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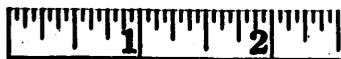
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CHANGING PROCESSES OF LEADERSHIP RECRUITMENT
IN SAN BARTOLOME DE LOS LLANOS, CHIAPAS

by

Arthur J. Rubel

MICROFILM COLLECTION
OF MANUSCRIPTS ON AMERICAN INDIAN
CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

No. 59

Series

University of Chicago Library
Chicago, Illinois
1959

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Master's Paper
Arthur J. Rubel
Feb. 1959

CHANGING PROCESSES OF LEADERSHIP RECRUITMENT IN
SAN BARTOLOME DE LOS LLANOS, CHIAPAS.

In 1957 a field project designed to study the relationships between society, culture, and natural environment over long time-periods was inaugurated. The project expressed the continuing interest of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in the highland areas of Chiapas, Mexico. The field work ^{is being} ~~was~~ carried out under a grant from the National Science Foundation.

A small transect, which included several Indian groups representing two different Mayan dialects, was carved out of the state of Chiapas. This ~~transect included altitudes ranging from~~ ^{area varied in altitude} seven thousand ~~to~~ ^{4,000 ft} two thousand ^{to} feet above sea level, ~~attended by~~ ^{is being} differing plant coverages ^{at} ~~the~~ ^{altitude}. The municipal unit which will be discussed in this paper, San Bartolomé de los Llanos, lies between two and two-and-a-half thousand feet above sea level.

~~San Bartolomé is bounded in clock-wise fashion by~~ the following ^{surround} ~~municipios:~~ ^{San Bartolomé:} Acala, Totolapa, Nicolas Ruiz, Teopisca, Las Rosas, and La Concordia. A large municipio, San Bartolomé, ^{itself} boasts almost 160,000 hectares, ^{most} the largest part of which were received from the Spanish crown in the form of two land grants. In 1769 the populace received 1,300 caballerias of property as a royal grant, and in 1849 ^{the town} ~~it~~ was given title to a smaller amount. In both instances the title was vested in the community, i.e., lands were communally owned. All lands within the municipio today are divided into two general classes, tierra baja and el pedregal.

The lands of the municipio are watered by two great river systems. The Rio Grijalva enters the municipal boundaries from Las Rosas flowing in a westerly direction until it enters the terrain of Acala. While coursing through the municipio it is fed by two smaller streams, the Dorado and the Concordia. The second of the two great systems is that of the Rio Blanco. The Blanco flows south-westerly, entering from Teopisca, and emptying ^{by} its waters into the Grijalva at a place called Pajarito. A number of smaller tributaries, which for the most part carry water only ^{during} ~~through~~ the rainy season, are found in the municipio. The

2.

^{relationship}
importance of river water ^{for} ~~for the understanding of~~ patterns of land use and social relations between groups in this municipio ~~can not be overly exaggerated.~~ ^{is extremely important}

At least as far back as 1778 the population of the municipio could be classified as ~~of a~~ heterogeneous ~~nature~~. A census reported in that year (Juan Maria Morales) lists 4,333 "Indians", 174 "Whites", and 105 "Mestizos", with 167 "negroes and mulattos" ~~(Indians ~~only~~)~~. In part such a mixed population may be understood by the fact that until the last decade of the eighteenth century the municipio was a cotton-growing and exporting center of prime importance. A resident labor force was attached to several cotton gins in that period (Juan Maria Morales). In fact, Gout and Avendaño Company's gin continued in operation until the first years of this century.

Contemporary San Bartolomé is divided into two ethnic groups, Tzotzil-speaking Indians and Ladinos, and into two socio-economic classes, ~~peasant~~ ^{are} peasant and non-peasant. All Indians of San Bartolomé ~~fall under the rubric of~~ ^{are} peasants (campesinos); and most of these Indian campesinos work lands whose title is vested in the community. Some Indians have joined and participate actively in other types of land-holding groups, ejidos, ~~founded~~ ^{was} founded during the agrarian reform movement of ~~our~~ ^{this} century. Those falling into the category of ejidatarios, members of an ejido, are not considered by our informants as part of the Indian community, and for purposes of this paper we ~~leave to their judgment~~ ^{follow this classification}.

^{insert from p. 3}
The life of the Indian community rests on a subsistence economy based upon the cultivation of maize, beans, squash, chile, and tomatoes. These provide the staples of the diet; small surpluses of these crops provide the meagre cash handled by the populace. ^{celebrate} The raising of a large surplus ^{money} designed for ~~eventual~~ ^{approved} sale is not ~~viewed with approbation~~ ^{approved} by the moral code, ~~unless it is~~ ^{for} for the performance of a public ceremony. ~~In such a case the surplus is distributed in the form of food to the rest of the populace.~~ ^a Although the Indians share some religious activities with the Ladino group (e.g., mass is attended by Indians and Ladinos at the same time), ~~the Indian may be characterized by his unique~~ ^{celebrate} celebration of certain rites of rogation at the near-by peak of Cerro ~~Chalwitz~~ ^{Chalwitz}. Furthermore, ~~they commemorate~~ ^{celebrate} certain saints' days by peculiarly Indian festivities.

— for example, San Sebastian and San Pedro Martin —

3.

Among the Tzotzil only,

~~for example, San Sebastian, and San Pedro Martin. A~~ Certain characteristic ~~relationships~~ ~~interdependencies~~ exist in San Bartolomé between man and nature, as well as between man and the supernatural, ~~which are restricted to the Tzotzil residents.~~

What does the word "relationships" mean? Certainly, "relationships"?

~~Although some members of the Indian group speak and read Spanish, they are few in number, but the great majority of those participating in Indian society are monolingual.~~ ^{Indian} men and women members of this group dress in a costume characteristic of this municipio. In those residential areas which are more isolated than others from the Ladino neighborhoods, the Indian women tend to do their daily chores unclad from the waist up. Such a custom was probably more general in this warm land until the last part of the nineteenth century. At that time, Morales ^{reference} reports, ~~(Tzotzil)~~ measures were taken by the ~~Priest~~, in collaboration with the Ladino authorities, to insure that these women cover their breasts when in public, as well as requiring ~~the covering of the head upon entrance into church.~~ ^{for} So repressive were these measures that a portion of the Indian group fled the town to live in isolated fashion near their fields (ibid).

In years past most of the Indian women shared the ~~common~~ art of weaving the locally grown cotton, though today ~~only a relatively few~~ ^{craft} preserve this craft. Another of the ~~local arts which were practiced~~ in San Bartolomé was the weaving from palm of the especially heavy sombreros which characterized the municipio, ^{men of the} ~~men folk.~~ This skill also is diminishing ~~with~~ ^{and} most of the younger and middle-aged men purchasing ^{manufactured outside the region and sold by} sombreros, ~~and manufactured outside of the region.~~ ^{sharp drop} Economically this has resulted in a ~~serious diminishment~~ ⁱⁿ trade with the Comitán area, from where most of the palm was imported. Only a ~~very few~~ ^{make} women know the manufacture of pottery, and none weave baskets. Both of these classes of items are traditionally traded from the Amatenango people, ^{for} ~~with~~ chiles, totiques, squash, and maize, ~~flowing in the other direction.~~ To the best of my knowledge, no Ladino residents practise any of these home industries. ~~in the municipio~~ ^{In San Bartolomé} one is either an Indian or not. Members of each of the ethnic groups ^{recognize} ~~is highly visible to~~ one another by ~~means of~~ ^{the} language they speak, or the costume ~~that~~ they wear.

1950 for 1950

visit p. 2

The Ladino inhabitants of the municipio may be divided into two socio-economic classes. The less affluent segment shares some social and cultural characteristics with ~~his fellow campesinos of the Indian group~~ ^{the Indian} ~~group~~. These similarities are due mainly to their ~~shared interest~~ ^{occupations} in agriculture, the low levels of technological knowledge, and a common poverty. Although Ladino inhabitants of the municipal seat, the cabecera, may be described as living closer to the town plaza than ~~members of the Indian group~~ ^{do Indians}, the immediate ~~circumference~~ ^{borders} of the plaza ~~is~~ ^{are} occupied by the non-peasant ~~segment of the ethnic group~~. Lying further afield from this central place are the less pretentious houses and huts of the Ladino peasantry.

X ^{the} This subordinate class of the Ladino group is landless. In general, it ~~is dependent upon~~ ^{depends} upon either ^{upon} lands in tierra baja which are for rent, by their owners, or else upon the communal lands which lie mostly in el pedregal. Those renting in tierra baja ^{use} utilize plows and teams, ^{also rented} both of which instruments of tillage are also rented from others. Ladinos cultivating the pedregal lands use techniques similar to ^{those used by} their Indian companions. Thus, in the latter case, ^{by Indians that} an iron-tipped digging stick (vareta) and the all-purpose machete are used in pedregal land which presents a relatively open face to cultivation. In these lands ^{the area} of pedregal more broken by formations of volcanic rock, the vareta and luk are used together. The latter's hooked form ^{is suited to} permits more action in the close quarters surrounding and under these outcroppings of rock. The clothing of this campesino Ladino group is purchased from local merchants and indistinguishable from rural Mexican costumes in general. ^{These Ladinos} Representatives of this segment of the population are generally illiterate, and speak only Spanish. The location of their residences ~~is~~ between the outer peripheries of the town ^{the} the Indian-occupied barrios and the finer houses of the non-cultivating Ladinos ^{illustrate} nestled close to the plaza ~~portrays~~ their socially intermediate position in the municipio.

spatial
social
correlation?

5.

The segment of Ladinos living closest to the plaza ^{is} are engaged in commerce, public administration, and the professions--medicine, law, and pedagogy. This group is generally literate, and ^{Spanish-speaking} dependent upon the ~~national language for all communication~~. A few are able to bargain with the Indian women in Tzotzil as the latter make their daily rounds with such small items as tortillas, ^{for sale} fruits, eggs, etc. ^{for sale}. (There is no regular market ^{in San Bartolomé} as it is known in other parts of the Republic.) ~~The~~ Members of the Ladino dominant group make regular visits ~~to~~ such provincial cities as Tuxtla Gutierrez and San Cristobal, and most of them have some acquaintance with Mexico City, if not through personal experience, then through the newspapers, ~~or~~ radio, ~~descriptions,~~ or even the movies which they attend. The social circle of the more affluent in this municipio ^{has contact with} extends into like circles which are found in other near-by cabeceras, as well as ^{with} sustaining convivial relationships with many persons ⁱⁿ the state capital, and San Cristobal.

Although they are few in number, those Ladinos who live on ranches and raise cattle on privately-owned lands are of great importance to the inter-group relations in San Bartolomé. The ~~increasing~~ need of these stock-raisers for more land to sustain larger herds of cattle has been indirectly ^{increased} heightened by the completion of the Pan American Highway, with a feeder-road into San Bartolomé. These new communication facilities, leading to such population centers as Tapachula, Puebla, and Mexico City have increased the sales value of cattle far beyond anything previously known. The open-range technology of grazing, and the prohibitive cost ^{of barbed wire} for most ^{of the} cultivators ^{of the soil} ^{of} barbed wire (considered the only adequate fencing against transgressing cattle, horses, and mules) ^{locally} in local opinion-circles have pitted cattle-raisers against the peasants. The fact that ~~members of the town-dwelling Ladino dominants~~ have investments in private lands in the municipio, as well as the ⁱⁿ ^{friendships} ~~connections~~ ^{with} the wealthy cattle-raising families, pits these two segments of Ladino life against the ~~cultivators of the soil~~ Indian and Ladino campesinos.

^{the} ~~an~~ erosion of many ^{aspects} ~~of the facets~~ of Indian culture through so many years of close contact with Ladino life, ^{as well as} ~~when added to~~ the common dependence upon subsistence agriculture, ~~and a shared absence of~~ ^{no} private land-holdings, general illiteracy, and an orientation to local rather than national problems, has led to some general likeness between Ladino and Indian campesinos. ^{In addition, the fact} ~~When one adds that~~ members of these groups either share neighborhoods ^{reinforces} or live close to one another, ~~it~~ ^{such similarity,} ~~would be surprising to find them more unlike one another~~ (cf. Tax, 1941; Redfield, 1939). A current policy by which Indian and Ladino cultivators may work adjoining milpas, cooperate in building enclosures for their fields, and at times the inclusion of Ladinos and Indians in the same structured field groups (grupitos) further lessens ^{differences.} ~~the importance of differentiation based upon cultural criteria.~~ The declining importance of cultural differentiation, and the increasing importance of the common threat to the lands have helped ^{make} ~~bring about the evolution of~~ San Bartolomé ~~as~~ a unique type of municipio in the highlands of Chiapas (de la Fuente, Relaciones Éticas en los Altos de Chiapas.) In view of the comparative materials relating to inter-group relations in this region (ibid), and the comments expressed by the Bartolomeños themselves, it seems highly likely that previous inter-group relations were such that each of the ethnic groups in San Bartolomé ~~previously~~ existed as parallel, functioning entities. The nature of changes found here raises the ^{query} ~~as to whether~~ the role of leadership has ~~also~~ changed in this municipio.

The following sections ~~will~~ present a discussion of some functioning aspects of the Indian society, concentrating mainly on the manner in which leaders were recruited, and the attributes which a leader was expected to possess in more traditional Indian society of San Bartolomé. Some of those elements continue to assert themselves in the dynamics of the contemporary society, whereas others are rapidly being forgotten and can be ^{recalled} ~~reconstructed~~ only with difficulty by the inhabitants.

^{insert page 8}
 The Indian community was characterized by a number of structured groups, each of which had a leadership position. Rising from smallest to largest, the groups were: the nuclear family, the grupito, the barrio, and the entire community. ~~and now to the question of leadership and what is found in San Bartolomé.~~ ^{Homans (1950) provides a convenient framework with which to begin the discussion.} ~~"The leader,"~~ ^{with which to consider leadership.}

7.

~~he says,~~

The leader

is the man who comes closest to realizing the norms the group values highest. "His embodiment of the norms gives him his high rank, and his rank attracts people; the leader is the man people come to; the scheme of inter-action focusses on him. At the same time, his high rank carries with it the implied right to assume control of the group, and the exercise of control itself helps maintain the leader's prestige. This control he is peculiarly well-equipped to wield by reason of his position at the top of the pyramid of inter-action. "He is better informed than other men, and he has more channels for the issuing of orders. He controls the group, yet he is in a sense more controlled by it than others are, since it is a condition of his leadership that his actions and decisions shall conform more closely than those of others to an abstract norm. Moreover, all these elements, and not just one or two of them, come into leadership; all are related to one another and reinforce one another for good or ill." (pp. 188-9)

~~Traditional social life in San Bartolomé was highly "position" conscious regarding the delegation of leadership roles. "Position"~~

P In this paper, ^{position} ~~will be used in such a way as to be interchangeable with~~ Linton's "status" (Linton, ~~Ralph~~, 1936; p. 113). "A status, ~~is said,~~ in the abstract, is a position in a particular pattern. A status, as distinct from the person who may occupy it, is simply a collection of rights and duties." In this paper we have chosen to use position for status simply because of its clearer suggestion of location in a system. In later sections of this discussion it will be seen that certain social positions remain the same, ^{in name?} although the forces of changing circumstance ^{??} do not permit them the "rights and duties" they were earlier assigned. "When he [individual] puts the rights and duties which constitute the status [read position] into effect, he is performing a role. Roles and status are quite inseparable, and the distinction between them is of only academic interest." (*ibid*) ~~We shall see how in the course of time, certain positions of leadership have remained as vestiges of a former way of life, whereas the roles they played associatively are now beset by challengers at every turn.~~

*Follow a style.
AA style is easy.*

8. *incul from p. 6^a*

Most of the daily activities pursued by ~~members of the~~ ^{an} Indian group of San Bartolomé are accomplished in the company of, or in cooperation with, others of his bilateral kin-group. A household always includes a set of parents and their unmarried children. In many instances it will also include either a married daughter and her family, or a married son with his family. In a few instances more than two nuclear families may be found living in the same household; that is to say, several married children with their offspring, and spouses, or several siblings with their own nuclear families. In Barrios Convento and San Pedro Martir, the residence patterns were as follows¹:

<i>with each on separate line</i>	Parents with unmarried ^{adult} children	Par. with marr. son his spouse, and child ^{en.}	Par. marr. da. and spouse and children
	55	22	14
	<i>Parents with unmarried adult children = 55</i>		
	<i>Parents with married son</i>		
	<i>Parents with married daughter</i>		

The nuclear family ~~which is delimited by parents and children~~ is an autonomous socio-economic unit. A father and his unmarried sons cultivate the lands together (women ^{do} not participating in field work). Each family maintains a storage bin for harvested maize, and keeps its grain apart

1 A total of 130 households were canvassed. Of this number only 91 provided data which reasonably clearly showed the actuality of who lived where.

!!!

from other nuclear families, ~~although related~~. A son continues under the authority of his father until he is married. Ideally, at that point in his life cycle he becomes independent of his father, socially, economically, and otherwise. He now should begin to cultivate his own milpa, the crop to be used by himself for the sustenance of his own wife and children. In such cases wherein married sons or sons-in-law, life with a parent or parent-in-law, each labored in his own milpa and maintains his own nuclear family with the harvest ~~of his labor~~. In actuality, all of those cases observed by ~~the anthropologist~~ ^{me} wherein strenuous chores were undertaken, e.g., the roofing of a home, the cultivating of a milpa, the task was almost always accomplished alone or with one's unmarried sons. In those cases where more than one adult, married man was engaged in a task, their relationship ^{was} ~~was~~ of employer-employee type, ^{with} payment in species or kind.

Material from the genealogies ^{indicates that} ~~portrays~~ relative age ^{is} ~~as~~ a major rule for the ordering of relationships in Indian society. Ego, whether male or female, addresses persons older than self in terms of respect, ^{which} ~~overriding~~ formal generational differences. Thus, a male ego addresses his father's and mother's ~~sister~~ brothers, as well as his own brothers older than ~~self~~ ^{himself} in terms of respect, using the general term bankil. ^{Similarly,} ~~he~~ addresses ~~in similar manner~~ his father's and mother's sisters, as well as his own female siblings older than ~~self~~ ^{himself} as vik. If ego is female the principle remains the same, the term changing to ximel. The kinship terminology of San Bartolomé is characteristically ~~generalizing~~ ^{extends} kinship terms ~~used for~~ ^{to} unrelated persons, dependent upon their known or inferred age relative to speaker. ~~By this token,~~ ^{Thus,} a young man will address his male elders as bankil if they are known by him to be, or thought to be, of the same general age as himself. Those of greater age are ^{called} ~~referred~~ by the respect term of tata. Children are ^{addressed} ~~referred to~~ by the terms of nan and totin, and in many cases informants could not recall the names of youngsters ^{no were their} ~~cousins to himself~~. The greater concern of persons with ascending generations and their members ^{than with descending generations} and the more forgetfulness regard-
~~ing descending generations~~ ^{the greater} suggests a more social importance ^{of} the former group. When questioned about kinship relationships, informants ^{showed} almost invariably a lack of interest, boredom, and great restiveness. In contrast, these same informants showed bright interest and remarkable memories when questioned ^{probing} ~~were asked~~ ^{about} their associations in

neighborhood-organized groups, e.g., the grupito. Men who had difficulty responding to questions concerning second cousins, answered ^{with celerity} intricate ~~problems posed as to~~ ^{questions about} the relative location of milpas of members of their grupito with celerity. Such impressions ^{suggest} that the role of kinship in ordering social relations plays a secondary position to that of neighborhood. —

The relation of an older man to a younger in this society is of a respect nature, symbolized by the kin terms in use. ^{from experience} ~~the nature of experience gained through the passage of years~~ is better informed than younger men in matters concerning the planting and care of crops. An orphaned young man, married, and with children, told the anthropologist that he was planting his milpa in a certain location because it was located near an older, unrelated, man of his acquaintance: "He is tata and will show me how", was the explanation. ~~Although there have been great changes in other aspects of San Bartolome's traditional culture, the technology of ^{farming} field work remains much the same, as for earlier phases of the society's history.~~ The land must be cleared and burned, with seasons and prevailing winds duly noted. Following the ~~falling~~ ^{removal} of heavier plant coverage, the area which is to be cultivated is burned over. It is now ready for planting. Using the vareta as a primary tool, a man starts at one boundary of the burned area and walks in a straight line towards the opposite boundary. Pushing aside the materials not ~~fully consumed by the flames~~ ^{completely burned}, he digs a hole about four inches deep with the digging-stick. Into each hole ^e is dropped about seven seeds of maize. ~~The hole is then re-covered with the dirt being~~ ^{the hole with} pushed into place ^{is then} by the vareta. The earth over the hole is left flat. The next hole is dug about thirty-two inches further down the line, the entire process being repeated. Around July a second planting (~~is made~~) ^(cha vits) of maize ^e may be made. Although some informants state that the second planting was in order to assure green corn for Easter, ~~time~~ ^{others} suggested it was to Bill in those spots in the field that ~~had shown that they would not yield a crop~~ ^{did} due either to poor seed or insect and animal pests. In most milpas maize is intermixed with four or five classes of beans, two or three types of chilé, jicalpeste, and gourds. Planted separately, perhaps on the outskirts of the milpa, are peanut, yucca, aguacate, achilote, mango, two or three classes of camote, and tomatoes.

Does this belong here at all?

11.

Although field evidence demonstrates that in actuality there is little cooperation between milperos, whatever their kinship relationship, and that married sons do in fact drop from the family's economy, nevertheless there remains a close relationship between married sons and their fathers. ~~Although we do not as yet wish to enter upon a discussion of the working of grupitos (huacales) it is necessary to introduce a series of diagrams of a schematic nature.~~ ^{we will not have} ^{to do so} Each of these portray the lay-out of an area shared by a single grupito. The diagrams represent clusters of milpas within a large plot of land worked and shared by a group of men, generally from the same barrio. Each of these sketches were drawn by a key member of the grupito, ~~sometimes the head of the grupito, and at other times~~ ^{is} a highly knowledgeable participant. Using rough outlines, we have ~~chosen~~ ^{chosen} concentrate ~~our attention on those~~ (relations existing between milpa-neighbors, ~~which are of a father-son and brother-brother nature.~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ^{the Roman numerals indicate what are significant clusters, the Arabic numerals identify each of the individuals participating in the grupito by name and relationship to his neighbors.} The restricted amount of time for field-work ~~forbade~~ ^{includes} more detailed accounts of the relationships in these representative grupitos; we submit that with more ~~detail~~ ^{confirmation} the relationships between neighbors will show themselves to be more, not less, close and meaningful.

In the case of Diagram I, cluster I, the enclosed members are:

1. The informant and jefe of the grupito, Weste, Wexte.
8. His brother, Sebastian "artinez Weste, Wexte.
4. Brother of the above two, Domingo Martinez Weste, Wexte.

The milpas (2,3) separating Bartolomé (1) from his second brother, Domingo (4), are occupied by a brother-in-law (2), and a god-son (3) respectively of the jefe and informant.

Cluster II includes:

7. An older man, Bartolomé Vazquez Chaal, and (9) his brother, Marcos Vazquez Chaal.
11. This is a son of (9), young Marcos Vazquez Chaal, and his first cousin.
8. A son of Bartolomé (7). ~~This last son (8) has taken the mother's~~ ^{(which includes} surname in Ladino fashion, rather than retaining his father's sobrenombre; thus he is listed as Bartolomé Vazquez Velazquez, instead of Bartolomé Vazquez Chaal.

We have included cluster III, ~~whose~~ ^{which includes} ~~dated lines~~ ^{include} two brothers, Manuel Hidalgo Kotum and Domingo Hidalgo Kotum [14, 15], as well as another [16] whose name we ~~have no record of~~ ^{do not know} It is

12.

~~noteworthy that~~ ^{although} the informant volunteered the information that this cluster ~~(~~was~~)~~ worked neighboring milpas but "were not really members of the grupito." This is noteworthy, ~~we suggest~~, because of over twenty-five men listed in the diagram, these two (14 and 15) are the only ~~ones~~ ^{ones} ~~two listed~~ of a barrio other than Convento, their allegiance is to Calvario.

~~In the case of Diagram II, cluster I, the enclosed people are:~~ Cluster I, Diagram II, includes:

- 1. The father, Bartolomé Vazquez Munich, and his two sons, Antonio (7) and Bartolo, the younger (8).

Cluster II of the same diagram encloses a father, Francisco Gomez (11), and his married son, Emilio (10). Number 9 is listed as Porfirio Gomez and, although the informant ~~did not give~~ ^{did not give} specific relationships, we tentatively include (9) in this cluster as either a brother to ~~the older~~ (11) or his son. ~~We should like to speculate further but hold ourselves in rein.~~

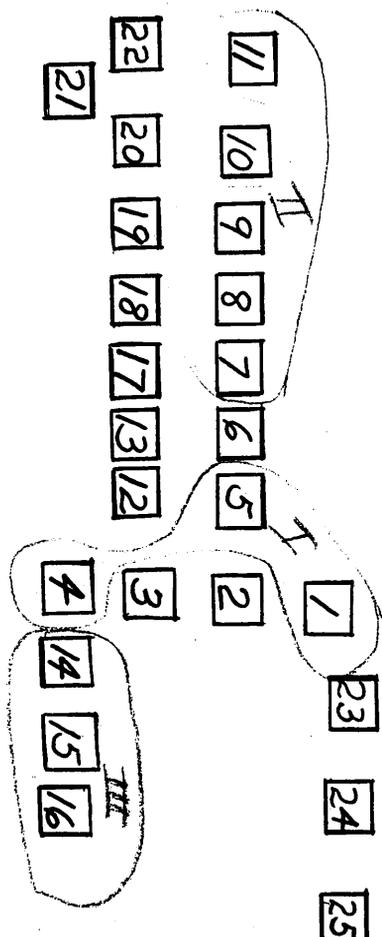
Cluster III includes two brothers (16, 17), both of whom are listed as Bartolo Silvanu. ~~As in the previously drawn Diagram #12,~~ all members of the grupito belong to the barrio, San Pedro Martir. Only Pedro Mendoza Posil (2) claims birth outside of that barrio, but he is married to a barrio native, born and bred.

Poxil

Space
Space
Space

Diagram I. Grupito of Bartolomé Martínez ~~Westé~~ ^{V. Westé} Westé

omit?



The informant in this case was the jefe del grupito, ~~Westé~~ ^{Westé}. In all instances the milpas, as drawn originally by him, had boundaries touching their neighbors. For purposes of demonstration we have separated them.

omit?

Diagram II. Grupito of Bartolomé Vazquez Munich

~~It is worth noting here that~~ During this interview the informant, jefe of the grupito, was not paying close attention. Quoting from the field journal: "The informant was most anxious to end the interview". ~~We submit that~~ there are more significant clusters than are included here.

Probably

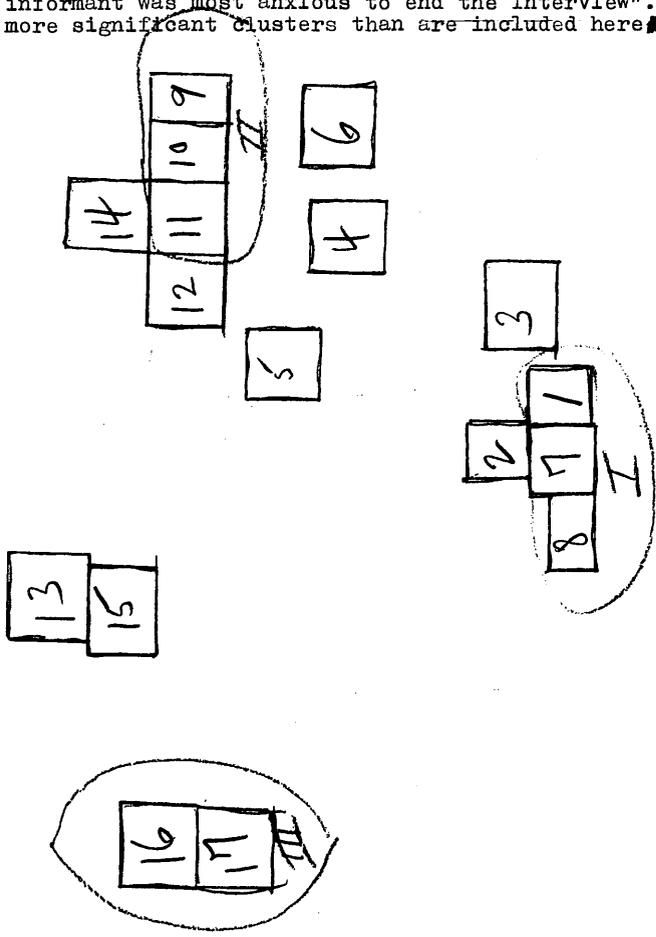
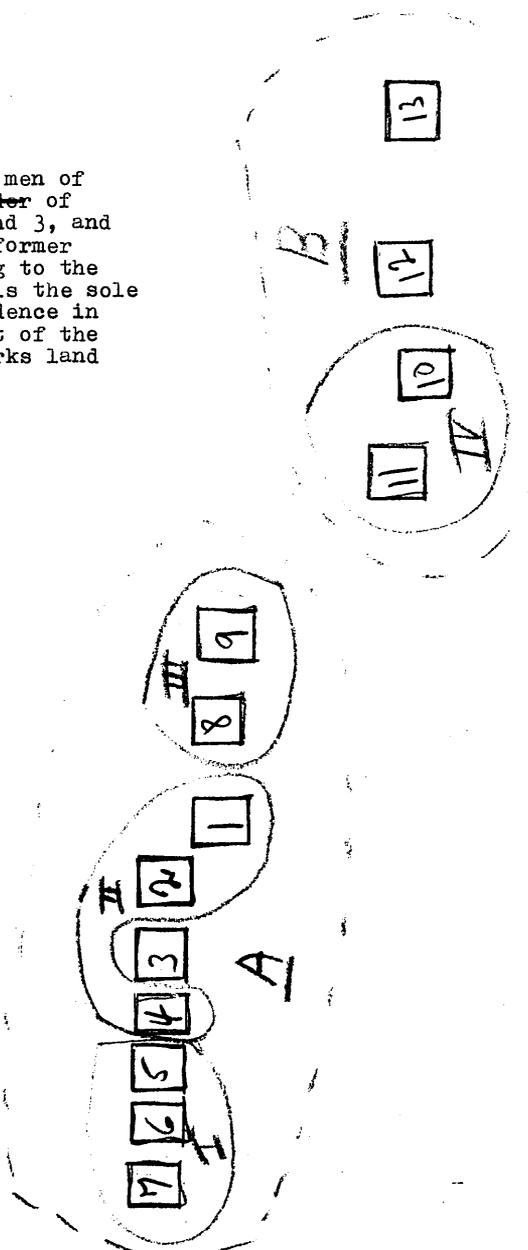


Diagram IV. Grupito of Bartolomé Vazquez ~~San~~ Chaal

fruit?

This grupito contains eight men of Barrio Calvario, ~~the remainder~~ the remainder of San Sebastian. Numbers 1 and 3, and 8-13 inclusive, are of the former barrio; the remainder belong to the latter. Trufino Lopez (3) is the sole Ladino member, but his residence in Barrio Calvario adjoins that of the jefe, ~~San~~. The grupito works land in an area named Pajatón.

↓
Chaal.



13. *fruit?*

In Diagram III, cluster I are found the following persons ~~and their relationships:~~

3. Bartolomé Velazquez IIm, neighboring upon the milpa of his son Manuel (4), and the more ~~remote~~ ^{remote} milpa of another son, Sebastian (17). The last has apparently preferred to cultivate land closer to his own son (20), Santiago Velazquez IIm, forming cluster VIII.

In cluster II are found two brothers (5 and 6) whose names are, respectively, Domingo de la Torre and Bartolomé de la Torre. Sharing this cluster with them is their own father's god-son (7).

Cluster III ~~presents~~ ^{contains} two brothers, Domingo (8) and Miguel (9) Calvu.

Cluster IV presents the same type of relationship as in III, ~~the~~ ^{the} Hidalgo brothers, Domingo (10) and Manuel (11), being neighbors.

Cluster V includes two neighboring brothers, and one whose milpa position seems strangely isolated. These are Sebastian, Bartolomé, and Domingo Martinex ~~West~~ ^{West} (13, 14, 19 respectively).

Cluster VI encircles ~~the~~ ^{two} brothers, Jose and Manuel Gomez Orosingo (15, 16).

Cluster VIII ~~has already been discussed in association with I.~~ ^{see cluster I.}

Except for twelve of the listed members, all of these men trace ~~their dependency~~ ^{themselves} to Barrio Convento. It is interesting to see that numbers 8, 9, and 10, as well as 11, from Calvario, appear to be on the outskirts of the grupito, as do the other two members from Calvario, 29 and 30. Individuals 26 and 27 (both of the barrío, San Pedro Martir) and 28 (of Barrio Calvario) join with Pedro Espinosa Siip (29) and Sebastian Ramirez Cook (30) to form an outer fringe of the grupito's milpa pattern.

14.

In Diagram IV, cluster I consists of a father, Jose Solano (5), and his two sons, Jose and Bartolo (6 and 7). Their milpas neighbor on ~~that~~ ^{these} those of cluster II, with Solano (5), the son-in-law of (2), Sebastian Vazquez Usum. The latter cultivates ground neighboring his compadre (1) Chaal, but is separated from his son (4) by the single Ladino (3) in the group.

Cluster III contains Juan Mendoza ~~Posit~~ ^{Posit}, father (8) and son (9). Clusters I, II, and III are considered within Chaal's grupito, but as distinctive from the rest of the grupito. The informant says of the B members that they are: "...otra raza, otro puñito, otro cuadrillo" and we have accordingly separated them from A. In the B section, cluster IV, Chico Guao (11) is the father of Jose Vazquez Guao (10). The seemingly isolated 12 is Chico's wife's brother, with 13 listed as a "medio-cuñado". → Church

The number of father-son, and paired sibling neighbors in the milpas sketches is significant in the face of normative behavior calling for the independence of a man from his father upon marriage. We submit that the reason why men significantly cluster with members of their nuclear family is two-fold. In the light of comparative material (Villa, 1947; Guillermetz-Holmes, n.d.; Gumbiner, n.d.) it ~~seems likely~~ ^{is possible} that the people of San Bartolomé might once have been organized into lineages, as are these neighboring groups.

All members of the Indian community of San Bartolomé possess, or have recently ~~disposed of~~ ^{acquired}, a double surname. The first surname is of Spanish ~~type~~, e.g., Hidalgo, Velazquez, Espinosa; the second which follows it is of non-Spanish provenance, e.g., Kootum, Iim, Siip. Persons in the community are thus named Bartolomé Hidalgo Kootum, Manuel Velazquez Iim, and Jose Espinosa Siip. A great number of the second surnames, sobrenombres, are translated by ~~their possessors~~ ^{the names of} as animals, plants, or place names found in the vicinity. Examples of these sobrenombres with translations into Spanish follow:

Penpen	mariposa
Gavon Chaven	chipilin
Sinto Minich	hormiga
Initam	iguana
Pasamut	guzis (a larva)
Gwa J. Guac	tortilla
Hol de chi'	cabeza de venado
Mis	gato
Siip	XXXX garrapata
Chaal	manta para la cabeza
Chenek	frijol
Kotom	tejon
Shik Xik	gavilan
Motul	arroyo motul
Ocosingo	un pueblo

July
e
Quis

7
fancy

15.

Any suggestion of a special, familiar relationship between animals or plants and those possessing their names was categorically denied by members of the community. Nor was ^{there} any evidence of a pattern of avoidance ~~exposed during the investigation in the field~~, between a person and the object whose name he shared.

Each of the Spanish surnames subsumes a number of sobrenombres; on only rare occasions will a sobrenombre be found to be subsumed under more than one surname. Thus, in the attached list, only ~~two~~³ of the former (indicated by asterisks) are found to repeat themselves under two surnames. ~~These collections~~^{This list}, gathered during the household census of Barrio San Pedro Martir, portray the rather high ratio of Indian names--sixty-three--which are subsumed under a small number--sixteen--of Spanish denominatives. Although it is considered highly improper for two persons bearing the same sobrenombre to ~~unite in marriage~~^{marry}, more laxity is permitted those with like surnames.

<u>Surnames</u>	<u>Sobrenombres</u>
Calvu	Soiy Nuktam
Nx De la Torre	TuCutan Chenk Chenek
Espinosa	*Paalam Slip
Garcia	Gwa Guach Go Cots
Gomez	Las *Ni Orosingo
Hernandez Sixis	Zunum Tsunum Sinis Xinch Botom Mobat (Vobat) Verasco Vera. x k o
Hidalgo	Silvanu Kotum Tuluuk
Jimenez	Jahil Mils Balom
Martinez	Gwak

16.

	Isim Ichim Cho ch'o Oslee Oslas
Mendoza	Yol Uus Botosat Orén Cumhol Pobil Poxil Kajualin Cajhualin
Morales	Isim
Ferez	Pinac Cuciu sler
Ramirez	Tulután So ok Gahol chajol Teena
Soñano	* Paalam * Penpen Uchte Uchte Siimac Ximac Unchikin Unchikin Ece Eche Yuc
Vazquez	Chuc Chuuch Ucum Chinamit Chinamit Votin Chaa chaa * Penpen Lavé Munich Munich Tulan Jol chi * Ni
Velazquez	Molal

It is ~~at this juncture~~ ^{point} that the ~~comparisons between~~ these materials and those from the more highland regions of Chalchihuitan and Chenal ~~are no longer comparable~~ ^{part ways.} For whatever function these names played in the past to unite people into extended kin groups no longer ~~is in operation~~ ^{is} in San Bartolomé. Groups of people with the same sobrenombre are generally from the same barrio, so that it can be said that the Paalams are to be found in Barrio Convento, and the ~~Paals~~ ^{Chaalts} ~~located~~ in Calvario. But neither the Paalams as such, nor the ~~Paals~~ ^{Chaalts} as such, perform any act as a name-group. There are no corporate activities associated with any of the name groups in this municipio. Beyond the nuclear family, no corporate group interposes between the barrio and the individual except for the grupito. (cf. ^{iteras} Gutierrez Holmes, ibid., p.206)

~~It is needless to speculate at this point as to why name groups have diminished in importance, if important they were at one point in time in this municipio.~~ Metzger comments, "In general association and reference groups tend to be more locality-oriented than kin-oriented, and there seems to be an increasing 'individualism' in that people have wider choices in the area of association." But folkloric references are quite clear in the implication that a civil congregation of the scattered Indians occurred at some time in the historic past. The tale referring to the founding of the cabecera is as follows:

"Those people who founded this town came from Guatemala. San ^{Bartolomé} when he arrived here, built the first church to be found here, that of San Pedro Martir. He then brought all the people ^{who} had been living disseminated in the monte together to form a poblacion. There were no poblaciones here before his arrival, it was all monte. All of the people whom he brought together spoke the same language. San Bartolomé wanted all the people around him because he liked to be surrounded by company." ⁱ

It is likely that the clustering of patrilineally related milperos is a cultural vestige of an older pattern wherein patrilineally related families lived in separated rancherías.

In the light of comparative material from the highland Chiapas region, it seems ~~apparent~~ that the grupitos of San Bartolomé resemble in some forms the parajes of Oxchuc (Villa, 1947) and the cabiltos of Chenal (Gumbiner, n.d.) in that they are groups of people farming specific areas of land to which they are tightly linked by traditional bonds. However, the grupitos of San Bartolomé appear to be associated with a

18.

piece of land ~~due to~~ ^{through} their membership in the specific barrio which holds usufructuary rights to that land-area. A grupito wanders over the land-area associated with its barrio, but does not claim the land for itself. On the other hand, the parajes of Oxchuc and the cabilitos of Chanal seem to have more specific allegiance through natural land-marks (e.g., caves, hillocks) to sites of land than do the grupitos. The difference may well be a function of the decreasing amounts of communal lands with access to water supplies available to the Bartolomeños. For almost all of the river-side lands have been lost to Ladino land-holders, or government-administered ejidos.

Therefore, it is highly significant that ~~one~~ ^{that the} grupito of which we have record in this municipio ~~which occupies~~ land with easy access to potable water is inhabited the year-round by viable family units. The grupito is headed by ~~the venerable~~ Manuel Hidalgo Coatum (Barrio Calvario) and is situated on the banks of the Rio Blanco at a site named Yuchén Grande. In this rancheria-grupito the population more nearly suggests the patrilineal orientation of those of Oxchuc about which Villa writes (supra) than any of the others less fortunately located with regards to potable water. All other grupitos of which we have record are ~~occupied by a male population only~~ ^{composed of}; mothers, wives, and female children remain in the cabecera close to a regular water supply. ~~Although we unfortunately do not have milpa diagrams for this rather large group's milpa pattern,~~ its membership is as follows:

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Manuel Hidalgo Coatum | Head of the <u>grupito</u> . |
| 2. Manuela Velazquez Iim | Wife of 1. |
| 3. Manuel Hidalgo Coatum | Son of 1. |
| 4. Candelaria Gomez Ni | Wife of 3. |
| 5. Jose Hidalgo Coatum | Nephew of 1. |
| 6. Catarina Martinez son ^{son} | Wife of 5. |
| 7. Manuel Hidalgo Coatum | Brother of 1, Father of 5. |
| 8. Rosaria Mendoza Coatac | Wife of 7. |
| 9. Sebastian Hidalgo Coatum | Brother of 5; son of 7. |
| 10. Carmen de la Torre Coatos ^{Chaatox} | Wife of 9; distant relation of 6. |
| 11. Domingo Hidalgo Coatum | Brother of 7. |
| 12. Antonia Vazquez Iiis | Deceased wife of 11. |
| 13. Miguel Calvo Yaawin ✓ | Wife no data. |
| 14. Bartola de la Torre Coatos ^{Chaatox} | Brother Wife of 13. |
| 15. Domingo Calvo Yaawin | Brother of 13 and 16. Bachelor. |
| 16. Jose Calvo Yaawin | Brother of 13 and 15. |

19.

17. Carmen Vazquez ^{Caal Chan?} wife of 16.
18. Bartolo Gomez Ni Brother of 4.
19. Sebastiana Solano Tuwae The wife of 18.

~~We have suggested that an older pattern of residence in this municipio may well have been patrilocal, men tending to remain with their fathers cultivating sites apart from other such associations of men-related through the ~~male~~ patri-line. Local folk-lore suggests that at some time in the historic past scattered, patrilocally-residing groups were somehow gathered ~~together~~ in one site. Although each of the five barrios into which the municipio is divided tends to be strongly endogamous, census materials show no significant residential preference (Barrio San Pedro Martir) between the alternative ^{choices presented, ~~is~~} following marriage ^{the establishment of residence} with either of the spouse's parents, or the ^{may be established} settlement of a couple ^{may settle} in a place apart from either parental set. It is here contended that in a situation such as San Bartolomé, wherein most of the Indian populace resides in the cabecera ^{and where each of the five neighborhoods ~~is a nucleus of~~} marriage to outsiders, ^{that} a choice of residence locality is relatively unimportant. For although a young couple may choose to reside ^{with} in the home, or next door to, the woman's parents, the husband will be within five minutes' walk of his parents' home, and vice versa. It is noteworthy that in the only grupito ^{of which we ~~know to have~~} easy access to drinking water, Luchen Grande, associations tend to be more kin-oriented than locality-oriented. This is logically so, for its membership includes six men related in the patri-line who, with their wives, make up well over half the total population of the rancho.~~

~~Before moving on,~~ there is one more grupito we should ^{consider} like to note because of the light it throws on changing leadership patterns. Manuel Espinosa Paalam, a young man of Convento barrio, remembers how in the recent past the grupito of which he was a member contained only men related through his father. The grupito was headed by his father, Pascual Espinosa Paalam. Other members were Domingo and Bartolo, both brothers to the leader of the grupito, and the seven mature sons of these three older men. The grupito was headed by the informant's father, although the oldest member was father's brother, Domingo. Although Domingo's ascribed rank through age was greater than his brother, Pascual, the latter's relative status was heightened by his membership in the council of Principales. Further, the latter's ability to read Spanish placed him in a position by which ~~he~~

he could control more information than the older man, and provided him with a tool--bilingualism--which is a parently one of the currently vital attributes for jefes of grupitos. (The only ~~two~~ jefes de grupito of whom we have record who do ^{es} not command a minimum of the national language is the afore-mentioned Principale, Manuel Hidalgo ~~Soktum~~. But the latter delegated duties relating to such problem areas as negotiating with Ladino cattlemen, or arranging administrative matters with the State Forestry Service, to his son, Manuel. The latter is bilingual.)

~~We have seen that members of grupitos who live in the cabecera tend to be more locality-oriented than kinship-oriented, and that normative values call for the independence of a married son from his father economically and socially. We have speculated that sometime in the past a change in settlement patterns was effected by congregating scattered groups of Indians onto the site which is now the cabecera. We shall attempt to explain why fathers and their married sons tend to cultivate adjoining milpas in the face of forces bringing new patterns of association into being.~~

~~The father, as older man, and wiser through experience, guides the activities of his unmarried sons. The social position of respect allotted an older man, supplemented by the weightiness that experience lends his counsel in matters of agriculture, maintain his position of leadership, but continued success of his tactics confirm the correctness of his position. Homans ably phrases it as follows: "The social rank of the leader helped bring it about that his decision was followed, but a decision, if successful in the eyes of the followers, in turn confirmed his rank." (p. 187). Age in San Bartolomé incurs respect and rank. The traditional technology of horticulture provides older men with greater accrued experience over the years in the cultivation of the soil than is possessed than younger men. An old man controls more information in this area than a younger man.~~ The simple economy, and unchanging traditional slash-and-burn methods of cultivation help to sustain older men in positions of leadership. The impingement of such foreign, or new, elements as treating with the State Forestry Department have created problems of communication which most of the older men are not

~~are not~~ equipped to handle. Problems of this nature are managed by heads of grupos to which families belong. To the best of our knowledge, all but two jefes de grupo are bi-lingual. (The exceptions are the head of the grupo cultivating in Yuchén Grande, and the Ladino, Jose Cordoba), ~~but none of this later.~~

The municipio of San Bartolomé, including the cabecera, is divided into five barrios: Convento, Señor del Pozo, San Pedro Martir, and the two smallest units, Señor del Calvario and San Sebastian. Each of these barrios was, and to some extent still is, a traditionally semi-autonomous unit. In the past, say the inhabitants, it was a case of "cada quien cuida a su barrio". Stringent measures were taken by the young men of one barrio in case of encroachment by those of another, ~~sub-division of the municipio.~~ Furthermore, each of the barrios farmed lands whose cultivation was restricted to the use of that group's membership. The lands claimed by each of the barrios were administered by its own Principales. ^{When} one wished to cultivate land associated with another barrio, he was required to petition the Principales of this unit. This situation of inter-barrionostility has been largely broken ~~down~~ by Ladino reformers and politically-oriented Indians who have attempted to weld the barrios into a single unified group. However, ~~there~~ ^{are} remains today a strong sense of association between members of a barrio and the lands traditionally cultivated by them. ^{The} major ~~regions~~ regions which are today cultivated by Indian campesinos are distributed in the following manner: Those of San Pedro Martir cultivate lands in the ~~Chipilín~~ ^{Chipilín} and Jextontik regions of the municipio. The men of Convento use the lands found in Paacalton, Vega ~~del~~ ^{Chalch} and Vega del Paso. They also share the Pajalton and ~~Chelmujo~~ ^{Chelmujo} regions with ~~the~~ ^{the} barrios of Calvario and San Sebastian. It is reported that this kind of doubling-up of barrios in the same lands is a new element caused by the general shrinking of comunales lands. Calvario and San Sebastian are the smallest of the five barrios in ~~numbers of persons.~~ ^{population.} The Indians of ~~the~~ Barrio Señor del Pozo lay claim to the ~~Jecovel~~ ^{Jecovel} area for their milpas. The actual relationship of barrio allegiance and the lands claimed by a barrio are in fact quite close, as can be ascertained by a glance at ~~the barrio alignments of the grupos outlined in Diagrams I-IV.~~

The fission of leadership ~~roles~~ between the acknowledged jefe of Yuchen Grande and his son (p.23) reflects the growing importance of the

of the rift between younger, bilingual Indians and the older monolingual, tradition-oriented men. ~~On one hot July day in 1957~~ ^{as} young Manuel Hidalgo ~~was encountered on a street in San Cristobal on his way to one of the state offices.~~ ^{he said,} "There are some things...which are too difficult for the Principales to manage. The older men cannot read or speak Spanish, they are not equipped for such problems!" ~~exclaimed this young delegate, that day.~~

At one time San Bartolomé's Indian community was ~~vertically~~ ^{vertically} structured by a socio-religious hierarchy ~~in the form of a pyramid.~~ At the base of ~~the structure~~ were a number of youngsters who performed the menial duties associated with municipal organization. These mayorcitos were the "hands and feet of the authorities" and their chores consisted of running errands, sweeping the floor of the municipal office, and carrying messages to and from the authorities. The mayorcitos entered the ~~hierarchically-organized~~ channels towards leadership positions at about the age of twelve. From ~~that age onward~~ ^{then} their life was organized by a series of offices of increasing responsibilities until it culminated in the position of Principale. The ladder ~~is today in such a state of disuse~~ ^{so out of use} that even men who ~~has~~ passed through its ranks have difficulty in recalling their order. As it has been reconstructed, the ~~pyramid~~ ^{organization} of social duties was as follows:

Civil Offices

Religious Offices

Alferez

Principales

One Alcáde
Six Regidores
One Mayor
Twenty-five Mayorcitos

Priostes
Bartilales
Maltomares
Primeros
Maltomares
Segundos

Sacristanes
Músicos

As yet the available information does not permit one to say whether the religious and civil offices were linked in an ascending chain of alternating positions, or whether each ^{was} presented separate ^{sub} parallel lines ~~towards respect and authority.~~

Each of several saints in San Bartolomé were cared for by a ^{five} ~~four~~ ~~some~~ of religious officials; serving under a Prioste in ~~each of these~~ caretaker obligations were a Bankilal and a first and second Maltomar. Those saints which were cared for in this way were San Sebastian, Calvario, Sta. Cruz, ~~Kavaltik~~ (Santa Tierra), Jalalmetik (Candelaria), San Bartolomé, San Pedro Martir, Pascual, Sta. Catalina, Virgen del Rosario, Sta. Rosa, and probably others. Primary responsibility ~~for these~~ ~~care~~ was undertaken by a Prioste who made the major expenditure in the feast which was offered ^{to} the image, and which ^{involved} was a distribution of surplus maize and capital in the form of earnings from the sale of a fattened animal or other proceeds gained during the year of his duties. Most of the proceeds, however, seem to ^{have} been from surplus maize which ^{was} ~~has been~~ grown during the year by the Prioste in charge of the image. The ~~four~~ ^{five} ~~some~~ of officials obligated to the saint's care for a year were known by that image's name for that period. A man who was one year a Maltomar Segundo would at a later phase of his life assume the obligations of a Maltomar Primero, with increasing importance in the socio-religious life of the community and attendant increase in position and respect.

As a man moved through the hierarchy, gradually ascending from one level of responsibility, respect, and authority to another, he was also growing older ~~in years~~. But in ^{positions} the lower ~~rungs of the socio-political ladder~~, although a man accrued position and respect in the community the higher he rose, his authority seems to have been restricted to those who served as his immediate subordinates. There is no evidence, for instance, that a Prioste could make a decision which was binding upon another member of the community, e.g., a person not in the hierarchal system, or a mayorcito, because of his position in the ladder. On the other hand, the more responsible positions an individual assumed, the more clearly manifest was his concern with the public welfare, the more respect was accorded him by the community, and the more authority the system vested in his decisions. ~~For~~ In San Bartolomé one of the ~~ultimate and most~~ pervasive social values was the limitation of the accumulation of

individual wealth, and the restriction of the utilization of surplus to public ceremonials. Furthermore, the evidence of private ambition for power, which pursued avenues other than that outlined above, was ~~checked~~ ^{held in} ~~checked~~ by two devices of social control, envidia (envy) which led to illness, and witchcraft.

~~As in all other societies, San Bartolomé had a system of values which helped to order its social universe. The values of this society were at no other time so explicitly proclaimed as in the process b, which an individual ascended the series of positions leading to community-wide respect, responsibility, and authority, culminating in the exalted role of a Príncipe.~~

The socio-religious hierarchy ~~upon which an individual embarked at the age of twelve or thirteen years~~ performed two services for the maintenance of an on-going social life. In the first place, it was through this system that the necessary ritual observances of the supernatural world were discharged. Members of the hierarchy were ^{delegated agents} ~~by~~ of the whole community to perform these rites. In the same vein ^{also} ~~the~~ interaction between individuals or between groups in the society ^{was} ~~was kept in some kind of equilibrium by~~ the presence of a highly regarded group of officials whose settlement of disputes ^{was} supported by socially and culturally legitimized authority. Secondly, the hierarchy functioned as a training ground for future high-level leaders. Embarking on the training ladder in his pre-teen years, a man passed through a series of positions of increasing responsibility. He publicly demonstrated his ability to ^{exercise} ~~was~~ the awesome mantle of authority. ~~Many were the people of San Bartolomé meriting respect, few indeed were those whose decision carried authority!~~

~~The leader~~ Returning to Homans (p. 188), ^{The leader} "is the man who comes closest to realizing the norms the group values highest." San Bartolomé provided a clear-cut ^{pattern for} ~~of~~ advancement ~~leading~~ to the position and authority of leadership. At this high level of leadership, the society no longer relied simply upon the respect engendered by either advanced age or high office. Authority supported the decisions of the Principales, backed by the sanctions of a supernatural world which was ~~but~~ an extension of the Bartolomeños' social universe. Such ~~an~~ authority was restricted to the "good" men of the community; ~~the~~ the power which came with author-

ity was ~~restricted~~ bestowed upon those whose passage through the manifold obligations of the socio-religious organization had shown them to be persons least likely to abuse it for personal advantage. So awful were these powers that the Principales, intermediaries between man and nature, were literally enabled to move mountains. The story to follow ^{will} describes the mediating role of these ritual elders, and the powers they controlled.

In days of yore the elders and the Principales were powerful, and they used this power for the sake of the community. In those days they used to move whole mountains, and they moved the neighboring peak of Laja Tendida to its present site. They knew how because they controlled naguales represented by lightning bolts, clouds, and thunder claps, but now no one is powerful enough to accomplish such feats. Before the elders and Principales used to be able to straighten things out for the pueblo, but no more. In those days the elders and Principales used to be able to go to the sacred mountain to get things for the benefit of the people. In those days we had everything, we were very rich, everybody was good, we had only Indians in the community then; there were no Ladinos here. In those times the Principales used to go to the mount for everything; they knew how to get what they wanted.

In the final analysis the welfare of the populace rested upon a ~~well-~~ ^{balance} ~~between~~ between the secular and the sacred worlds. So long as the problems raised fell within the purview of traditional experience, over which older people had more control than younger, there was little need for changing the mechanisms by which leaders were traditionally recruited.

In the years following the revolution (1910-1917) against the Porfirio Diaz regime, a determined effort was made by successive national governments of Mexico to bring isolated regions into the web of communications of the nation. Ambitious projects were undertaken by the national government to construct roads, airfields, and schools throughout the country which were designed to link the patrias chicas of the hinterlands to the national stage. An essential part of the programs of the government was to lift many local administrative decisions from district and municipal authorities, in this manner orienting the localities to the seat of national government, Mexico City. Local politics were to become increasingly dependent upon the nation's official party, Partido Revolucionario Institucional. ^{Special} attention was paid by the national governments during the past twenty-five years to the problems raised by enclaves of Indians who were effectively isolated from other groups in the Republic by distinctive cultural

patterns, monolingualism, and poverty. Changes in the manner by which leadership was recruited in San Bartolome can not be understood except with reference to the social revolutionary programs which have swept Mexico in the past half century, but the special way the changes occurred in that municipio must also take account of the dynamics of its social life. The change which occurred in that municipio was a meeting of the ways between national governmental aspirations and the aspirations of the local Indian group.

ⁱⁿ
^{Chaal} ~~In the early phases of the twentieth century~~ a strong man, Bartolo ~~Chaal~~, arose from the council of Principales to become a jefe politico in San Bartolomé. ^{Chaal} ~~Chaal's~~ bilinguism, as well as a striking ability to manipulate Ladino-type ^{political} ~~political~~ symbols, enabled him to amass great political and social power in the region. "Whatever may have been his own personal ambitions, this jefe politico was one of the Indians in the municipio responsive to the new ideological wave emanating from the capitol. By his internalization and utilization of sophisticated political cues and symbols (cf. Wolf, Eric, 1956; p. 1073), ^{Chaal} ~~Chaal~~ secured powerful political support from ~~supermunicipal forces, i.e.,~~ the national government. The "goods" in this transaction flowed both ways, for the Indians were led to regard the official party of the nation in a new light. It was to be in Mexico City that the battle to retain the communal lands could be won. The Indians responded by sending delegations ~~on the long trip~~ to the capitol to plead the case of the community before the nation's highest leaders.

^{laborer} ~~Chaal~~, one of the first delegates to go to the national capitol, was the first ~~catalyst~~ ^{of} whom we have record in San Bartolomé. His tactics within the community were ~~those~~ of a strong-man; nevertheless, his previous passage through the traditional system by which authority was legitimized seems definitely to have gained support for his novel use of authority. It is said by the present inhabitants that the Principales' council ~~were~~ ^{was} split in ^{its} ~~their~~ support of ^{Chaal} ~~Chaal's~~ assumption of an extraordinary leadership role in the municipio. His personal strength was ~~in spite of~~ ^{contrary to} the traditional diffusion of authority; but, on the other hand, his strategy promised a solution to the problem of the disappearing communal lands. ^{Chaal} ~~Chaal~~ was the

agency through which the national government could secure local support for its programs of directed change, and at the same time this leader was enabled to gain powerful aid in national circles for the solution of local ~~Municipal~~ ^{Chaa'} problems.

During ~~Chaa'~~ ^{Chaa'} 's reign as a powerful leader, the Indian ayuntamiento, consisting of Mayorcitos, Regidores, Alcaldes, and Principales, continued to function as administrator of certain areas of social and religious life in the municipio. The jurisdiction of this Indian organization was by now seriously challenged in such areas as the administration of the communal lands, and the settling of civil torts. The Ladino ayuntamiento, located in an office directly across the plaza from the Indian seat of government, was making serious inroads into the traditional jurisdiction of the Indian authorities, Nevertheless, until the arrival of a crusading Ladino school-teacher by the name of Zamudo, both Ladino and Indian ayuntamientos maintained separate, but more or less equal, offices on the main plaza of the cabecera.

at the height of the agrarian reform movement which was then sweep- ing the Republic in the 1930's (cf. Whetten, Nathan, 1948; ~~Particularly~~ his Chapter VII), a federal teacher assumed a post in the San Bartolomé school. Zamudo identified himself with the problems of the peasants of the municipio, as contrasted with the primary concern of Bartolo ~~Chaa'~~ with Indian problems. Zamudo embarked on the problem of forging a local campesino front, including Ladinos and Indians. Unification of the peasants into a political action group based on class ~~was a many-headed hydra.~~ It required the overcoming of hostilities and suspicions between members of each of the ethnic groups, but it also necessitated the fusing of the five hostile barrrios. ^{An informant said,} "Before, ~~we quote an informant,~~ a man could not settle on a sitio or put up a house in a barrio other than his own. You could not work a piece of land belonging to another barrio unless permission was given by the Principales. When Zamudo came here he awakened the naturales! Now we are united, we are all one pueblo!"

One of the first acts of ~~this reformer,~~ Zamudo, in his new post as Federal teacher was to open the federal school to Indians as well as Ladinos for the first time. In reference to this act, a middle-aged Indian commented: "I am like a beast, I can not read, and I can not write. Before none of us could speak Spanish. Now we don't speak it perfectly, but it is better than it was before. Look at my son! He, for example,

can recognize his signature from afar." In a further move aimed at enabling the Indians to more quickly engage in activities of an inter-group nature, the school-teacher inaugurated a vocational school which taught such subjects as blacksmithing, barbering, and carpenting. Participation by Indian and Ladino young men in these classes permitted young Tzotzil-speaking persons to learn conversational Spanish. The additional opportunities provided young Indian men to learn Spanish as a second language dealt a blow to the traditional pattern of office-holding; for although an older man who had passed through the ~~formal ladder~~ ^{succession} of religious and secular duties was accorded due respect and authority, those roles requiring the use of Spanish in dealing with the Ladino world were passed to Spanish speakers who tended to be the younger men. Today, for example, Barrio Convento is represented by a total of seven Principales. This group of seven is sometimes described as being divided into the young Principales and the old Principales. ~~Among the latter, we count such~~ ^{the} ~~exemplary figures as~~ Miguel Mendoza Youl, Felix Vazquez Tulan, and Miguel Mendoza Martinez. All are monolingual, respected men, ~~who have passed through the hierarchy traditionally leading to positions of authority.~~ The younger four ~~consists of~~ ^{are} Bartolomé Martinez Wexté, Juan Vazquez Uin, Francisco Vazquez Uin, and Domingo Martinez Wexté. The cabecillo, or head, of the seven leaders is reported to be the young man, Bartolomé Martinez Wexté. Says he, in explanation: "I order all of the six other Principales because I understand Spanish, and the older men don't understand as well as I. The Padre calls me in and tells me what he wants done, and then I carry this thought to the Principales. It is because I understand Spanish that I order the others."

In another highly significant move, Zamudo set out to put into practice locally what was then an important ideal of the national revolution--no work was to be performed by others for an individual without remuneration. The major effect of the edict was to ~~strike at the heart of the~~ traditional Indian values of obligatory service to the community. This ruling by Zamudo nullified the social-leveling system by which individual time, energy, ambitions, and capital were devoted to community welfare. There were no longer clear-cut channels, culturally patterned, by which the San Bartolomeño community could recruit its leaders. In a final, ~~death-dealing~~ blow, the powerful Zamudo closed and

padlocked the door of the Indian ayuntamiento.

All, however, was not destruction during this history-making epoch of the municipio's life. It has already been mentioned that the five barrios began to overlook their differences in the face of the ~~common danger presented by the~~ threatened loss of the communal lands to Ladino land-owners and grazing live-stock. "Ya somos unidos! Ya somos un pueblo!" ~~rings the rallying cry.~~ Of even more importance than the unification of the five barrios in sentiment was the sharing of the communal lands with ~~non-members of the Indian corporate community, i.e.~~ Ladino campesinos. Its effects are proving to have a remarkable influence upon a number of facets of Indian-Ladino relations in the municipio. In the past, ~~however~~, the Indians had tended to concentrate upon those lands remaining to them after usurpation by others, ~~outside of the social system.~~ ^{communal} The lands were an integrating force in the life of the Indians. Under the guiding leadership of Zamudo, a peasant group was organized devoted to the administration of the communally-held lands. This ~~action-oriented~~ association, known as Bienes Comunales, includes Indians and Ladinos, those peasant ~~inhabitants of the municipio~~ cultivating communal land, whose ~~title rests in the community.~~ The entrance of a group of non-participating members into an active role in the administration of the lands formerly held by the Indian corporate community completed the process of change that had been occurring since the time of ^{Chaal} ~~1821~~. ~~Five lands now and longer~~ ^{were} were the peculiar possession of a group of ~~1821~~ ¹⁸²¹ Indians, but rather belonged to a peasant group, some of whom were Indian and some of whom were not. Active administration of the communal lands passed from the ~~council of Principales to a political organization denominated Bienes Comunales.~~ The control of users of the land was no longer to be achieved by the sanction of institutional envy (envidia) and witchcraft; nor was the land to be protected from outsiders by the control of spiritual familiars loyal to the municipio. ↵

^{insert from p. 30} ↵ In the first ~~case~~, the Ladino peasantry, members now of Bienes Comunales, were not motivated by the same values as the Indians. They were not concerned with the problems created by a crop surplus on the part of a single individual, nor with its distribution to the group ~~in~~ ^{during} the form of festivals. Furthermore, their failure to observe such moral codes did not bring with it a fear of either of the sanctions, envy or witchcraft. (no ff ↵)

In the second ^{place,} ~~case,~~ the threats to the remaining communal lands came not from other Indians, but from sophisticated Ladinos who scoffed at the dangers of familiar spirits such as naguales. A legal suit in a local Ladino court of justice usually proved more than ample in the face of the spiritual powers the Indians had been wont to call to their aid.

Manifest of the openness of the new-type society found in San Bartolomé is the plethora of leaders, and its co-variant, the variety of ways by which position of leadership is achieved in the contemporary social life.

Notwithstanding the pledges of unity between the respective barrios, each of these units continues to be represented, though in attenuated form, by a corps of principales. In general, these men are of middle and advanced ages who had passed through at least some of the traditional socio-religious hierarchy before the ^{arrival of} ~~onslaught of~~ blows struck by Zamudo. The more sacred duties of this group have ^{persisted} ~~perdured~~ over time, and it now concerns itself mainly with religious functions, working closely with the resident Catholic ^{priest} ~~priest~~. In religious activities the principales held undisputed jurisdiction ^{of leadership} ~~of leadership~~. It is ^{your} a qualified leadership, however, for only seldom ~~do~~ they initiate activities in the community; most of the time ^{they} ~~serve~~ as intermediaries between the ^{priests} ~~priests~~ and the barrios they represent. Nevertheless, they remain important in the community, and on special occasions, such as the traditional processions to Cerro ^{Chulwits} ~~Gulwig~~, they secure the services of the clergy.

In more secular intra-community affairs, the jurisdiction of these elders ~~are~~ ^{is} challenged by a number of competing forces. ~~Apart from the vestiges of the old system wielded by this group, each of the barrios is also represented by a duly appointed or elected representante (we do not know unfortunately we are unable to state which means is used) to nominate this individual to his post.)~~ As the Principales seem to concentrate on the religious side of life, so ~~do~~ the representantes seem to concentrate upon secular issues, acting as ^{intermediaries} ~~the go-between~~ in relations concerning ~~between~~ the Ladino municipal government and ~~the five segments of the population,~~ the barrios. ~~Whereas all Principales have passed through (or, in the case of the younger men, e.g., Bartolomé Westé, are passing through the vestiges) of the pyramid of increasing civil-religious posts, several of the most prominent representantes have participated not at all in the traditional system of leadership recruitment.~~ Representative of the new

type of leader actively competing for ~~relatively scarce leadership~~ positions with the older ~~class of~~ leaders is Vazquez Munich. ~~He~~ ^{was} ~~the~~ latter ^{is} is an Indian ^{working} communal lands and, in addition, ^{and on which he} ~~owns~~ ^{es} a small piece of land on which he has planted fruit trees, ~~as well as~~ ^{as} grazing his pack animals. A representante of Barrio San Pedro Martir, and presently serving as the only Indian member of the municipal government--the post of sixth regidor ~~is~~ is usually reserved for an Indian representative nowadays, ~~he~~ ^{he} has never participated in the traditional recruitment system of the Indian community. Once, ~~during our stay in the field, I~~ ^{to} ~~undertook to inform him that his son had just been thrown into the~~ ^{was} ~~bote; the charge~~ ^{was} ~~one of wife-beating. Munich thanked me for carrying him~~ the message and then strode angrily into the municipal palace. By the time we met ~~once more~~ ^{again}, the grapevine had corroborated the fact that the son was, indeed, ~~an~~ inveterate wife-beater. Vazquez Munich ~~at this~~ ~~latter meeting~~ said that he had told the municipal President, an eminent Ladino of the municipio: "What do you think you are doing? You have treated me just like any Indian! You shall see, I, too, have power!" Vazquez Munich, of course, does have power. ~~His power, however, resting based~~ not upon ~~the fulcrum of ascribed power or position in the Indian community, but rather on his political relationships extending beyond the municipio, entirely.~~ This representante holds nominal titles in regional associations of peasants, and thus ~~he~~ ^{he} fills the ~~role~~ ^{role} of a valued ally in local politics to state, regional, and national peasant organizations. ~~With the latter with programs of action seek opening wedges into the local community at a "grass-roots" level. The new leaders falling into a class with Vazquez Munich barter their local alignment with the community as an opening wedge for state, regional, and national~~ ^{influence} ~~of change and influence, in return for personal power.~~ ^{action programs of} ~~groups~~

Another of the new ^{type} leaders of the Indian community, José Lavé is also bi-lingual, like his neighbor Munich. José Lavé is currently ~~President~~ ^{President} of the Bienes Comunales group, and reputed to be one of the most influential leaders in the Indian community. Lavé has gone to ~~the~~ ^{Mexico City} ~~national capital~~ several times as a delegate of the peasant group in matters concerning the disposition of the communal lands. As is true of Munich as well, the walls of his hut are hung with signed photographs

of ^{the} ex-President of the Republic, Ruiz-Cortines. Amongst his possessions may be found nominations to several regional peasant-action associations, as well as other quasi-governmental confederations of peasants with headquarters in the state capitol. He is accorded respect by ^{the} Ladino and Indian ~~members of the campesino class of the municipio~~ and is sought as an ally by powerful Ladino land-owners in their struggle to gain additional grazing lands for their herds at the expense of the peasantry. ^{His position is reinforced by his being accorded the same usage by the younger men.} The new leadership role in San Bartolomé de los Llanos ~~seeks~~ ^{requires} men who understand two social systems, rather than just one. The new process by which leadership is recruited ^{among} by the Indians of San Bartolomé ~~places~~ ^{as} emphasis upon tactical success ^{rather} than the embodiment of social and cultural norms. So far ^{have} the criteria for leaders changed in recent years that non-Indians ~~occupy positions of confidence, respect, and~~ ^{have} at times, leadership among the Indians. Some of these influential persons do not ^{hold} ~~fill~~ formal posts ~~providing rank and consequently tend to~~ ^{are} be less able to initiate action or to back up their counsel with authority. To this class of influentials, Indians tend to bring problems of a personal nature. These influentials have value to the Indians precisely because they are literate Ladinos, ^{and understand how} ~~cognizant of the symbol systems by which~~ Ladino society operates.

Mario, a Ladino of about thirty ^{years}, ^{plays} ~~fills~~ this type of role in San Bartolomé. The owner of a small piece of land on which he grazes cattle, he is sought after by individuals in time of personal or family crises. ^{For instance,} ~~In cases~~ when an Indian may be ^{put} ~~placed~~ in jail by Ladino justice, the family may come to Mario for counsel as to how to ^{get him out.} ~~retrieve the~~ ~~reputed transgressor~~. Mario thinks of himself as a protector of the Indians and, as do all ~~others~~ of the Indians' friends, treats them in patronizing fashion. Mario is hopeful that the government will install an office of Indian affairs (Asuntos Indigenas) in the cabecera with himself as its agent. He is in open competition for this post with another Ladino, Cordoba.

Jose Cordoba is one of the most influential of the peasants in the municipio. A Ladino, he serves as ^{Secretary} ~~Secretary~~ of the Bienes Comunales group, ^{and} ~~in this post~~ the major part of ^{the job of} ~~the chores~~ associated with reading and writing communications ^{is his} ~~between~~ Bienes Comunales and the outside world ~~fall upon his shoulders~~. Further, most decisions concerning the administ-

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from p.
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ration of the lands both within and without the group's membership is dependent upon his interpretation, as a literate person, of the national agrarian code. His control of pertinent information, ~~and~~ his familiarity with the organization's sole means of communicating, with national and regional agencies--the typewriter--and his fluent command of the national language ^{enable} provide him a vital position in the group's structure. Cordoba is a leader in the Bienes Comunales group, and, by this position, of the Indian community as well.

In his position of ~~Secretary~~ ^{Secretary} he initiates much vital action in the campesino group. For example, he was instrumental in organizing the local peasant vote during a recent election. His strategy succeeded in electing a delegate to the state legislature whom the local campesinos now regard as their own legislator. The first concrete return on this strategy was a "gift" to the Bienes Comunales group of its typewriter, gained through the intercession of "our" delegate.

~~The Secretary of the group seems to be able to generate most of his strength in the community due to his contacts outside of it. His success in organizing the electorate recently has shown what one can gain with outside forces if he offers himself as a wedge to the community for proselytizers.~~ Cordoba is a member of a number of regionally-organized agrarian groups, ^{has an} ~~sits in an~~ unprecedented position in the ^{local} campesino group, locally, and his decisions affect Indian as well as Ladino. ^{about} Of all the leaders we have discussed ~~in this paper~~ (with the exception of Mario), Cordoba has been furthest from embodying the norms of the Indian group. His position as elected ~~Secretary~~ ^{Secretary} of the Bienes Comunales group, and the fact that he is a jefe of one of the largest--sixty-seven members--~~grupitos~~, of whom ~~which~~ only two besides himself are members of the Ladino ethnic group, testify to the respect ~~and rank~~ ^{accorded} in which he is held by the Indians. ~~His position as a leader has not been gained through the ascribed respect and rank from which other leaders have benefitted.~~ He is a young man, but more importantly, he is considered beyond the range of generalized kin terminology. He merits neither the respect term tata, nor even the more egalitarian ~~term~~ bankil. Furthermore, he has no connection ~~whatsoever~~ with the traditional method of leadership recruitment. ~~Unlike Lavé, whose position as President of the campesino group is symbolical, supported by the application of the tata usage by the younger men, and distinct from~~

~~Wette~~, who, although also a young man, has passed through a number of the ^{described some of} rungs on the traditional ladder to respect and authority. Cordoba's success depended upon his abilities as a literate Ladino and adroit manipulation of his relationships with the Indians. He retains this position by the careful control of the flow of communications, ~~e.g.~~ ^{i.e.,} restricting the use of the writing machine to himself. His literateness and his contact with regional agrarian leaders provide him with more information than anyone else in the group. His continuing success as a leader in the local land question ^{completes} seals his position.

Although both Cordoba and Mario seek the governmental post of agent for an Asuntos Indigenas office (which to the best of my knowledge is not even in the planning stage) ~~which they hope might be set up in the cabecera of San Bartolomé~~, Mario's position is strengthened by his wife ~~and her role of~~ influence and leadership in the municipio. This woman, a Ladina from San Cristobal, generally aligns herself on political or social issues with the campesinos. She holds the post ^{is} of president of the local women's auxiliary of the Confederacion Nacional de Campesinos, as well as direction ^{or} one of the two state-supported Centros Alfabeticantes found in the cabecera. She serves as confidante for some of the Spanish-speaking Indian women, advising them on personal ^{and family} ~~matters having to do with their family life~~. More important for ~~this study~~ of the changing pattern of leadership recruitment is the role this woman plays as an ally of the Indians when there is difficulty with ^{the} Ladino governmental organs. For example, like her husband she is often appealed to by Indian families to secure the freedom of ^{someone} ~~one of its members~~ incarcerated by local courts. ~~This influential woman~~ ^{She} not merely exhibits personal interest in a case of this sort, but acts as an agent of the CNC. Although that organization, and especially its auxiliary, wields little power in the municipio itself, its functionaries are linked to the ever-powerful regional and national units. As power continues to shift from local decision-making bodies to supra-municipal forces, ^{the outcome of} local battles are won and lost dependent upon the ability of the protagonists to gain the ear of state, regional, and national personages. Mario's wife is respected and ^{sought} ~~used~~ as a councilor ^{see} because of her understanding of Ladino ways and ~~as well~~ because of her allegiance with non-municipal powers. His Ladina performs this service

willingly ⁱⁿ for the Indians, creating a personal following amongst a potentially powerful socio-political force, the Indian majority of the local campesino group.

This paper has discussed the changing procedures whereby leaders are recruited by the Indians of San Bartolomé de los Llanos, in Chiapas. There was a time when a highly formalized structure, inextricably related ^{to} with the social organization and normative value system of Indian community, functioned to recruit, train, and provide leaders for the society. Passage through a hierarchy of social obligations assured the group a ~~type of leader~~ ^{most closely} embodying its norms. The extensive time necessary to pass through this structure provided older men for essential decision-making roles, ~~men~~ ^{(whose very age merited respect,} A system of sanctions, which were dependent upon spiritual forces aligned with the community, and whose manipulation was thought to be controlled by the "good" men, i.e., those most closely embodying the norms of the society, functioned to maintain the social system in a state of dynamic equilibrium.

The lessening isolation of the Indian group, due to the building of a road and an airfield which provide relatively easy access to the rest of the Republic, and the growing threat to the communal lands by Ladino cattlemen with new markets to supply, led the Indians to seek new solutions to new problems. The concern over the diminishing lands has helped to make the Indian group receptive to governmental programs emanating from post-revolutionary Mexico City. The national government's programs for ^{minimizing} ~~erasing~~ localized boundaries--patrias chicas and Indian enclaves--through the construction of communication facilities, as well as its agrarian reform laws which helped to establish the national government as the ultimate source of authority in matters concerning the disposition of lands, found ^a ready ^{reception} audience in San Bartolomé.

The major attributes sought for in new leaders is the ability to speak, read, and write Spanish. As leadership roles became more specifically demanding, the community has witnessed a growing separation of sacred and secular duties. The old leaders (Principales) are now devoting themselves almost exclusively ^{to} with affairs of a ritual nature, while the new types of leader (representante and Ladinos) devote themselves to problems of relating the society to the ~~always impinging~~ Ladino world.

Arthur J. Rubel

Paradoxically, the relationship of the Indian society of San Bartolomé to the Mexican nation ensures that the more able a man is to cope with social problems faced by his people, the less he will embody the norms ~~traditionally valued by~~ the Indian group.

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