (temach).

nopilo. Woman's sibling's child. This is the usual term for her.

Cousin Group

*yxuihtli. Cousin (*teixuiuh).

Step-relation Group

tlacpatatli. Stepfather. chauaconetl. Woman's stepson
(chauapilli).

chauanantli. Stepmother. tlacpauitectli. Man's stepson.

Spouse Group

teciuauh. Wife (tetchitauhqui, *tenamic, *namictli,
*tenemac).

nopilpo. First wife (*achtonociuah).

teoquichui. Husband (*tenamic, *namictli, *tenemac).

achto. First adulterer (*achtonociuah).

Parent-in-law Group

montalli. Man's father-in-law. monnantli. Man's mother-in-law.

montli. Son-in-law. ciuamontli. Daughter-in-law.

yxuihinontli. Grandson-in-law.

moncolli. Grandfather-in-law. moncitli. Grandmother-in-law.

Sibling-in-law Group

vepulli. Woman's brother-in-law; man's sister-in-law.

textli. Man's brother-in-law. vezuatli. Woman's sister-in-law.

AZTECAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Terms	Categories								Terms	Categories							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
f (tatli)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:wn bl, mn ssl	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	
									:(vepulli)								
m (nantli)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:mn bl (textli)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	
och(tiyacapan)	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	:wn ssl								
									:(vezuatli)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	
2nd ch (tlacoyeua)	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-									
Mid. ch (tlacoteycu)	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-									
yeh(xocoyotl)	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-									
gf, gp b (colli)	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-									
gm, gp ss (citli)	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-									
gch, c (yxuihtli)	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-									
ob(teacheauh)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-									
yb(teiccauh)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-									
osa(teueltiuh)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-									
yss (teicu)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-									
u (tlatli)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-									
a (auitl)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-									
sb ch (machtli)	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-									
w f(montatli)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-									
w m(monnantli)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-									
sl (montli)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-									
dl (ciusamontli)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-									
Totals.....									23	22	23	20	16	0	4	8	0

MIXTECAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

No data were available for the Mixtecan spouse group. De Angulo¹ states that the terms are simply "my man" and "my woman". The general custom of applying sibling terms to cousins, once or twice removed, prevents complete distinction between persons of different generations. Father's grandmother and mother's grandmother are the only instances in which it is clear that the sex of a connecting relative is expressed. Since these terms must be treated as "reserves available for specific discrimination on occasion", the Mixtecan and Aztecan systems are unique in not expressing category number five. Age in generation is expressed for children only. No term was obtained for man's sister-in-law. De Angulo¹ gives one term for brother or sister of either spouse.

1. Jaime De Angulo, Kinship Terms in Some Languages of Southern Mexico, Amer. Anth. n. s., Vol xxvii, pp. 103-107.

MIXTECAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-child Group

dzutu. Father (taa, nani, yuvua, according to the different pueblos.)

dzehe. Mother. dzayayeendi. Son

dzaya dzehenundi. Older son. (dzaya dzehe nicanunuu, dzaya dzehe nicacudzina).

dzayanduvui. Younger son (dzayadzatnu, dzayadzayu).

dzayadzo eeni. Only son (dzaya dzomaa, dzaya natuvui tayu).

dzayatetnehendi. Twin sons (dzayanicacutetnehendi).

dzaya nindento dzondi. Son by second or third wife.

dzaya dzeheendi. Daughter.

dzaya cuvui. Second child. (dzayatacue).

The "legitimate" son is distinguished from the son by

"adultery". The first is dzaya maindi or dzaya neneinindi;

the second is dzayadzaca or dzayayuhu.

Grandparent-grandchild Group

sij. Grandfather (taatnanu). sitna. Grandmother (dzehe tnanu).

sijtaandi. Great grandfather (sijdzutundi, sijdzucuandi).

sitnataandi. Father's grandmother (sitna dzutundi, sitna dzeheendi).

sitnadzucuandi. Mother's grandmother.

saqmidzini siindi. Great great grandfather. (saqmitotosijndi).

saqmidzini sitnandi. Great great grandmother.

dzaya nanindi. Grandchild.

dzaya dzucuandi. Great grandchild.

Sibling Group

nani. Man's brother.

cuhui. Woman's sister.

cuhua. Woman's brother; man's sister.

v Parent-in-law Group

dzutuzidzo. Father-in-law (nanidzidzo, taadzidzo, yuvua-dzidzo).

dzehedzidzo. Mother-in-law. dzaya caindi. Son-in-law (dzayahaneendi).

dzayadzeheyuvua huinda. Daughter-in-law (dzayadzehe yaha neendi, dzayadzehe ninataayaha neendi).

Sibling-in-law Group

dzidzondi. Brother-in-law. tnahacadzandi. Wife's sisters husb. tnaha sanondi. Husband's brother's wife.

An adopted son is distinguished by the following terms: tayniouvui dzayandi, tay ninaquacandi, tay nichidzo, chiyondi.

Blood relation is distinguished generically from relation by affinity: tnahandi. Blood relation (cuicondi, tnahacuicondi, tnahayaatnuhundi).

tnahadzidzondi. Man's relation by affinity (tnahasanondi).

tnuhutnahandi. Woman's relation by affinity (dzidzo, sanondi).

The term by which male siblings, between themselves, is distinguished from that used by female siblings: The first is yyanicacusih; the second, yonduvuitmtnahandi (sa sinandodzo tnuhu tnahandi quaha, yotnuhundi sihita).

Elements in the following words suggest that kinship terms may be extended, in some sense, to include persons connected by bonds other than kinship:

nanitnahandi. Perhaps employed in referring to or addressing the person who lived nearest to one: "proximo".

tnaha muundi. Neighbor (tnaha samundi).

tnaha quachindi. Friend. (tnaniquachindi).

Child's Parent-in-law

tnahadzidondi. Child's parent-in-law.

MIXTECAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Terms	Categories								Terms	Categories							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
f (dzutu)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	wn klc(cuhua- tucuchi <i>si</i>)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
m (dzehe)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	mn zlc(cuhua- tucuchisindi)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
os (dzaya dzehenundi)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	wn zlc(cuhui- tucuchisindi)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
ys(dzayanduvu i)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	fl (dzutu- aidzo)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
d (dzaya dzehend <i>i</i>)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	ml (dzehe- dzidzo)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
2nd oh (dzaya ouvui <i>vui</i>)	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	sl (dzaya caindi)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
af((s <i>i</i> j))	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	dl(dzayadze- yuvua huinda)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
gm (sitna)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	bl(dzidzondi)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
gch (dzaya nanindi)	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	w ss h (tnshacedzandi)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
mn b, mn k lc, mn k 2c(nani)	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	h b w (tnaha sanondi)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
mn ss, wn b, mn zlc, mn z2c, wn klc, wn k2c	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-									
wn ss, wn zlc, wn z2c (cuhui)	-	x	-	x	-	x	-	-									
u (dziso)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-									
a (dzi <i>d</i> zi)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-									
np (dzasi)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-									
nc (dzi <i>c</i> u)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-									
mn klc(nani- tucuchisindi)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-									
Totals.....								27		24	27	24	24	0	8	3	0

k. Male; z. Female; lc. First cousin; 2c. Second cousin.

ZAPOTECAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In spite of the large number of terms obtained for the Zapotecs, many of the relationships are anything but clear, so that the table of primary terms contains several which were too greatly determined by subjective considerations. The most difficult problems are encountered in the parent-child group, the sibling group, and the sibling-in-law group. An eight-fold classification of children seems no more than simply counting, hence such a grouping is not sufficiently standard for tabulation in a comparative study. If there were twelve sons, it seems we should have twelve different terms, on this basis, which would be the same as taking a person's name as a term of relationship. Therefore instead of these "counting" terms for children the single term *xini* must be used. In the sibling group we may distinguish older and younger brothers but not older and younger sisters without counting, and, in this case, the term for older sister will include older daughter; that for second sister will include second daughter, etc. There are so many terms in this group having the nature of "reserves" that only the term for sibling is used in table V. Both these choices agree with the findings of De Angulo¹. In the sibling-in-law group only the following terms are placed in the table: *chilonaya* (wn ss h, w ss, h b, bw), taking *chillonaya* as the same (one of these is very likely a misprint); *xiniochia* (mn ss h, mn bl); *lexicaya* (wn ssl, etc.); *xoceca* (w b w); These express practically all the

1. op. cit.

eight possible two-step siblings-in-law and practically all of the three-step siblings-in-law. xiniquetac (mn deceased ss h, ss s, nc s) must be included since there is no other term for mn deceased ss h. In the uncle-nephew group there is no term for wn b s.

ZAPOTECAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-child Group

- pixoze. Father. xinaacoxana. Mother.
xini. Child; offspring (xini coxana).
yobi. Older son (piobi). piye. Fifth son (yo).
tini. Second son. yopiye. Sixth son.
texi. Third son. teije. Seventh son.
payo. Fourth son. (xoyo). texije. Eighth son.
xinipetaolacho. "Spurious" son whose father is not known.
xinihuaho. Son of a man and "low" woman.
xonasihuaho. Daughter of a man and "low" woman.
*zaa. Older daughter. *laxi. Fourth daughter.
*xoni. Second daughter. *zee. Fifth daughter.
*nijo. Third daughter. *zaayee. Sixth daughter.
patao. Son. This is an antonomasia applied to the son begotten before the father reached maturity.
xini joana. Child of a noble, "hidalgo".

Grandparent-grandchild Group

- pixoze gola. Grandfather; greatgrandfather.
xoce. Grandmother; greatgrandmother. (xoce gola).
xiagaya. Grandchild (xinixiagaya).
quicha xici. Great grandchild (quichaxijzi).
quichaxici. Great great grandchild and following generations.

Sibling Group

- peche. Man's brother (tapechea, peche coxana, colenea).
pecheyobi. Older brother (pechecola, hualao, huanici). This is really man's older brother-older son.
pechehuini. Younger brother. (tini, texi, payo, yee) See above.

peche huaho. Half-brother, whose mother is "baja" and the father a "principal".

pizaanahuaho. Half-sister in the same manner.(pella huaho).

pataolacho. Bastard brother. ("y es moño de hablar", "su mestizo").

pechexiquitia. Man's uterine brother. "Hermanos de un vientre, uterinos". This may mean twin brother.

tazaanaxiquitia. Man's uterine sister; woman's uterine brother (pizaanaxiquitia).

pel laxiquitia. Woman's uterine sister.

tapechecoxana. Sibling.(pellacoxana, tazana, tazaana).

*zaa. Older sister. *xoní. 2nd sister.*niño. 3rd sister, etc.

De Angulo¹ places all the siblings under the generic term zaa, adding prefixes for distinctions: "pizaa. Older brother, from brother to sister (or vice versa); betza. from brother to brother; benda, from sister to sister." If he is correct, the term sibling should be substituted for "older brother", as he says that these terms also include the younger siblings.

Uncle-nephew Group

pechetitia. Father's brother. pixioa. Mother's bro.(pizaana naaya).

pizaana titia. Father's sister (naaya). This is given also as "su madre".

pela naaya. Mother's sister....(naaya).

pechetiti colaya. Grandfather's brother; parent's father's father's brother (pechepixoze colaya).

1. op. cit.

pizaana xocéa. Grandmother's brother; parent's mother's mother's brother (pizaanatahua).

pizaana titicolaya. Grandfather's sister; parent's father's father's sister. (pizaanatitigolaya, pizaanapixocecolaya. Also "su madre").

pela xocéa. Grandmother's sister; parent's mother's mother's sister.

xini pechea. Man's brother's son (xinia, xini pelaya).

xini tazanaya. Sister's son; niece's son (*xiniquetaoa, xinitazanaya)

xini chapa pechea. Niece.

xinichapatazanaya. Sister's daughter (xiagaya).

Cousin Group

pechee nini. Man's father's brother's son (pecheii hini, xini-pechetitia).

xiniquenicoa. Father's sister's son.

xipipelanaaya. Mother's sister's son.

pizaana. Man's female cousin; woman's male cousin (tazaana "su hermanos").

peche pecheyent. Male cousin. pela. Female cousin.

pixigoni. Term used by a woman for her male cousin.

Step-relation Group

pixozehueyaana. Stepfather. xiniganahueyana. Stepson.

xinaahueyana. Stepmother. xinichapahueyana. Stepdaughter.

Spouse Group

lechelani. Spouse (xilecha ga naani, lecaaninachelanachaquela hue chaganaani).

Parent-in-law Group

pixoze gonna. Wife's father (titia, pixoze gonnaya).

pixoze niquijoya. Husband's father (pixoze niquijoa).

xinaani quijoa. Husband's mother (naaya)*. See below.

xinaa gonnaya. Wife's mother.

xiniochia. Son-in-law; grandson-in-law (pio:ochia).

xini hualijchia. Daughter-in-law (lechela xinia).

Sibling-in-law Group

*chilonaya. Woman's sister's husband; wife's sister (xilonaya).

pechea. Man's sister's husband (*xiniochia).

*xiniquetaoa. Man's deceased sister's husband.

lixicaya. Woman's sister-in-law (xicaya, *pixicaya); husband's brother's wife.

xocca. Wife's brother's wife.

ta xicia. Husband's sister (*pixicaya, *lixicaya, taxijcea, xijcaya).

xinaa pechea. Brother's wife (*chilonaya).

*xiniochia. Man's brother-in-law.

chillonaya. Husband's brother. See supra.

The following terms seem to have been used either as terms of endearment to to emphasize the fact that the person referred to held the actual relationship designated by the speaker in contrast to others who might come under the same general term:

titia. My father, my dear father, etc. (tatitia, xijanaya;

"padre mio, mi padre.)

titihueyanaya. My father-in-law, etc.

naaya. My mother, etc. See husband's mother. (tannaya, xizanaya)

nashueyanaya. My mother-in-law, etc.

xizanaya. My son in contrast with the son of another (man), who is xiniganacoxana.

xinichapacoxana. Daughter of another in contrast with my own.

Likewise, the following term may be designative of a traditional ancestor rather than an actual blood relation: pixozehueychijbatija. Grandfather, first of the lineage (hueycobatija, cozaanataohuel lapitija).

ZAPOTECAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Terms	Categories								Terms	Categories							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
f (pixoze)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:w m (xinaa :gonnaya)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
m (xinaa coxana)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:h m (xinaani :guijoa)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
offspring (xini)	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	:sl, gsl :(xiniochia)	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
sb (tapeche- coxana)	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	:dl (xini :hualijchia)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
gf, ggf (pixoze gola)	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:wn ss h, w ss, :b w, h b	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
gm, ggm(xoce)	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:(chilonaya)								
gch(xiagaya)	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	:mn bl :(xiniochia)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
f b (peche- titia)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	:wn ssl :(lixicaya)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
m b (pixioa)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	:w b w(xoce)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
f ss (pizaana titia)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	:mn Dse h, ss :s, nc s	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	*
m ss (pela naaya)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	:xiniquetaoa)								
ss s, nc s (xini tazanaya)	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-									
mn b s (xini pechea)	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-									
nc (xini chapa pechea)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-									
ke (pechea pcheyent)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-									
zc (pela)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-									
w f (pixoze gonna)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-									
h f (pixoze niquijoya)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-									
Totals.....									27	21	26	26	23	7	8	0	*

MIXEAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In this system siblings and cousins are classed together; grandfather and grandparent's brother are grouped with great grandparent's brother; and grandmother and grandparent's sister are called by the same term. Sister's child, haim, is applied to mother's brother. A man's grandchild is classed with the sibling's grandchild and great grandchild. Brother's son is distinguished from brother's daughter and both from either parent's siblings.

MIXEAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-child Group

teit. Father
vnc. Son (male).
puit. Second child.
oic. Younger daughter.

taac. Mother.
cob. Older child.
oetz. Younger son.

Grandparent-grandchild Group

*apteit. Grandfather.
*apvnc. Man's grandchild.
oenox. Woman's granddaughter.

*octaac. Grandmother.
ocvnc. Woman's grandson.

Sibling Group

*aich. Man's older brother (*motuucqueex).
*ay. Woman's older brother.
*vich. Man's younger brother (*motuucqueex).
*vich. Younger sister (*cotoix).
*tzoo. Older sister (*cotoix).
*coyai. Woman's younger brother.

Uncle-nephew Group

tzucumteit. Father's brother.
haim. Mother's brother; sister's child.
*apteit. Grandparent's brother; great grandparent's brother.
*octaac. Grandparent's sister.
tzocnox. Brother's daughter.

tzucuu. Father's sister.
tzocmane. Brother's son.
*apvnc. Sibling's grandchild; sibling's great grandchild.

Cousin Group

*aich. Man's older male 1st cousin.
*ay. Woman's older male 1st cousin.
*vich. Man's younger 1st cousin; woman's younger female 1st c.

*tzoo. Older female 1st c.

*coyai. Woman's younger male first cousin.

*aich. Older male 2nd cousin; older male 3rd cousin.

*vich. Younger 2nd cousin; younger 3rd cousin.

*tzoo. Older female 2nd cousin; older female 3rd cousin.

Step-relation Group

coteit. Stepfather. cotsac. Stepmother (couu).

covnc. Man's stepchild. comanc. Woman's stepson.

conox. Woman's stepdaughter.

Spouse Group

No data. De Angulo¹ gives the term meadzo', meaning "spouse" or "married".

Parent-in-law Group

moot. Man's parent-in-law; woman's father-in-law; son-in-law.

xoicx. Woman's mother-in-law; woman's daughter-in-law.

tzuu. Man's daughter-in-law.

Sibling-in-law Group

hoy. Man's brother-in-law. noih. Woman's sister-in-law.

caip. Woman's brother-in-law; man's sister-in-law.

moyai. Wife's sister's husband.

moihn. Husband'd brother's wife.

Child's Parent-in-law

comoot. Child's parent-in-law.

1. op. cit.

MIXEAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Terms	Categories								Terms	Categories							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
f (teit)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	m b, ss ch (haim)	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
m (taac)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	f ss(tzucuuy (t...))	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-
och (cob)	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	m ss (tzucuutaac)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-
2nd ch(puut)	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	b s(tzocmanc)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-
ys (octz)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	b d(tzocnox)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-
yd (oic)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	mn pl, wn fl, sl(moot)	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
gf, gp b, ggp b(apteit)	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	wn ml, wn dl (xoicx)	-	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
gm, gp ss (octaac)	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	mn dl(tzuu)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
mn geh, sb geh, sb ggeh (apvnc)	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	mn bl(hoy)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
wn gs(oevnc)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	wn bl, mn ssl(caip)	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
wn gd(ocnox)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	wn ssl(noih)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
mn ob, mn oklc, ok2c, ok3c(aich)	x	x	-	x	-	x	-	-									
wn ob, wn oklc(ay)	x	x	-	x	-	x	x	-									
mn ysb, wn yss, mn ykle, wn yzlc, y2c, y3c (vich)	-	x	-	x	-	-	x	-									
wn yb, wn ykle(coyai)	x	x	-	x	-	x	x	-									
oss, ozlc, oz2c, oz3c (tzoo)	-	x	-	x	-	-	x	-									
f b(tzucum- teit)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-									
Totals.....									28	21	28	20	21	5	8	9	0

MAYAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

The Mayan system consists of more primary terms than any other in the area, unless the Zapotecan system has been interpreted incorrectly. The term for mother's father, mam, is used also for man's daughter's child, being in this case self-reciprocal and conceptually reciprocal, but a man may also use this term for father's brother's son. Therefore it is reciprocal in the two cases taken separately, but as a whole is not. A woman and a man use different terms for children, the man recognizing his son's age in generation but not the age of his daughter, while it appears that a woman generally recognizes the age of a child, although she may make distinctions by using prefixes.

MAYAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-child Group

- yum. Father, denoting who. yumbil. Father, not denoting who.
hachyum. "Legitimate" father.
naa. Mother, denoting who. naabil. Mother, not denoting who.
(naail).
hachnaa. "Legitimate" mother.
*mehen. Man's son, denoting who. mehenbil. Man's son, not
denoting who.
peleelmehenil. Man's only son (pelmehenil).
yaxmehentzil. Man's older son (noholmehen).
thupmehenil. Man's younger son. tak. Son born after another.
baalnakil mehen. Unborn son.
umehenbooy. Son whose father is not known.
kexul. Son, successor and inheritor.
ueybilmehen. Man's bastard son (tzubilmehen, cooibilmehen).
hachmehen. Man's "legitimate" son.
*ixmehen. Man's daughter, denoting who.
ixmehentzil. Man's daughter, dot denoting who.
*al. Woman's child, denoting who.
albil. Woman's child, not denoting who. She may distinguish
between son and daughter by using the following terms:
xibilal. Son; chupalal. Daughter.
yaxal. Woman's older child (noholal).
thupal. Woman's younger child. She may distinguish between
them by using the prefixes ah and yix.
peleelal. Woman's only child (pelal). hach al. Woman's "legi-
timate child).
ueybilal. Woman's "bastard" child (tzubilal, cooibilal).

Grandparent-grandchild Group

zucun. Father's father. *mam. Mother's father.

mim. Father's mother. chich. Mother's mother.

For great grandfather or great grandmother the element caa is prefixed to the term for grandfather or grandmother, according to the one designated, e. g.,

*caamam. Mother's father's father; caachich. Mother's mother's mother.

For great great grandparents the prefix ox is used, e. g.,

*oxmam. Mother's paternal great grandfather;

oxchich. Mother's maternal great grandmother.

*i>in. Man's son's child. i. Woman's son's child. The prefixes u, au, and y are used, e. g., ui, aui, yi.

*mam. Man's daughter's child. abil. Woman's daughter's child.

For great grandchild the prefix caa is attached to the term for the corresponding grandchild, e. g.,

*caamam. Man's daughter's daughter's child. This usage is less frequently applied to a man's great grandson in the male line and instead of using the term *caai>in, in accordance with the rule, caamehen is substituted.

For great great grandchildren the prefix ox is added in the same order as above, e. g.,

*oxmam. Man's daughter's daughter's daughter's child. Again, in the male line the term oxmehen is preferred to oxi in.

Sibling Group

zucun. Older brother. cic. Older sister.

boomal. First born brother. ("Esto es, en cuanto hermano.")

bohi in. Third younger brother.*i in. Younger sibling.

ich. Uterine sibling. The plural is ichob.

ixinbil. Younger sibling, not denoting who.

Uncle-nephew Group

seyun. Father's brother. acan. Mother's brother.

ixcit. Father's sister. >ena. Mother's sister.

*mehen. Man's brother's son; woman's sister's son.

achak. Man's sister's child. *ixmehen. Man's brother's daughter.

*al. Woman's brother's daughter.

Cousin Group

A cousin is designated by adding a prefix, according to the degree of remoteness, to the term for the corresponding sibling, e. g.,

caazucun. Older male cousin (second older brother).

caacic. Older female cousin (second older sister).

*caai>in. Younger cousin (second younger sibling).

A man's father's brother's son is also called *mam, and this sort of cousinship is called mambil.

oxzucun. Older male second cousin (third older brother).

oxcic. Older female second cousin (third older sister).

canzucun. Older male third cousin (fourth older brother).

Step-relation Group

zacyum. Stepfather. (mahanyum). zacnaa. Stepmother (mahannaa).

zacmehen. Man's stepson (mahanmehen).

zacaal. Woman's stepchild (mahanal).

Spouse Group

atan. Wife.

icham. Husband.

Parent-in-law Group

haan. Wife's father; son-in-law. *nohyum. Husband's father.
ixhaan. Wife's mother. nohco. Husband's mother.
ilib. Daughter-in-law.

Sibling-in-law Group

bal. Wife's brother.
mu. Sibling-in-law, man to woman and woman to man.
haauan. Woman's sister-in-law.

Spouses of Uncles and Aunts

*nohyum. Father's sister's husband.

Adopted-relations Group

yumlah. Godfather, adopting father.
naylah. Godmother, adopting mother. (mintah, naailan).
alan. Foster-child, adopted child.

The endearing terms below may represent extension:

yumichim. Father of mine, etc. "Padre de mis ojos."
naychim. Mother of mine, etc. "Madre de mis ojos."
(naachim).

MAYAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Terms	Categories								Terms	Categories							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
f (yum)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:m ss (ena)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-
m (naa)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	:mn b s, mn s, wn ss s (mehen)	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-
mn os (yax-mehentzil)	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	:mn ss ch (achak)	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	-
mn ys (thup-mehenil)	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	:wn b d, wn ch (al)	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	-
mn d, mn b d (ixmehen)	x	x	-	x	-	x	-	-	:okc (caazucun)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-
wn och(yaxal)	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	:ozc (caacic)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-
wn ych (thupal)	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	:yc, mn s s s (caaijin)	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-
f f(yucum)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	:w f, sl(haan)	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
m f, mn d ch, mn f b s (mam)	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	:h f, f ss h (nohyum)	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-
f m (mim)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	:w m (ixhaan)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
m m (chich)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	:h m (noheo)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
mn s ch, ysb (iJin)	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	:dl (ilib)	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
wn s ch (i)	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	-	:w b (bal)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
wn d ch(abil)	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	-	:mn ssl, w bl (mu)	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
ob (zucun)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	:wn ssl (haauan)	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
oss (cio)	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-									
f b(eyun)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-									
m b (acan)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-									
f ss (ixoit)	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-									
Totals.....									34	30	34	28	24	10	13	8	0

PART II
COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION

COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION

Characteristics of Classification

Parents

The normal method of designating parents simply as father and mother is found in all seven tribes, with the exception that in the Tarascan system the term for father also means father's brother and likewise the term for mother means mother's sister. Even here there are separate terms for the parallel uncle and aunt, which may be primary. It has not been possible to determine whether there are supernumerary terms for any relations. The several terms for Mixtecan father are given as coming from different pueblos, and this may be true for other tribes; moreover, there seem to be some which are merely variants of the same term, as in Mayan yum, father, denoting who, and yumbil, father, not denoting who. Compare Otomian nahta and natzu; also Aztecan yzocauhtli and teizcacauh. The data for the Mixtecan, Zapotecan, and Mixean systems show only one term for each parent, and only one term is shown for Otomian mother. Only the "classificatory" terms were given for Tarascan parents. In Aztec there is a term for parents collectively; this, however, is father-mother or mother-father.

Children

There is a great deal less uniformity throughout the area in the terms for children as compared with those for parents. This, however, is likely due to the recording of much irrelevant data because of the priests' interest in

regulating the sex life of the natives. All the tribes except the Otomi, may, if it is not the customary practice, recognize age in generation for their children. The Otomian terms are simply son and daughter, male or female speaking. Sex is not expressed in the Tarascan terminology other than adding another word so as to say female child for daughter. Son is merely child, and this also means parent's brother's son. Female child also means woman's niece. There is no Aztecan term restricted to son. A woman may use two terms for child or two for daughter. In Mixtec and Mixe both parents distinguish between son and daughter, but in Zapotec this is done only by using the "counting" terms, and in Mayan a man uses different terms for son and daughter while a woman may, but apparently does not generally. The Mayan system is the only one in which the sex of the parent is a determinant.

For age in generation the Tarascan and Aztecan systems are identical, having four age groups which do not at the same time express the sex of the child. Older son, younger son, and second child are the only age distinctions in the Mixtecan system. For the Zapotec the terms older son, younger son, and the "counting" terms are to be noted; also in the latter case the term for a daughter of a certain age position will also include a sister of the same type. Older child, second child, and younger son or daughter are the age classifications in the Mixean categories; and in those of the Maya man's older son, man's younger son, and woman's older or younger child are distinguished.

The terms for ~~adopted~~ parents and adopted children

appear as the same for god-parents and god-children where they occur.

All terms, as legitimate father, etc., which seem solely due to missionary influence are too dubious for consideration in a comparative study.

Grandparents and Great grandparents

Four groups show fairly good conformity in classifying these relations: the Otomi, Mixtec, Zapotec, and Mixe. The Otomi and Mixe have the normal form of designating each grandparent by a separate name and not combining them with others. However, no term was obtained in Mixe for either great grandparent. The Mixtecan system is like these except for great grandparents where the sex of the connecting parent is indicated. Strangely enough, this falls out again in the great great grandparent group. The Tarascan and Aztecan systems to a certain extent classify these relations by generation, but in the former grandfather is grandfather's brother and grandmother is grandmother's sister, while the term for great grandmother is the same as that for great grandfather plus the word meaning female. In the Aztecan system the grandparent is linked with either grandparent's sibling of the same sex, and this is perhaps true for the great grandparents, although so far as the data go they are classified with the great grandfather's sibling of the same sex.

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The sex of the connecting parent is expressed for all members of the ascending generation in the Mayan system as well as the sex of the relative. Only the term

For mother's father is classificatory, being reciprocal to man's daughter's child, and also used for man's father's brother's son.

Grandchildren and Great grandchildren

The characteristic trait in this group is the lack of denoting the sex of a relative, but the Otomi form an exception, their terms being no more than grandson and granddaughter. Grandchildren are not classed with collateral relatives in the Tarascan, Mixtecan, Zapotecan, and Mixean systems, but the Tarascan term for grandchild also includes grandson-in-law. In the same system the term for great great grandchild is formed by adding another word to a term which resembles grandchild. Mixtec and Zapotec are almost identical, both having terms meaning grandchild, great grandchild, etc., although the Zapotecan term for great great grandchild is the same as that for great grandchild with perhaps a falling tone in the penultimate syllable. In the Aztecan system cousin and grandchild are linked; likewise great great grandchild and great great grandfather's brother. Man's grandchild stands in contrast with woman's grandson or granddaughter in the Mixean terminology, and this is somewhat intermediate between the systems to the north and the Mayan system. In the latter system both the sex of the speaker and the sex of the connecting relative are expressed, but not the sex of the relative. "Classificatory" terms enter, as man's son's child is younger sibling and man's daughter's child is mother's father. For great grandchildren, etc. prefixes same as those for great grandparents etc. are used and

added to the terms for corresponding grandchildren, less frequently for a man's male descendants in the male line. /

Siblings

All the tribes except the Mixtec recognize the age of a sibling, but in various combinations. The Tarascan and Aztec systems are identical, having only reference to a sibling with recognition of sex and whether older or younger than the speaker. Four of the tribes, perhaps five, regard siblings and cousins as to some extent equivalent, and the Mixe and Maya carry this to completion, only the Maya add prefixes to the cousin terms to indicate the degree of removal. The Otomi, though having simple terms in the groups previously discussed, are equally as complex in sibling terminology as any other and more complex than the Tarascan and Aztec groups. In this tribe the following terms are to be recognized: mn b, wn b, mn ob, wn ob, yb, mn ss, wn ss, oss, yss. The Mixtecan terms are relatively simple, only mn b, wn ss, and wn b reciprocal to mn ss. Zapotecan sibling terms are mmb, ob, yb, sb, and ss in a scale of individual age nomenclature, including with her a daughter of the same age position. In addition to classifying siblings with cousins the Mixe express the sex of the speaker in most of the terms for male relatives.

Uncles and Aunts

Only two groups, the Aztec and Mixtec, have the simple terms uncle and aunt and even here the Aztecs classify the grand-uncles and grand-aunts with the grandparents of the same sex. No data are had for Mixtecan grand-uncles and grand

aunts. Father's brother and mother's sister in the Tarascan system may have the father and mother terms applied to them respectively, but this was perhaps not the usual case. The common characteristic of this tribe and the other four is the is the expression of the sex of the connecting parent, and this type of classification is purest in the Mayan group where the terms are the four simple ones: f b, m b, f ss, m ss. The Otomi express the sex of the speaker when referring to father's siblings, and mn f b is linked with wn bl. In general, all the tribes except the Aztec and Mixtec, though varying in details, follow the principle of distinguishing between uncles and aunts on the father's and mother's sides and of recognizing the sex of these relatives.

Nephews and Nieces

Only two definite types of classification exist in this group, the one being of European type while the other must be called by the unsatisfactory term "irregular". The Otomi and Mixtec come under the first heading, but this may be due to the lack of more data. In the "irregular" group the Mayan and Tarascan systems fall roughly together, both in part classifying nephews and nieces with children, but the Maya invariably recognize the sex of the speaker. Another point of similarity is that of expressing the sex of the connecting relative, a characteristic by which the Mixe and Zapotec may be roughly grouped. This leaves the Aztec unique, for only the term sibling's child is used. If "no" means "my", as Zenteno seems to use it, a woman calls her sibling's child "my child".

Cousins

We may recognize two general classifications of cousins: one in which they are regarded as siblings and the other in which they are classed with descendants. Unless such is the case with the Otomi where no data were obtained, cousins do not exist at all simply as cousins, although, as has been shown, they receive distinct recognition except among the Aztec and Mixe. The sex of the speaker as well as that of the relative is expressed in part in the four southermost tribes, but the geographical situation may have nothing to do with this similarity nor with the classification of cousins as siblings. Sex does not enter into the Aztec classification, but as cousins and grandchildren are put in the same category it is not European in type. The single word cousin in the Tarascan system is of the European type, but there are terms for other relationships which include cousins of a certain kind.

Step-relations

All the tribes distinguish between step-relations and relations by blood, and the only non-European element is the expression of the speaker's sex in some, though not all, of the terms in the Aztec, Mixean, and Mayan systems.

Spouses

There are three characteristics of this group, generally speaking: (1) Husband and wife among the Tarascans, Mayans, Aztec, and Otomi. However, in the Aztec system the term spouse is to be recognized, and the Otomian terms are

husband and woman. (2) Mixtec my man and my woman; and (3) Mixe and Zapotec spouse. This includes the information from De Angulo for the Mixtec and Mixe.

Parents-in-law and Children-in-law

The Mixtec are European in type and all the rest have "classificatory" terms or express the sex of the speaker. Only the Tarascans fail to distinguish affinities of this kind from blood relations (gsl is gch). This gives three rough types of classification which are distributed as follows: (1) Blood relations not distinguished from affinities - Tarascan; (2) sex of the speaker expressed, and for the most part the sex of the affinity - Otomi, Aztec, Zapotec, Mixe, and Maya; (3) European type - Mixtec. It may be pointed out that Aztec terms for woman's father-in-law and woman's mother-in-law were not obtained. The two most classificatory terms in the area are Tarascan fl-ml-dl and Mixean mn pl-wn fl-sl, both including three relationships irrespective of sex and generation.

Siblings-in-law

Not one of the seven tribes possesses a purely European type of classification for affinities of this kind. All express the sex of the speaker. Only the Otomi and Zapotec link any sibling-in-law with a blood kinsman, and for the latter it is only a man's deceased sister's husband, who becomes regarded at the death of the sister as her son. All indicate the two-step sibling-in-law relationship in two or more terms and the Mixtec, Zapotec, and Mixe indicate three-step siblings-in-law in two or more terms, while only the

Mixtec and Zapotec have any term which indicates a one-step sibling-in-law alone.

Characteristics of Classification: Conclusion

The foregoing discussion does not take up those types of classification where the data are too few and the facts of a highly unsatisfactory nature. The attempted groupings of common traits demonstrate that the features are so well distributed that only the very roughest categories can be made. It would perhaps be better to take up individual traits and show their appearance in the area on a scale somewhat as that used by Dr. Leslie Spier¹ for the tribes north of Mexico, but even this would be unsatisfactory, for with so few tribes and so many individualized characteristics the result would hardly justify the space required and, moreover, each tribe would find a place under almost every category. The simplest groups would of course fit into such a scheme, but even then duplication would be necessary. To demonstrate this we may take the classification of spouses, which is relatively not complicated. Three distinct types of classification were pointed out in this group: (1) Husband and wife; (2) man and woman; and (3) spouse. Upon this basis the following result would be obtained:

1. See his *The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America*, Univ. of Wash. pub. in *Anth.*, Vol 1, no 2, 1925.

Husband and Wife

Otomi, Tarascan, Aztec, Maya

Man and Woman

Otomi, Mixtec

Spouse

Aztec, Zapotec, Mixe

In order that a more analytical comparison may be had, all the traits of classification are presented in table VIII. The asterisk (*) before a term indicates that its identity is found in another system. Relationships expressed by classificatory terms are joined by the hyphen, e. g., mn ssl-wn bl means that the term for man's sister-in-law is reciprocal to that for woman's brother-in-law; f-fb means that the term for father is also used for father's brother.

Analytical Comparison of Terms

Parents	
Tribe	Terms
Otomi	*f, *m.
Tarascan	f-f b, m- m ss.
Aztec	*f, *m, (f-m, m-f.)
Mixtec	*f, *m.
Zapotec	*f, *m.
Mixe	*f, *m
Maya	*f, *m
Children	
Otomi	*s, *d.
Tarascan	ch-pbs, zch-wn nc, *och, *2ch, *Mid.ch, *ych.
Aztec	ch, wn ch, *d, wn d, *och, *ych, *2ch, *Mid. ch; *ch-gch.
Mixtec	*s, os, *ys, *d, *2ch.
Zapotec	Counting terms for s, *ch-gch, counting terms for d-ss.
Mixe	*s, *och, *2ch, *ys, *d, yd.
Maya	mn os, mn ys, mn s-mn bs-wn ss s, mn d-mn bd, wn ch-wn b d, wn och, wn ych. A wn may distin- guish between sex of ch by using prefixes.
Grandparents and Great grandparents	
Otomi	*gf, *gm, *ggf, ggm.
Tarascan	gf-gf b, gm-gm ss, ggp, zggp.
Aztec	gf-gp b, *gm-gp ss, ggf-ggf b, ggm-ggf ss.
Mixtec	*gf, *gm, *ggf, f gm, m gm, ggf, gggm.
Zapotec	gf-ggf, gm-ggm.
Mixe	gf-gp b-ggp b, *gm-gp ss.
Maya	f f, m f-mn d ch, f m, m m. For great grand- parents prefixes are added to these terms.

Grandchildren and Great grandchildren	
Otomi	: gs, gd.
Tarascan	: gch-gsl, *ggch, gggch, -ggch.
Aztec	: gch-c, *ggch, gggch-gggf b, ggggch...
Mixtec	: *gch, *ggch,
Zapotec	: *gch, *ggch, gggch...
Mixe	: mn gch-sb gch-sb ggch, wn gs, wn gd.
Maya &	: mn s ch-ysb, wn s ch, mn d ch-m f. For great grand children prefixes are added to these terms.
Siblings	
Otomi	: *oss, yss, *mn b, wn b, mn ob, wn ob, *yb, mn ss, wn ss.
Tarascan	: *ob, *oss, ysb, (*yss).
Aztec	: *ob, *yb, *oss, *yss.
Mixtec	: *mn b, wn b-mnss, wn ss.
Zapotec	: *mn b, *ob, *yb, Counting terms for ss-d.
Mixe	: mn ob-mn oklc-ok2c-ok3c, wn ob-wn oklc, mn yb- yss-mn yccwn yzlc-wny2c-wn y3c, wn yb-wn yklc, oss-ozc, *mn b, ss.
Maya	: *ob, ysb-mn s ch, *oss.
Uncles and Aunts	
Otomi	: mn-f b-wn bl, wn f b, m b, mn f ss, wn a-mn m ss.
Tarascan	: *f b, *m b, *f ss, *m ss. See parents.
Aztec	: gggf b-gggch, ggf ss-ggm, *u, *a, *gp b-gf, *gp ss-gm, ggf b-ggf.
Mixtec	: *u, *a.
Zapotec	: gf ss-p f f ss, gm ss-p m m ss, *f b, *m b, *f ss, *m ss, gf b-pff b, gm b-p mmb.
Mixe	: *f b, m b-ss ch, *f ss, *m ss, *gpb-gf, *gp ss-gm.
Maya	: *f b, *m b, *f ss, * m ss.

Nephews and Nieces

Otomi	: *np, *nc.
Tarascan	: b s-wn np, ss s-p ss s-b d, sb gch.
Aztec	: sb ch, wn sb ch.
Mixtec	: *np, *nc.
Zapotec	: ss s-nc s, *nc, ss d.
Mixe	: ss ch-m b, b s, b d, sb gch-sb ggeh-mn gch. wn b d-wn ch,
Maya	: mn b s-wn ss s-mn s, mn ss ch, mn b d-mn d.

Cousins

Otomi	: No data.
Tarascan	: c, p b s-ch, p ss s→ss s-b d.
Aztec	: c-gch. wn k2c-mn z2c. *Also regarded as siblings.
Mixtec	: mn klc, wnk, mn zlc, wn zlc, mn k2c, wn z2c. mn f b s, f ss s, m ss s, mn zc-wn kc, kc, zc,
Zapotec	: *Also regarded as siblings.
Mixe	: See *sibling group.
Maya	: All regarded as *siblings, two or more degrees removed. See sibling group.

Step-relations (p and ch)

Otomi	: *stf, *stm, *sts, *std.
Tarascan	: *stf, *stm, *sts.
Aztec	: *stf, *stm, *mn sts, *wn sts.
Mixtec	: *stf, *stm.
Zapotec	: *stf, *stm, *sts, *std.
Mixe	: *stf, *stm, mn stch, *wn sts, wn std.
Maya	: *stf, *stm, *mn sts, wn stch.

Spouses	
Otomi	*h, *wn.
Tarascan	*h, *w.
Aztec	*h, *w, *sp.
Mixtec Y	mn, *wn.
Zapotec	*sp.
Mixe	*sp.
Maya	*h, *w.
Parents-in-law and Children-in-law	
Otomi	*w f, *h f, *w m, *h m, *sl, *dl.
Tarascan	fl-ml-dl, *sl, gsl-goh, *gml.
Aztec	*w f, *w m, *sl, *dl, gsl, *gml, gfl.
Mixtec	fl, ml, *sl, *dl.
Zapotec	*w f, *h f, *w m, *h m, sl-gsl, *dl.
Mixe	mn pl-wn fl-sl, h m-wndl, mn dl.
Maya	w f-sl, h f-f ss h, *w m, *h m, *dl.
Siblings-in-law	
Otomi	*mn bl, wn bl-mn fb, mn ssl, *wn ssl.
Tarascan	*mn bl, *wn ssl, *mn ssl-wn bl.
Aztec	*mn ssl-wn bl, *mn bl, *wn ssl.
Mixtec	bl, *w ss h, *h b w.
Zapotec	mn Dss h-ss s-nc s. wn ss h-w ss-b w-h b, (mn ss h)-mn bl, w b w. (*h b w).
Mixe	*mn-bl, *mn ssl-wn bl, *wn ssl, (*w ss h).
Maya	w b, *mn ssl-wn bl, *wn ssl.

SPECIALIZATION

Governed by the appearance of the asterisk in table VIII, we may represent the tribal degree of specialization in some such form as shown in table IX. This of course must not be taken too seriously, as there is no way of knowing that all the facts are obtained for any tribe, and there must be allowance for a lack of proportion in the relationships expressed. It would be quite naive, for example, to countenance the idea that because only the terms *gs* and *gd* are listed for the Otomi, they do not recognize descendants more removed.

Table IX

Group	Most specialized tribe
p	Tarascan.
ch	Maya.
gp and ggp	Maya, Tarascan, Zapotec.
gch and ggch	Mixe, Otomi.
sb	Mixe, Mixtec.
u and a	Otomi.
np and nc	Maya, Mixe, Zapotec, Tarascan, Aztec.
c	Tarascan, Aztec. Otomi no data.
st-r	Mixe, Maya.
sp	Mixtec.
pl-chl	Mixe.
sbl	Zapotec.

Table IX-A

Tribe	Specialization Score
Mixe	5
Maya	4
Tarascan	4
Zapotec	3
Aztec	2
Mixtec	2
Otomi	2

EXPRESSION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORIES

The tables following the classified lists of terms for each tribe show individual expression of the fundamental categories, hence it only remains to present a comparative summary of these tables. Such a comparison is given in tables X and XI. Table X gives in round numbers the percentage of tribal expression of each category. It is to be noticed that all the categories are expressed except number eight, "condition of connecting relative", and that four of the tribes express seven categories while the remaining three express six. On the whole, the chief distinction is between relatives by blood and affinities, as only three of the tribes fall below the one hundred percent mark, each being four points below.

If tribes are assigned to the figures in table XI, the following result is obtained:

A. Averages: (a) Number of terms- Mixtec, Zapotec; (b) categories- (1) Maya, Tarascan; (2) None; (3) Aztec; (4) Mixe; (5) Tarascan; (6) Mixe; (7) Maya.

B. Maxima: (a) Number of terms- Maya; (b) categories- (1) Otomi, Aztec; (2) Maya, Mixtec, Mixe, Aztec; (3) Otomi, Zapotec; (4) Otomi; (5) Maya; (6) Maya; (7) Aztec.

C. Minima: (a) Number of terms- Aztec; (b) categories- (1) Mixe; (2) Otomi, Tarascan, Zapotec; (3) Mixe; (4) Tarascan; (5) Mixtec, Aztec; (6) Tarascan; (7) Zapotec.

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B. Maxima: (a) Number of terms- Maya; (b) categories- (1) Otomi, Aztec; (2) Maya, Mixtec, Mixe, Aztec; (3) Otomi, Zapotec; (4) Otomi; (5) Maya; (6) Maya; (7) Aztec.

C. Minima: (a) Number of terms- Aztec; (b) categories- (1) Mixe; (2) Otomi, Tarascan, Zapotec; (3) Mixe; (4) Tarascan; (5) Mixtec, Aztec; (6) Tarascan; (7) Zapotec.

Another table may be tolerated to represent the tribal degree of conformity and specialization along this

line. The result is to be seen in table XII in which the score is obtained by regarding the points of conformity as negative and adding them to the points of divergence.

Table X

Tribes	:Total: :terms:	Categories							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Otomi	29	96	96	96	100	10	38	17	00
Tarascan	25	88	96	76	56	16	8	28	00
Aztec	23	96	100	87	70	00	17	35	00
Mixtec	27	89	100	89	89	00	30	11	00
Zapotec	27	78	96	96	85	26	30	00	00
Mixe	28	75	100	72	75	18	29	32	00
Maya	34	88	100	82	71	29	38	24	00

Table XI

No. of terms	Aver.	Max.	Min.	Range
No. of terms.....	27	34	23	11
Generation	88	96	75	21
Blood or marriage.....	98	100	96	4
Lineal or collateral.....	85	96	72	24
Sex of relative.....	78	100	56	44
Sex of connecting relative.....	16	29	00	29
Sex of speaker.....	27	38	8	30
Age in generation	21	35	00	35
Condition of connecting relative	00	00	00	00

Table XII

Tribe	Points of : Points of Divergence :			
	Conformity :	Above :	Below :	Score
Otomi	0	3	1	4
Aztec	1	3	2	4
Zapotec	1	1	2	2
Maya	2	4	0	2
Tarascan	2	0	3	1
Mixe	2	1	2	1
Mixtec	1	1	1	1

RECIPROCAL TERMS

Conceptual and Verbal Reciprocity

Dr. Kroeber has defined conceptual reciprocity as

follows:

"What may be termed conceptual reciprocity is an exact accord in range of inverted meaning of the terms for two relationships. Complete conceptual reciprocity exists only when all persons called by one term call all those who thus name them, and no others, by the reciprocal term. It is immaterial whether the second term is identical with, similar to, or entirely different from the first."¹

Dr. Gifford quotes this definition, but because of its rigidity varies from it in his treatment of Californian terminologies and substitutes a looser definition:

"I have treated as conceptually reciprocal all terms whose inverted meaning is embraced by a single term. All terms whose inverted meanings are embraced by two or more terms I have treated as not conceptually reciprocal, even though the two or more terms be only modifications of a single stem."²

It may be well here to adhere to the definition as given by Dr. Kroeber.

On the same page Dr. Kroeber defines verbal reciprocity thus:

"Verbal reciprocity consists of the use of the same or a derivative term for the corresponding relative; it does not imply exact inverse meaning for the two terms, though this may occur".

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1. Zuni Kin and Clan, Anth. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol xviii, 1917, p. 79.
 2. Californian Kinship Terminologies, Univ Calif Pub. Amer. Archaeol. and Eth., Vol xviii, 1922, p. 274.

Since both kinds of reciprocity frequently appear jointly, they may be considered together for each tribe. Derivative terms will have to be neglected. It will be convenient to use the following conventionalizations in this survey: vr, verbally or self-reciprocal; cr, conceptually reciprocal; and the colon (:) will mean "is reciprocal to":

Otomian Terminology

mn b : self, vr; wn ss : self, vr; mn ss : wn b, cr; mn bl : self, vr; wn sal : self, vr.

Tarascan Terminology

mn bl : self, vr; wn ssl : self, vr; mn ssl : wn bl, vr, cr.

Aztecán Terminology

wn sb ch : a, cr; mn ssl : wn bl, vr, cr; wn ssl : self, vr; mn bl : self, vr.

Mixtecan Terminology

mn b : self, vr; wn b : mn ss, vr, cr; wn ss : self, vr; w ss h : self, vr; h b w : self, vr; mn 2zc : wn 2kc, vr, cr.

Zapotecan Terminology

mn b : self, vr; sb : self, vr, cr; mn f b s : self, vr; mn ze : wn kc, vr, cr; mn bl : self, vr; wn ssl : self, vr.

Mixean Terminology

wn ml : wn dl, vr, cr; mn bl : self, vr; mn ssl : wn bl, vr, cr; wn ssl : self, vr; w ss h : self, vr; h b w : self, vr.

Mayan Terminology

wn bl : mn sal, vr, cr; wn ssl : self, vr.

One common feature clearly presents itself: reciprocity, verbal and conceptual, is confined principally to

the sibling and sibling-in-law groups, especially to the latter. This is due not only to the distinction between these affinities as to sex, but to the tendency to express the sex of the speaker.

A few more terms could be included by following the criterion given by Dr. Gifford, e. g., Tarascan older brother and older sister would both be conceptually reciprocal to younger sibling, the inverted meaning being embraced in a single term. Aztecan father, mother, child terms would fall roughly into this category, ignoring the term mother's child. Linguistic analysis would perhaps secure more terms.

Conclusion

It is obvious that from the nature of the data nothing more than a tentative notion regarding Mexican terminologies can be formed. With this reservation, it may be said that while there is a great amount of individuality in the several systems, there is much general conformity, and on the whole the specialized features are fairly well distributed. This equal distribution of specialized characteristics may be seen by comparing tables IX-A and XII .

Similarity to various systems north of Mexico may be observed. There is neither a purely Dakotan nor Hawaiian system in the area, but features of both are present.

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