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SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC CHANGE
IN THE HIGHLANDS OF CHIAPAS

by

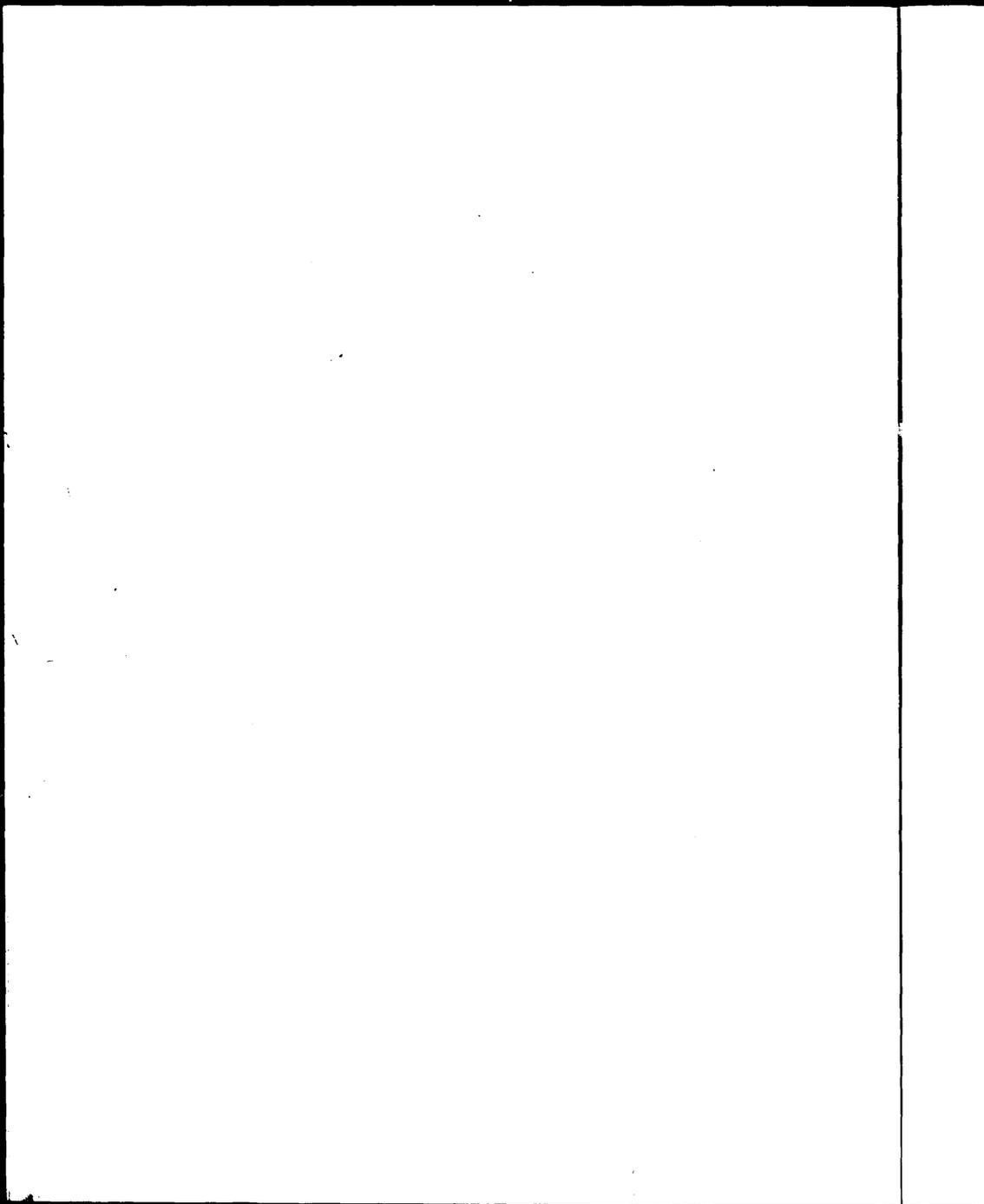
Julian A. Pitt-Rivers

Department of Anthropology
University of Chicago
July, 1964

MICROFILM COLLECTION
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ON
CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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IN THE HIGHLANDS OF CHIAPAS

Department of Anthropology
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	p. 8

Chiapas
Tzeltal
Tzotzil
Ladinos

Not to be quoted

The University of Chicago's "Man-in-Nature" project (1956-1959), supported by the National Science Foundation and various other sources of funds, had as its original focus the relations between the Tzeltal and Tzotzil Indians of the south-east corner of the highlands of Chiapas, Mexico, and their natural environment. Among the phenomena it proposed to investigate were: (1) the persistence of subsistence practices, systems of land tenure and patterns of settlement, in relation to altitude; (2) the amount of variation in agricultural practices that is not directly traceable to environmental differences; (3) the extent of correlation of general cultural and linguistic boundaries with ecological zones; and (4) the effect of changes in agricultural techniques and land use on patterns of vegetation disturbance.

It proposed to carry on these investigations with the aid of the tools of geology and geography, of botany, of ethnography and economic anthropology, of archeology, and of such linguistics and ethnohistory as might contribute to the ethnographic placing (and tracing) of the human occupants of vegetation zones. It proposed to carry the study through intensively in a limited geographic area with particular focus on the historical dimension and on the dynamics of relations between culture and environment.

In the course of the investigation the tools of social anthropology and of linguistics were widely used, the contemporary descriptive aspects of the living populations were more thoroughly explored, but the strictly geographic and ethnohistorical aspects of the investigation were given considerably less emphasis than originally intended.

The first of these is the fact that the
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Although the results actually obtained by the 1956-1959 project were not, for the most part, those of the original proposal, this work laid the foundations, nonetheless, for subsequent projects. The ethnographic facts with respect to a series of Tzeltal¹ Tzotzil² and Spanish³

¹Villa las Rosas, Aguacatenango, Amatenango, Chanal

²Venustiano Carranza, Yalcuc

³Teopisca

speaking towns were obtained (some more⁴, some less⁵)

⁴Aguacatenango, Amatenango, Teopisca

⁵Villa las Rosas, Chanal, Venustiano Carranza, Yalcuc

thoroughly). The archeological groundwork for the project transect was laid. The linguistic distributions were mapped out both with respect to ethnic differentiation, and with respect to the differential influence of Spanish. The basic geology and geography for the transect (and, in part, also for a somewhat wider area) was established. Some of the axes of differentiation were specified: high-land vs. lowland, indian-dominated vs. ladino-dominated, migratory vs. sedentary, land-poor vs. land-rich, monolingual vs. bilingual, solely agricultural vs. mixed economy (agriculture plus auxiliary trades and industries). The relative value of various tools for exploring these axes was indicated; the ubiquitous relevance of the axis of ethnic affiliation (which is manifest in many, if not all, of those mentioned above) was made evident.

The present projects were inspired by an integrated

"natural history" approach to the problems of the entire Tzeltal-Tzotzil-speaking area, and attempted to present the narrative of the genesis and the settlement on the highlands of Chiapas, and the subsequent development there, of these peoples from earliest times to the present day.

Within the framework of a natural history the contributions of all the anthropological sub-disciplines (as well as some not properly anthropological) were indispensable. Since no single foundation was prepared to support work in such a variety of disciplines, the planners of the project split its essential components into two groups, those which would contribute to a description of the contemporary scene (with a focus on the axes of social and cultural change), and those which would describe the antecedents of the contemporary scene through two thousand years of history.

The first of these was submitted as a project in recent Tzeltal-Tzotzil culture change to the National Institute of Mental Health and was approved. It proposed to investigate the social organization, language, and values of the populations of the central highlands of Chiapas, whether indian or ladino. The principal goal was to explore in a number of representative towns in the area the agents of change, the differences in susceptibility to change, and the variety of paths by which change could take place.

The second was submitted as a project in ethnohistory (to be investigated with the techniques of archeology, documentary research, and historical linguistics) to the National Science Foundation which approved it. It proposed to trace the Tzeltals and Tzotzils to their point of origin outside of the Chiapas highlands, to delineate their history (insofar as it could be reconstructed from archeo-

logical, documentary, and linguistic evidence) from the initial occupation of these highlands down to the present time, both in terms of the logic of internal development, and also of the influence of external forces: from the Nahuas of the pre-Conquest period, the colonial Spaniards, and down to the agents of the modern Mexican government.

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It was hoped that at every stage, the results of the investigations carried out under the two projects might be integrated with one another, and that a common report, resulting from such integration, might be brought together, since the central purpose of each of the projects was to give a complementary description of the changes which are occurring and have occurred and to attempt some overall explanation of the processes of change which would show how this present came into being and to what extent the known changes in the past can be inferred to have followed similar principles. The whole work is not yet finally concluded but we would like to submit this report on what has been accomplished which represents the greater part of what we set out to do.

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The work of the present projects was organized under the following main headings:

For the project supported by the National Institute of Mental Health, the following main subdivisions were set up:

- (1) intensive studies of communities (or of parts of communities);
- (2) an area-wide sociolinguistic survey of speakers of Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Spanish; and
- (3) a collection of linguistic texts.

Subsidiary foci of investigation were:

- (4) tests of cultural perception; and
- (5) studies of documentary background.

For the project supported by the National Science Foundation, the following sub-divisions were set up:

- (6) selected semi-intensive excavation of a few spots;
- (7) an area-wide archeological survey;
- (8) a brief archeological survey of the northern slopes of the Cuchumatan mountain-massif in Guatemala;
- (9) a reconstruction of some of the lexicon of proto-Tzeltal-Tzotzil;
- (10) a linguistic survey of Jacalteco, Kanjobal and Chuh in the northern Cuchumatan mountains;
- (11) a reconstructive investigation of relations between Tzeltal-Tzotzil and Chuh-Kanjobal-Jacalteco;
- (12) a search for documents pertaining to the Chiapas highlands in archives in Mexico and Guatemala, and in Spain; and
- (13) investigation in archeological museum collections in Mexico and in Guatemala.

l I. The following communities or parts of communities) were studied intensively by social anthropologists (and some intensive descriptive linguistic studies were undertaken):

Barrio Convento of VENUSTIANO CARRANZA (San Bartolomé de los Llanos)		
SA	(*)#Michael S. Salvendy	? months
SA	**Marcelo Díaz de Salas	15 months
L	(***)#Harvey B. Sarles	6 months
Barrio Golohuitz of VILLA LAS ROSAS (Pinola)		
SA	***María Esther Álvarez de Hermitte	24 months
L	**R. Radhakrishnan	2 months
Paraje Gul'ac'tic of TENEJAPA		
SA	**Andrés Medina Hernández	8 months
L	***Overton Brent Berlin	10 months

0.0.6

OXCHUC

L ¹²⁷***Harvey B. Sarles 2 months
L Gerald E. Williams 1 month

OCOSINGO

SA ***Charles A. Mann 10 months
SA Julian Pitt-Rivers 2 months

Fincas Chajtajal, San Antonio, Santa Rita, of OCOSINGO

SA †Roberta Montagu 2 months

SIVACA

SA **Manuel Zabala Cubillos 12 months
L (*)Evangalina Arana de Swadesh 2 months
L Morris Swadesh 2 months

BACHAJÓN

SA Calixta Guiteras Holmes 6 months
SA †Roberta Montagu 3 months
L ***Carlos Robles, S.J. 12 months

SAN PABLO CHALCHIHUITAN

SA (It was unfortunate that the anthropologist assigned to the study of San Pablo Chalchihuitan, the only monolingual Tzotzil pueblo in the project, was forced to abandon his work at an early date.)

L (s)***Nicholas A. Hopkins 2 weeks
(The unavailability of Chalchihuiteco informants for adequate lengths of time limited this study.)

CHAMULA

L Norman A. McQuown 1 month
L ****Terrence S. Kaufman 1 month

MINACANTAN

L (s)***Nicholas A. Hopkins 2 months

CHIAPILLA

SA ***Lilo Stern 1 1/2 months

Additional work on previously studied towns was likewise carried out under the auspices of these projects:

0.0.7 AGUACATENANGO

SA	***Muriel Eva Verbitsky de Hunt	5 months
L	SA ***Terrence S. Kaufman	1 month
TEOPISCA		
SA	SA ***John C. Hotchkiss	1 month

* Receiving A.M.

** A.M. Granted

*** Receiving Ph.D.

**** Ph.D. Granted

The social anthropologists were asked to do a straight-forward community study (with emphasis on certain special topics suggested to them as the work developed). They were visited in the field, their field-notes were discussed with them, and, with a basis in the data already obtained, they were then given a framework of problems for investigation. The linguists were asked to do a straight-forward descriptive grammar as their first task preliminary to the sociolinguistic survey. They were given initial training sessions in September, 1960 in the specific problems of the Tzeltal and Tzotzil languages.

Furthermore, for both social anthropologists and linguists, as well as for the archeologists and ethnohistorians, six special seminars (of several days duration each) were held in September and December, 1960 and in March, June, September, and December, 1961. All fieldworkers were gathered together to give preliminary papers and to hold discussions.

II. In the summer of 1961 an area-wide sociolinguistic survey was carried through by a number of teams composed of social anthropologist, linguist, and, in a number of instances, of transcribing-translating informants who served as guides and interpreters:

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tic

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In June 1961, a fifteen day training seminar prepared the field-workers for the survey, and the survey itself was carried out during the months of July and August. Over 350 matched vocabularies and censuses were taken in over 150 towns and hamlets. Three-hundred additional censuses were taken in the communities intensively studied. The quantitative results of the survey have been so considerable that the first of the paired projects (that supported by the National Institute of Mental Health) was obliged, at an early date, to consider machine-processing of the large mass of data. A request of a supplementary processing grant was submitted in July, 1961 and was approved. Special consultative sessions with representatives of the Computer Center of the University of California at Berkeley were held at project headquarters in San Cristóbal Las Casas in December, 1961 and again in January, 1962, linguistic and sociocultural codes for punch-card and computer-processing were worked out and the data was prepared for processing. The actual coding took the better part of three months (John C. Hotchkiss, Manuel Zabala Cubillos, Julian Pitt-Rivers, Nicholas A. Hopkins, Edith Saad and Norman A. McQuown participating), the punching was done at the University of Chicago. The present report is written on the basis of the preliminary sorting runs. Work continues on the further analysis of the census data and will be the subject of a separate appendix in Section 3.

III. The gathering and translating of linguistic texts was carried on at project headquarters by a corps of trained transcribing and translating informants during the twelve months which elapsed between September, 1960 and September, 1961. All such informants likewise served simultaneously

as sources of grammatical and lexical data for the linguists engaged in preparing the descriptive grammars and dictionaries. The following chart details the accomplishments of these invaluable assistants in linguistic and social anthropological investigation during those brief twelve months:

	A	B	C	D	E
(1) Mariano Juárez Aguilar AGUACATENANGO	1	1	1	1	1
(2) Alonso Méndez Ton TENEJAPA (Cul'ac'tic)	2	2	3	1	2
(3) Pedro Jiménez Huacax TENEJAPA	2	2	3	1	2
(4) Juan Méndez Tzotzec CHAMULA (Bisomat)	1*	4	5	1	2
(5) Salvador López Castellano CHAMULA (Laguna Petej)	1	3	4	1	2
(6) José Gómez López OXCHUC (Tzopilja')	2	3	4	1	2
(7) Alberto Méndez Tobilla VILLA LAS ROSAS	3	4	4	1	3
(8) Bartolomé Hidalgo Sabanilla VENUSTIANO CARRANZA (Convento)	2	3	4	1	2
(9) Juan Álvaro SIVACÁ	3	4	5	1	3
(10) Antonio López Tzintan ZINACANTAN	3	4	5	1	3

* still somewhat weak in Spanish

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5=degrees of proficiency (from most to least)

- A. Write in Tzeltal or Tzotzil and in Spanish.
- B. Transcribe what is recorded on tape.
- C. Extract lexical material from texts and prepare dictionaries.
- D. Can read Tzeltal or Tzotzil.
- E. Can read Spanish.

The quantity of texts gathered is considerable and the initial processing (via a concordance-program) has only just begun. When grammar programs are prepared for the individual dialects, it will be possible to process these texts completely and to extract their full grammatical and lexical information, thus laying the basis for eventual exploitation of their content.

IV. With the aid of some photographs taken by Mr. Albert L. Wahrhaftig in one of the towns of our area, Muriel Eva Hunt was able to devise a test which we have elected to label the Phototest for Cultural Perception. The subjects were asked to interpret each of a series of photographs and their responses (some in Spanish, some in Tzeltal or Tzotzil) were recorded on magnetic tape. The resulting taped materials from over seventy-five subjects, after being transcribed and translated, have served both as evidence on perception and projection, and as data for linguistic analysis.

V. A collection of standard objects and drawings put together by Overton Brent Berlin was likewise used with a selection of over fifty linguistic and sociocultural informants, both as a means for the direct eliciting of new linguistic material, and as an additional device for testing cultural perception.

VI. Work was done in state (Roberta Montagu and Lile Stern) and national (Edward E. Calnek) archives in the

location and examination of documents bearing on our area, and individual social anthropologists have reviewed printed documentary material on the recent history of Chiapas. We should like here to express our gratitude to those in charge of these archives for their effective assistance.

VII. Archeological excavations were carried out at both lowland (Copanaguastla) (Robert M. Adams, Donald E. McVicker, and Kent V. Flannery) and highland (Cerro Ecatepec, Cerro Cuchum Ton--near Mitontic) (Adams, McVicker, Flannery, and Edward E. Calnek) sites, and surface soundings were made elsewhere.

VIII. The archeological survey covered the valley of the Rio San Vicente (around Copanaguastla), the highlands immediately to the north of San Cristóbal, the valley of Ixtapa, and the environs of Ocosingo. Robert M. Adams surveyed five sites, one near Jacaltenango, one near San Andrés, one near San Miguel Acatán, one on the outskirts of San Mateo Ixtatán, and one in the town itself.

IX. Overton Brent Berlin and Norman A. McQuown took eight cognate-weighted vocabularies of about 650 items each in as many dialects of Hujueténango in Guatemala and McQuown took ten lexicostatistical vocabularies from a similar range of dialects.

X. Terrence S. Kaufman prepared a reconstruction of the lexicon of Proto-Tzeltalan (Tzeltal and Tzotzil), and with this reconstruction and materials from a variety of other languages of the Mayan family he proceeded to prepare a similar reconstruction for the Mayan family as a whole (Kaufman, Terrence S. "Materiales lingüísticos para el estudio de las relaciones internas y externas de la familia de idiomas mayanos," Desarrollo Cultural de Los Mayas, publicación especial del Seminario de Cultura Maya, Facultad de Filosofía y letras de la UNAM. 1964, pp 81-136.)

0.0.13 in which he places Tzeltalan within the Mayan family.

XI. Vicenta Cortés Alosso worked in archives in Washington, D.C., Mexico City, Guatemala City, Seville, Salamanca, Madrid, and Rome, and uncovered a rich inventory of new materials on our area. Edward E. Calnek and John V. Baroco worked both in Mexico City and in Guatemala City.

XII. Robert M. Adams worked in Guatemala City, T. Patrick Culbert and Donald McVicker in Tuxtla Gutiérrez, and Edward E. Calnek in Mexico City.

We append a full bibliography of publications resulting thus far from the work of the project.

In addition to data collected under the auspices of the project, we have relied extensively on previous experience in this area of certain of our field workers, both under other auspices and under that of the University of Chicago's own Man-in-Nature project in which the following members of the present project took part:

Andrés Medina Hernández
Calixta Guiteras Holmes
†Roberta Montagu
Muriel Eva Verbitsky de Hunt
John C. Hotchkiss
Norman A. McQuown
Arthur Rubel
Mariane Juárez Aguilar
Robert M. Adams
John V. Baroco
Thomas Patrick Culbert

Apart from this participation in the previous Chicago project, Calixta Guiteras Holmes had studied extensively in San Pedro Chenalhó, and elsewhere in the central highlands, and Manuel Zabala Cubillos had worked in Zinacantan under the auspices of Harvard University's (Evon Z. Vogt's)

project for studying Zinacantan culture change.

Terrence S. Kaufman had worked in Stanford University's (Duane G. Metzger's) project for semantic analysis of Aguacatenango Tzeltal texts and lexicon and Gerald E. Williams continues to work in Stanford University's (A. Kimball Romney's) project for the investigation of medical beliefs and practices in Tenejapa.

We also wish to acknowledge, with gratitude, our debt to the following students, currently working in the area, who gave us freely of their knowledge:

Henning Siverts of the University of Oslo working in Oxchuc;

A. David Hill of the University of Chicago working on the human geography of Villa las Rosas;

Frank and Francisca Cancian of Harvard University working on Zinacantan;

Duane Metzger of Stanford University working on indigenous classification systems in Aguacatenango and Tenejapa;

Thomas Voorhees of Stanford University working on Mayan kinship terminologies.

We have, of course, utilized many published and micro-film reports on work previously done in the area. These are all specifically acknowledged in the bibliography.

Finally, we should like to express our special gratitude to our very patient secretarial staff, to Lois Bisek who has transcribed our bilingual proceedings, and, most especially, to Norene G. Huntley who has served in capacities too multiple to detail here and without whose skillful management we would have succumbed to the flood of administrative detail which has constantly beset us.

Julian A. Pitt-Rivers
Norman A. McQuown

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry, no matter how small, should be documented to ensure transparency and accountability. This includes recording the date, amount, and purpose of each transaction.

The second part of the document provides a detailed breakdown of the financial data. It includes a table showing the monthly income and expenses over a period of six months. The table is as follows:

Month	Income	Expenses	Net Income
January	\$1,200	\$800	\$400
February	\$1,100	\$750	\$350
March	\$1,300	\$900	\$400
April	\$1,000	\$700	\$300
May	\$1,150	\$850	\$300
June	\$1,250	\$950	\$300
Total	\$6,000	\$4,150	\$1,850

The final part of the document concludes by stating that the overall financial performance has been positive, with a consistent surplus of income over expenses. It suggests that the current budgeting strategy is effective and should be continued.

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the 1990s, the number of people with a mental health problem has increased by 50% (Mental Health Act 1983, 1990).

There is a growing awareness of the need to address the needs of people with mental health problems in the community. This has led to the development of a range of services, including community mental health teams, crisis centres, and day centres.

One of the key challenges for these services is to ensure that they are accessible to all people who need them, particularly those who are most vulnerable.

This paper describes the development of a community mental health team in a large inner city area, and the challenges that have been faced.

The team was established in 1995, and has since been providing a range of services to people with mental health problems in the community.

The team's work is based on a range of principles, including the need to provide a person-centred service, to work in partnership with other agencies, and to ensure that services are accessible to all.

The team has been successful in providing a range of services to people with mental health problems in the community, and has been instrumental in the development of a range of other services.

The team's work has been instrumental in the development of a range of other services, including crisis centres, day centres, and self-help groups.

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SECTION I

INTRODUCTION TO THE AREA

Introduction

In this section of the report we shall deal only with the processes of social and cultural change as we can see them occurring in the present and recent past, making such references to the earlier periods only in order to illustrate what we say by reference to the common knowledge of Mayan studies. The ethno-history of Chiapas will be left to a separate section which awaits completion. It seems to us logical to proceed in this order, that is, to establish what we can regarding the general principles of change from the area where we have the rich data of direct observation before attempting to tackle the course of change in the periods where much more must be based upon inference and speculation, and where the framework of inferences is no longer that of our own twentieth century, but the varied and discordant society of the colonial Chiapas which was as unlike the Spain of the period (in some ways) as it was unlike modern Mexico and with regard to which we have little data more than the grandiloquent memoirs of a handful of egregious protagonists. No indian has left his story and the Spaniards, who left theirs, were inspired by the desire to justify themselves and their fellows and impugn their rival countrymen--churchmen like Remesal or soldiers like Fuentes, Guzman--so that we know much more about the factions and structure of Spanish colonial society in Chiapas than we know about the indians, who serve as a backdrop to the social scene, appearing as individuals only momentarily and then vanishing into anonymity.

If the social historian is frustrated by the lack of data, the anthropologist is sometimes overwhelmed by its quantity and the contradictions which this brings in, and at times we have been faced by the quandary whether to

accept the conclusions of one or the other of two writers, or whether to accept both and attribute the divergence to the difference between one village and its neighbor. Since the theoretical framework within which we have worked influences inevitably our interpretations it is appropriate to outline our theoretical approach without more ado.

It was objected at the time the project was first formulated that the title contained certain redundancies in that linguistics is a branch of culture, while certain schools of thought in anthropology prefer to view the pattern of social relations as a part of culture and to subsume the social under the cultural; the word "socio-cultural" was coined to sanctify the marriage of these concepts and to make it possible to speak of both culture and social structure in the same breath--which is sometimes convenient but not always wise. Many of the studies of acculturation in Latin America have taken this point of view, assuming that culture, so defined, has a dynamic of its own which can be explained by observing the passage of cultural traits between the initial stereotypes of pre-Columbian or Hispanic culture: This culture trait was lost, that one acquired, such was the process of acculturation. Yet, as Aguirre Beltrán (1957) has pointed out, it was not firmly agreed whether loss or acquisition were the referent, whether the word were compounded of "ad" or of "ab". The outcome of this way of thinking was the measurement of "degrees of acculturation" from the initial contact to the present, which was accomplished according to an arbitrary scale chosen by the investigator, arbitrary in the relative completeness or importance attached to one aspect of culture or another. This arbitrariness would be unimportant perhaps, if we could be assured that there was--and this was assumed by many--a single river of acculturation down which the indians of Chiapas were traveling from their pre-Columbian origins to their integration into the ocean of

Mexican culture. This we have not found to be the case.

There is a further objection to this method of measuring acculturation: the view of history which it implies is curiously unhistorical, for the most significant problem in history, for an anthropologist, is the change in the stereotypes of culture themselves, and the stereotypes between which change takes place are no longer the same after the initial turmoil of the conquest period. Thus elements of culture which once defined the Indians cease to do so once they have been adopted by Spaniards or ladinos, while some of the cultural indices of Indian status today are in fact of Spanish origin, such as items of clothing, of speech in speaking Spanish, or fiestas. Therefore to take ancient Mayan and ancient Spanish culture as yardsticks of the analysis of change in contemporary Chiapas is rather like attempting to interpret modern British politics in the idiom of the Wars of the Roses; it commits the error of anachronism.

The view we follow is different. Culture and social structure are generalizations of a different order, though they derive in large part from observation of the same field (not the same observations) and are of course interdependent in many ways. Yet while culture, the learned behavior, the common understandings, is particular to a given society, social structure, a representation of the pattern of social relationships (not of the conduct which is their content) is quite independent of any particular society and it follows that societies which have very different cultures may be similar in structure--the study of kinship provides the obvious example--or vice versa. This is not saying that there is no structure in culture, but the structure of a legal system or a language can be exposed without reference to the social relations which pertain in the various societies which speak that language or have adopted those laws. The structure of a cultural

.1.4

system, be it legal, linguistic, aesthetic or technological is an abstraction from culture, the data of culture, just as social structure is an abstraction from the data of behavior.

It follows that while culture exists in the minds of its possessors and can be extracted from a single suitable informant, social structure is discovered by the anthropologist and the individual member of the society requires to know no more about it than a native speaker must know of the structure of his language in order to speak it. Therefore culture is directly diffusible while social structure, though it may be affected by the diffusion of culture, is not. Social change and cultural change are, then, different phenomena. They inevitably tend to accompany each other since they are interrelated--it would be better to say, perhaps, that they provoke each other since they do not necessarily accompany each other in the same direction--but however their relationship is described, it is convenient to conceptualize them as different processes. Not to do so involves a methodological error in that statements of two different orders are confused, but in addition, on the practical plane it involves ambiguities: there are many rural communities in the present-day world which are able to avoid a violent revolution in their structure only by the adoption of cultural innovations, the new agricultural techniques which enable them to raise their level of production on land-holdings whose inadequate extent would otherwise force many to abandon their calling. Nor need we look far in order to find examples of the converse, where a custom is retained thanks to a change in social structure. Fox-hunting, for example, persists today largely thanks to its changed structural significance. Once, the pursuit of the country gentry and their tenants for the purpose of keeping down the foxes, it persists today thanks to its value as a distraction for city businessmen who, versed in the works

of Surtees, validate their sportsmanship (and their social status) in the pursuit of foxes which are carefully preserved, if not actually bagged for the occasion.

Social structure and culture come nearest together in that branch of culture which relates to behavior, that is, custom, since a member of society holds in his head, as a part of his culture, the norms of conduct to which he is expected to conform. Yet it is notorious that even if he attempts to see the relation between one norm and another and thereby obtain a structural view of his society, it will differ from the anthropologist's view; the representation of the social system as it is expressed in the culture confronts the "reality" of social anthropology. How far apart the two may remain is illustrated by a comparison of the notions of what is an indian, our own definition on the one hand (briefly: a member of a community where an indian language is spoken in the home) and the varying designations which we were given by one ladino or another, in one or another context, and which we were tempted to sum up by saying that in ladino usage an indian was "anyone whom the speaker considers 'culturally' inferior to himself". The variations therefore defined the different speakers according to their place within the social structure which remained as a concept quite foreign to their way of thought and as a "reality" impinged upon their consciousness only where they attempted to establish their own social status, by differentiating themselves from indians.

The society of highland Chiapas is cross-cut by this social distinction which corresponds to a division of culture into indian and ladino. This means that the processes of change which we have studied are highlighted by this contrast in a way which could not be in a society which possessed only one culture. Change can therefore be

viewed in the first place as change in the culture of indians and of ladinos, who seek sometimes to assimilate: as when the indian seeks to adopt the culture of ladinos or when the latter strive to "civilize" the indians-- sometimes to differentiate themselves: as when the indians reject the attempts of the ladinos to proselytize them in favor of their traditional norms, or when the ladinos deride the indians as savages and emphasize the distinctiveness of their own culture and the social barrier which separates them. We find in Chiapas, as the Reichel-Dolmatoffs (1961) in Columbia, the ladinos abandoning customs which they formerly shared with the indians in the belief that it was degrading for them to indulge in indian practices, even though the customs in question may be followed in Spain to this day.

In spite of this will to differentiate themselves, the social barrier is far from impregnable, so that individuals and also communities have been able to change their identity from indian to ladino. At the same time, the cultural distinction between indian and ladino has a certain elasticity about it; the criteria vary from one pueblo to another, and, even within a single pueblo, indian identity allows a considerable range of cultural variation, since the operative criterion in the indian view is moral identification with the indian community.

So we can perceive four processes of change: individual or collective, cultural or structural. We shall use the word "ladinization" to mean "becoming a ladino", i.e., changing one's position in the social structure through a change in ethnic affiliation. If the word "ladino" is to provide the basis of a neologism there seems to be no excuse for not following the normal rules of anglicization, and using the root without the termination. "Ladinoization" is both ugly and when it refers

to women anomalous. It goes without saying that there are cultural conditions necessary for this, of which the first is to be able to speak Spanish. This is not quite the same as the local usage of "indio aladinado" which may or may not imply that the person considers himself a ladino; it implies that the speaker does not. Inevitably, there are both individuals and communities whose ethnic affiliation is unsure since they are in the process of ladinization.

We shall reserve the word "acculturation" for the change in culture whether at the level of the individual or the collectivity, and without regard for any change in ethnic affiliation. The common trend of acculturation is towards ladino culture for indians, and, for ladinos, towards the metropolitan culture of Mexico City or even that of the United States. But we also find examples of "reculturation" both at the individual level¹ and also in

¹The case of Juan Perez Jolote is well described by Pozas (1952). When he returned to his native Chamula he had forgotten how to behave and for shame, he stayed in his house until he had learned how to wear his indian clothes once again. Medina's first guide in Tenejapa was such a man also, but less aware of the problem of reintegration he attempted to remain dressed as a ladino, and through his ignorance of custom he forfeited his right to his land.

instances of communities of indians who have moved away from the proximity of ladinos and whose knowledge of Spanish has thereafter declined, and who have tended to revert to conservative indian culture. In this case, a change in the structural position of a group of people has induced a change in their culture. Variations in cultural detail can often be accounted for in terms of influences which contact has brought to bear upon the individual members of a community, but even more important than this in determining the reception of innovations is

the internal structure of the indian community, the play of conservative or modernist factions or the strengthening of the symbolic value of tradition in reaction to the pressure of ladino contact. Structure is therefore in many ways the arbiter of cultural change, just as cultural change is the condition of structural change. It is through its effects upon the structure of the community that the contact between indians and ladinos leads to change. For the results of contact are varied; it can lead either to assimilation or to the determination to remain dissimilar and maintain a separate identity, according to whether it reinforces or destroys the solidarity of the group. Nor does cultural change in one aspect entail cultural change in all as Miller's study of Huis-tán showed (1960).

Finally, we should note that, while cultural change is a precondition of structural change, it is not a sufficient condition for the abolition of any status barrier. In Aritama, the Reichel-Dolmatoffs found a status distinction between Castilians and indians which corresponded to no more cultural distinction than in other communities between classes.

We cannot therefore accept any simple theory of "acculturation" such as some anthropologists once favored which attributed change to the making of a road.¹ It is

¹This theory is still favored by the upper class of San Cristóbal who deride the efforts of the INI to educate the indians as a means of "integrating the motherland" in favor of a policy of communications and industrial development.

precisely upon the Pan American Highway that the most resolutely traditional pueblos are found.⁴

⁴Wolf, E. (1960) has remarked the same phenomenon in the vicinity of Mexico City and has given an outline of an explanation which has something in common with that which this report offers.

Moreover, we have to take account of the uneven progress of cultural change, both the tenacity of resistance to it and also its swiftness once ladinization is the goal, whether in the individual or the community. The girl from Chalchihuitán, a monolingual Tzotzil pueblo, whom Manuel Arias eloped with to San Cristóbal ended up a ladina who referred to the man she once tried to marry as "un indito", or at the collective level, one can point to those pueblos which in certain crises of the history of Chiapas (the independence period or the Revolution) have set their minds upon "going ladino", and which, two generations later, no longer differ from other ladino pueblos. Throughout our discussion it must be remembered that at no period did Europeans arrive in large numbers and set up colonies by themselves; ladinos are, in the main, descendants of Spaniards, mixed bloods and indians who chose, individually or collectively, to become ladinos.

In order to explain the differential reaction of the indians to the contact and pressure of the ladinos and their economic interdependence with them, we have groped for a concept which would express the qualitative state of a community, and we have used the word "integration". The integration of a pueblo is its solidarity in opposition to outside interference. It is a quality which we find exhibited particularly by the pueblos which have been accustomed in the past to contact with the centers of ladino power, Chamula, Zinacantan, San Bartolomé and the pueblos near the Pan American Highway. In contrast to this, we

have found useful the concept of factionalism which has been well-discussed by a number of writers on North American Indians (Spicer, et. al., 1961), When integration gives way to factions.

In order to compare different communities we shall use the notion of cultural distance, meaning the degree to which the indians and ladinos of a given community diverge. We can also use it to compare upper and lower class ladinos or the difference between Mexico City and Chiapas. In all places the cultural distance between indians and ladinos is not simply a matter of degree, but it may vary from one aspect to another; the villages where the indian surname still exists are not necessarily those which are most distant from the ladinos in other ways. So it would serve no useful purpose to attempt to evaluate the different aspects of culture and reduce them to a single scale. But we can observe that certain aspects have greater significance in determining the possibilities of ladinization.

We shall also use the notion of social distance to define the difference in the status of indian or ladino within a community, that is to say, how firmly indian is differentiated in terms of occupation, rights and duties, and conceptualization. This, clearly, is likely to relate to the percentage of the community which is ladino. Here we can more easily order the social distance as a scale which would show at the lowest extreme those places in the Southern Zone where indians and ladinos live and work side by side, and gain a modicum of respect from ladinos, to Oxchuc or the Fincas of the East where the distinction is most firm.

The definitions of the processes of change which we have called acculturation, take no account of origins. This is not because we are not interested in the origins of modern Mayan culture, but because this is a different ques-

tion. The attribution of origins does not help us to understand change in the present age, for they give us the final account of the innovation, conservation and loss, of the forms of culture only, and after a period of more than four centuries. For the purpose of reconstruction the history of that time-span, the conservation or loss of cultural forms provides most valuable evidence, particularly in the field of linguistics from which much can be inferred about the past, but this final account tells us nothing about the periods when a given community has moved back towards a reassertion of traditional indian norms and nothing about the changes in meaning and in social structure. The mode of the fusion of the Spanish and indian cultures in the Conquest period undoubtedly set the mould for many of the invariant features of this society, just as the fact that this was established as a colonial society four centuries ago provides the most weighty of the historical conditions of the social structure of today. Yet caution is inspired in the attribution of origins not only by the methodological reasoning we have already given, but by the example of those who have used the history of Chiapas as a screen upon which to project their prejudices in the present. Thus, the Catholic apologists, and thus the partisans of the ideology of the Mexican Revolution and thus those antiquarian romantics¹ who see in every modern indian a replica of his unconquered forbear and pick

¹When, for example, Dr. Holland (1963, p. 2) suggests that there have been only small changes in the social, economic, political, and religious organization of the indians since the Conquest, it is clear even in his own evidence that his antiquarian romanticism has run away with him.

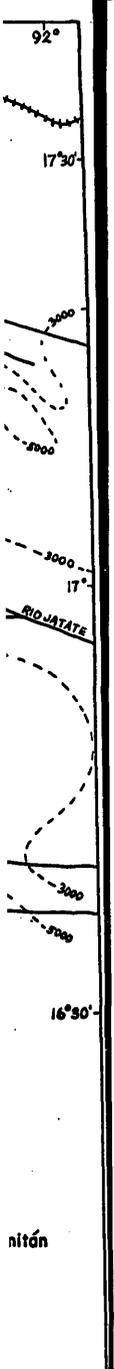
through the culture of modern Chiapas in search of pre-Columbian items, like the precursors of scientific excavation who demolished the mounds of their field-sites in

search of objects to place in their collections and forfeited thereby the chance of understanding the significance of those objects within the society which manufactured them. The anthropologist concerned with the analysis of social and cultural change must resist the temptation to join the quest for the bones of Cuau^htemoc.

In the present volume we are concerned only to examine the processes of change which we can observe in the present. The trends of history obey other pressures which in the long term will force a selection, so that just as a rising trend on an economic graph will show, in spite of fluctuations within a short time-span, a steady growth over the total period considered, so in spite of temporal and local reverses the evolution of Chiapas towards a culturally homogeneous society has reached its present state in which indians remain only in the highlands and will end by eliminating the indian problem altogether. The motherland will be integrated as far as ethnic divisions are concerned (though how many vestiges will remain, covered by the label of social class, to differentiate the inhabitants of our area, we would not attempt to predict).

Yet in order to understand the course of this evolution in the past we can use our analysis of the factors which govern the processes of change in the present, working from the age where we have ~~more~~ most data back towards that where we know little more than what the chroniclers thought worth recording, and what can be inferred from the language of the present and the findings of the archaeologists.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TERRITORY



The area of this study is a highland region in central Chiapas, Mexico. The total region in which we have worked covers approximately 4,800 square miles, and includes lands on the flanks of the highlands from elevations of 1,000' to the inhabitable elevations of around 8,000' in the plateau. From the lowlands of Tabasco and the Petén that lie to the east and north, the land rises relatively gradually to a plateau region in which the highest elevations attained by two peaks is just over 9,000'. On the western side, there is a more spectacular and abrupt drop into the Central Depression of Chiapas. In just twenty miles, there is a drop of 6,000' from the ridge outside San Cristóbal to the Grijalva River. (See Region Profile 1)

The entire area is affected by weather conditions at this latitude and includes a rainy season from May to October and a dry season from November to April. However, because the prevailing winds that bring moisture are from the Gulf of Mexico on the east, the rainfall and humidity are highest on the eastern side of the area, and somewhat lower on the western side. (See Appendix for Climatic Characteristics, Vol. II, for more details on the climatic variations within our area.)

The variations within this area are considerable, not only geographically but socially, and it would be difficult to make many general statements which would be valid for its entirety. We have, therefore, found it convenient to divide the total region into four zones which correspond approximately to geographical criteria, but which are modified by political and social considerations (See Map 2). An attempt is made to generalize climatic, vegetational and geographical characteristics for each zone, but it must be pointed out that there is great variation within each zone.¹ A

¹See, for example, Wagner, 1962, for the vegetational and geographic complexity for a transect of only a small part of what we call the Southwestern Flank Zone.

ridge will cut off moisture-bearing winds, swamps are found because of poor drainage near parched areas, and within a community's territory rich alluvial soils along a river bottom may be found as well as infertile clays on a ridge or hillside. A relatively small difference in elevation and soil conditions may embrace several types of vegetation. These variations and climatic uncertainties have great implications for agricultural practice even within a single community.

Our zonation does not correspond exactly to the three-fold classification made by the people themselves: "tierra caliente", "tierra templada", and "tierra fría" (hot country, temperate country, and cold country). In our region, tierra caliente extends to about 3,000', tierra templada lies between 3,000 and 6,000', and tierra fría is the country above 6,000'. However, these definitions vary from place to place due to a combination of people's conceptions and the complex natural topography, which may indeed allow for a localized tierra caliente extending into higher country up a low river bottom.

In addition, geographical criteria cannot by themselves suffice to provide an exact delimitation since the political boundaries do not follow them. Certain pueblos of the highlands control land at much lower elevations and the possibility of cultivating crops there affects the economy of the whole pueblo but does not cancel out their essential similarity to their highland neighbors.

Our zones are therefore a descriptive device based initially upon geographical criteria which enable us to discuss their characteristics social as well as ecological.

They do not, however, in themselves correspond to any social units (though at times the distinctions which they make are recognized socially--people of hot country are not the same as people of cold cantry). They do not correspond at all to the linguistic division between Tzeltal and Tzotzil, and inevitably, from the point of view of whichever we choose of the criteria compounded in order to define them, they will admit anomalies. Their function is expository: they enable us to refer to a group of pueblos conveniently and to contrast them with other groups.

Zone 1, the Plateau Summit, includes most of the area above the 5,000' contour. This is a high, massive formation of Tertiary limestone. Throughout this zone, surface limestone deposits are exploited to produce lime (cal), an essential ingredient for cooking corn. This exploitation is on a small scale; production is for the local market only. There are fault-line scarps which divide the area into ridges and enclosed basins. Most streams that form disappear in these basins, to appear elsewhere as springs and streams. In a large part of this zone, slopes are gentle, allowing human habitation and agriculture. This is not to discount the fact, however, that much of the area is also rugged, with steep slopes, sharp ridges and deep gorges, and, often in this less favorable terrain, Indians make their homes and have their corn fields (milpas). This entire plateau summit zone embraces approximately 1,000 square miles.²

²This approximate area, as well as those given for the other zones, are compiled from data given in square kilometers for the municipios included in the zones from Vivó Escoto 1959.

The elevation of 5,000' is a critical point for vegetation.³ In this zone is found the ecological climax of needle

³Wagner, 1959, p. 12; Kaplan, 1959, pp. 1, 8, 10-11.

and broad-leaf evergreen forest (pines and oaks) which is relatively free from underbrush. Where artificial disturbance has occurred, there is thicket secondary plant cover. Among cultivated plants, here, as in all elevations, corn is grown, but the runner bean, wheat, and potatoes thrive only in this zone. Peaches, apples, and pears grow in this zone, and not in others.

The climate is temperate. A few days of frost is common during January and February. The relatively high humidity makes for chilliness, even when the temperatures are not extreme. The mean annual temperature of San Cristóbal in this zone (elevation, 7,000') is 58° F., whereas at Chenalhó, some two thousand feet lower, the annual mean is 68° F. The total annual rainfall at San Cristóbal is approximately 45 inches, with three-fourths of the precipitation occurring during the wet-season months (May through October). This zone is in contrast to the tropical features of the other three zones.

Zone 2, the Eastern Flank, is a relatively rough, mountainous region that gradually declines to the lowland tropical rain forest of the Lacandon jungle in eastern Chiapas. Several large rivers, cutting deep valleys, stretch through this zone to meet the Plateau Summit. The alluvial soils found in these valleys are especially fertile. Other areas are composed of sedimentary soils that are combinations of sands, volcanic ash and slaty clays. The minerals quartz and coal are found, but apparently not in exploitable quantity.⁴

⁴Marroquín, 1956. To our knowledge, no adequate or systematic geological survey has ever been made in our area of Chiapas. Historical accounts and hearsay mention the presence of several minerals. Nowhere today is there exploitation of any mineral on a commercial scale.

Pine and oak forests are found in this zone, but in the upper reaches towards the Plateau Summit. Oaks are abundant in the lower altitudes, but the predominant vegetation there is the tropical broad-leaf deciduous forest. Cedar and mahogany are found also in the lower portions, and have been exploited for lumber, to a greater degree in the past than at present.⁵ This lush, humid zone supports heavy underbrush

⁵Marroquín, 1922

in the forests, and trails require constant cleaning or are soon overgrown. Among the cultivated plants, coffee, bananas, sugar cane, citrus fruits, and a wide variety of tropical fruits thrive in this zone. Tomatillo and aselgas are vegetables that are unique to this area. For the most part, this area of some 2,400 square miles⁶ is tropical--hot and

⁶This excludes about two thirds of the area of the municipio of Ocosingo, which is uninhabited jungle.

humid, with sub-tropical extensions into the Plateau Summit zone.

Zone 3, the Southwestern Flank, consists of a series of steps or natural terraces that fall off from the Plateau Summit beginning at just over 5,000' and includes the broken, hilly region of the Central Depression formed by the Grijalva River at an elevation of about 1,500'. Geographically, this is a huge area covering thousands of square miles, but only the flank of the highlands concerns us, and this embraces an area of approximately 1,000 square miles. The upland terraces, which range from a fraction of a square mile to several dozen square miles, contain water-born sediments, and, like the Plateau Summit, are composed of limestone and lack surface drainage. Streams disappear through the lime-

..2.7

of Ixtapa, at an elevation of 3,600' and extends northward including a high ridge extension of the Plateau Summit that exceeds 5,000', and on northward down the other side of this ridge into a deep river valley, formed by a tributary of the Almandro River (which flows north, out of our region, through Tabasco and into the Gulf of Mexico). In the valley of Almandro, elevations of less than 1,000' are reached. The portion of this flank zone which concerns us has an area of about 900 square miles.

The soils of this zone are mainly limestone in the valleys and hills of the upper elevations, and alluvials in the valleys in the northern, lower altitudes. The vegetation of the southern and higher portions of this zone are similar to the terraced margins of the Southwestern Flank--pines and oaks, whereas the vegetation in the lower valley at the north is the broad-leaf tropical deciduous forest. Bananas, citrus fruits, sugar cane, and coffee are cultivated, and at the lowest level, near Hueitlupan, tobacco is grown. Climate here is sub-tropical in the southern portions, and tropical--hot and humid--at the north.

stone fissures (sumideros) to emerge at lower elevations as springs or sometimes as fully developed streams. At the lower edge of these terraces and rising from the upper slopes of the Grijalva valley are a series of volcanic pinnacles, so that soils near these are volcanic ash, rich in fertility.⁷

⁷Wagner, 1959, p. 2, and 1962

The natural vegetation includes the pine and oak forests on the upper terraces, with the pines soon giving way to the abundant oaks at lower elevations. In the bottom lands of the several tributaries of the Grijalva are broad-leaf deciduous tropical forests. In the lowest reaches of this zone, near the Grijalva, are found large areas of savanna--sparse grasslands with occasional barren ground and isolated trees, reflecting the much lower humidity and rainfall of this zone when compared with the lush vegetation of the Eastern Flank at these same elevations. There are also marshy areas and swamps where drainage is poor which contain an array of marshy plants. The same inventory of tropical fruits, vegetables and field crops that are found in Zone 2 are also cultivated here, although coffee is grown at slightly higher elevations where the humidity is sufficient (i.e., in Villa Las Rosas).⁸

⁸See Wagner, 1962, for a more thorough description of this zone.

The climate of this zone ranges from the temperate and relatively wet upper terraces to the tropical, but somewhat less humid lowlands. The northern sections of the Grijalva valley, lying more directly in the shadow of the Plateau Summit, are also much drier, the driest for our region.

Zone 4, the Northwestern Flank, begins with the valley

DEMOGRAPHY AND SETTLEMENT

Demography

The population of the highlands of Chiapas is composed of two elements, indians and ladinos. Indians are distinguished first of all by their speech, which is either one or the other of the two dialects--Tzeltal or Tzotzil--of the Mayan language family. Ladinos speak Spanish. In addition, indians mostly dress in a costume which is traditional for each pueblo, whereas ladinos dress like the rest of Mexico according to their status and occupation--variants of Western-styled dress. Indians are almost all engaged in family-scale agriculture, whereas ladinos may or may not be. Indians belong to a generally recognizable physical type, which shows fewer or more traces of Negro and European origins. Ladinos are traditionally of mixed descent with a heavy emphasis upon European traits among the upper class. However the distinction is a matter of culture and class, rather than race.¹

¹The definition of the indian, and his differences from the ladino (or mestizo) has, and continues to be, a point of controversy in Mesoamerican studies (see for example the discussion in Tax 1952: 94-96.). Our fieldworkers have had to grapple with their own communities' sometimes unique definitions, and more detailed discussions of the social, cultural and sometimes racial distinctions made in each place are found in the Community Summaries and Supplementary Papers. For purposes of this introduction, the single criterion of language, as reported in the 1950 Mexican census, is used to delimit the numbers and relative proportions of the two population elements. (However, the language data of the census is probably the least reliable of the different kinds of information considered.) In interpreting its figures we classify as indian anyone who speaks either Tzeltal or Tzotzil and anyone who speaks either of these and Spanish as well (i.e., monolinguals and bilinguals). A ladino we have classified as one who, according to the census, speaks only Spanish. Our knowledge regarding the bias of the census-takers, who were

incl. bilinguals
"ladinos"??

ladinos by and large, leads us to believe that ladinos who were in fact bilingual were classified as Spanish-speaking only. We are also led to believe that in communities where most indians or ladinized indians are bilingual, these were probably also classified as speaking Spanish only, since the local census taker may have been proud to be able to report to the Mexican government that no, or very few, indians lived in his community. Therefore, in this introductory presentation, indians are probably undercounted.

In the entire area of our study there live approximately 235,000 people.² The population density for the region is

²The figures used in the following pages are approximations, rounded to the nearest 1,000, extracted from the 1950 Mexican census (Secretaría de Economía, México. Integración territorial de los estados unidos Mexicanos. Séptimo censo general de población 1950. Dirección general de estadística. México, D.F., 1952.) A series of population tables ordered by zones with town and municipio breakdowns are found in Section 3. These tables are compiled from the 1950 official census, and although the exact figures give the impression of precision, our experience has taught us that they must be used with caution.

about 36 persons to the square mile. Two-thirds of the total, or 157,000, are indians, and one-third, or 78,000, are ladinos. A breakdown of these totals by our geographical zones reveals significant differences between the zones in the proportions of indians to ladinos and population density. This is summarized in Chart I on the following page.

The population of the region as a whole is primarily a rural one, with 157,000 (or two-thirds) living in small settlements of under 1,000 persons throughout the countryside.³ One-third, or 78,000 live in towns over 1,000 in

³See below, next section, "Settlement Patterns" for more detail on settlement.

.3.3 size. In the Plateau Summit Zone, 33,000 live in towns and some 18,000 of these are concentrated in the city of San Cristóbal Las Casas. The rest of the population, 83,000, lives in small villages, hamlets, or ranches. This rural population comprises 72% of the total in Zone 1.

In Zone 2, the Eastern Flank, only 10,000 live in towns, and 33,000, or 77%, live in villages, hamlets, or small finca settlements.

Settlement in Zone 3, the Southwestern Flank, is in contrast with the other zones in that the majority, some 23,000, live in towns. About half of this population is concentrated in the two towns of Villa Las Rosas (Pinola) and Venustiano Carranza (San Bartolomé), each with well over 6,000 people. Only 9,000, or 25%, live in the countryside.

Zone 4, the Northwestern Flank, has a rural population of 32,000 (73%) and a town population of 12,000.

CHART I
APPROXIMATE POPULATION TOTALS, INDIAN-LADINO
PROPORTIONS, AND POPULATION DENSITY, BY ZONES

	Total	No. Ind.	% Ind.	Ladinos	Pop. Sq. Mi.
Zone 1, Plateau Summit	116,000	86,000	74 %	30,000	116
Zone 2, Eastern Flank	43,000	33,000	84 %	8,000	18
Zone 3, Southwestern Flank	32,000	12,000	38 %	20,000	32
Zone 4, Northwestern Flank	44,000	24,000	55 %	20,000	49
REGIONAL TOTALS:	235,000	157,000	67 %	78,000	36

Settlement Patterns

Although the population is predominantly rural (67%) there are no cases of isolated, individual family dwellings or farmsteads such as are found in rural settlement of other parts of the world. No matter how small, the various kinds of small settlements called ranchos, rancherías, parajes, ejidos, fincas, colonias, all have names and are composed of families who identify their residence with these named places. It must be mentioned, however, that most of these rural settlement forms are clusters of dispersed households, rather than a compact arrangement of them, so that a dwelling at the edge of such a community may in fact be relatively isolated spatially from the others.

There are two distinct patterns of community ground plans which correlate with ethnic affiliation. One is the relatively compact grid-plan town, inhabited by ladinos throughout the region. Indians generally live in the hamlet, where dwellings are dispersed in a "haufendorf" pattern and not arranged in straight streets or a grid. The meaning of "hamlet" is extended by our use of the term "hamlet-pattern" of settlement, which includes not only the dispersed arrangement but also the compact or nucleated communities, or portions of them, which do not display the grid-plan. The axis of contrast used here is simply the grid-plan versus the non-grid-plan, and not compactness versus dispersal.⁴

⁴See below, for a description of dwelling types which co-vary with the ground plan types discussed here.

These generalizations regarding ladino and indian settlement must be qualified: there are ladino ranchers or finqueros who live on their land holdings with their ladino employees. Some of the richer of these alternate

residence on the ranch or finca with periods in towns or cities where they also have houses. The ladino ranch house is distinguished by its size and usually by its adobe walls, tile roof and varanda (corredor). Near the ranch house are the smaller houses of the indian or ladino employees. Sometimes a small chapel is part of the ranch complex. The whole ranch settlement conforms to the hamlet pattern.

There are indians who share residence with ladinos in grid-plan towns. In fact, there are few towns that are exclusively occupied by ladinos, and in many cases, ladinos actually form a minority in these towns. However, town settlement is patterned with ladinos living in the central blocks of the grid, those nearest the central plaza, church and town hall. Town-dwelling indians, on the other hand, are seldom found at the center or adjacent to the central plaza. Rather, their residences begin a few blocks away from the center and extend to the peripheries. Generally, the town loses its strict grid plan and takes on the hamlet pattern at its peripheries.

In Zone 1, the Plateau Summit, there are only two predominantly ladino settlements. One is the city of San Cristóbal Las Casas, with over 18,000 inhabitants. It is a city with a grid-plan, a central plaza, and numerous churches giving onto smaller plazas. There are several public parks, two public market buildings located away from the central plaza. Indians and ladinized indians live within some sections of the grid-plan, and many more are found on the town peripheries and these neighborhoods conform to the hamlet pattern (e.g., Barrios San Antonio and Guadalupe). The other ladino town is Teopisca, with 3,600 people, and over half of these ladinos. It is a grid-town with a central plaza utilized for a weekly market place. There is no public market edifice. Indians and ladinized indians are found within the grid-plan, but on the back and side streets, and most live in the hamlet-

.3.6 patterned barrios that surround the town on the hillsides.

The vast majority of indians in this zone live in hamlets. Hamlets are grouped into municipalities (municipios) within which they usually, but not always, share an ethnic identity. Thus Chamula, Tenejapa, Zinacantan, and Huistán are all municipalities, though in fact, Chamula colonies are found within other municipalities. These municipalities are similar to the "vacant town" of Highland Guatemala (Tax, 1937), in that the administrative centers (cabeceras) contain very few people. However, in the Plateau Summit of highland Chiapas, these cabeceras are not vacant. They are occupied temporarily by indians who are serving in community offices, and some cabeceras contain a small, but permanent population of indians. Also, ladino merchants, administrators, school teachers, and store keepers live permanently in them. All cabeceras possess a church, a plaza, a town hall (cabildo). Even where only a few ladino families are found, they line themselves in streets, or along one side of the plaza (e.g., Chamula, Zinacantan). Other cabeceras have a few blocks arranged in a grid-plan. Indians in these cabeceras rarely share the grid sections, but arrange their homes apart in a hamlet pattern (e.g., Tenejapa).

In the Plateau Summit zone, there are three interesting exceptions to the general rule that indians live in hamlets or share a grid town with ladinos. These are the communities of Amatenango, Aguacatenango, and Chanal. All three are completely indian in composition, and yet all three are nucleated grid towns. Apparently, both Amatenango and Aguacatenango have preserved the plans as they were established by the Spanish early in the colonial period under their policy of reducción. However, as these towns have expanded, their peripheries have taken on the hamlet pattern. Historical evidence indicates that Chanal only recently nucleated itself into a grid-plan town. This was

during the agrarian reforms after the Revolution, when the Chanaleros were recipients of ejido lands. However, in contrast to the relatively compact grid pattern of ladino towns, and of Amatenango and Aguacatenango, the blocks of the Chanal grid are larger and the Chanaleros are thereby able to preserve the custom of planting milpa around the house, in the manner of a "rancho" to which they were accustomed (i.e., in the "house-milpa sitio" dwelling type characteristic of the hamlet pattern; see below).

Another exception is provided by the town-dwelling indians of Pantelhó. Ladinos live in Pantelhó, but in the central grid blocks. The Pantelhó indians live in two barrios, which only partially partake of the grid, and extend outwards into the hamlet design. But, all of them live in the cabecera. Within the municipality other indians who do not identify with the administrative and religious center, who are not "Pantelheños", live in scattered rural hamlets or on ladino ranches and fincas.

Granted these four exceptions, the remainder of the settlements of the Plateau Summit conform to the two basic patterns.

In Zone 2, the Eastern Flank, Ocosingo, Altamirano, Chilón and Yajalón are the main ladino towns, laid out in grid plans with indians on their peripheries. The smaller grid towns of Sitalá, Guaquitepec have only a few ladinos living in them, with indians on their edges. Bachajón has a single street of ladino houses and the remainder of the settlement is arranged in the hamlet pattern. The purely indian towns of Sivacá, Tenango and Abasolo, are compact or nucleated communities, but in the hamlet pattern. In the lower lands lying to the east of Ocosingo there are many fincas, all settled in the form of hamlets.

Zone 3, the Southwestern Flank, as pointed out in the

1.3.8

previous section, has a larger proportion of its inhabitants living in towns (73 %) than any of the other zones. Villa Las Rosas and Venustiano Carranza are each grid towns, with ladinos occupying their centers and indians living in the blocks farther removed from their plazas. The indians of each of these towns strongly identify themselves as indian, and form a significant proportion of these towns' composition. About three-fourths of the people of Villa Las Rosas' population of over 6,000 and about half of Venustiano Carranza's 6,000 are indian. In contrast to the other zones where most indians live rurally in hamlets, almost all of the indians of this zone live in these two towns. The other towns of this zone--Nicolas Rufz, Zapotal, and Acala are composed of ladinos and ladinized indians and all conform to the typical grid pattern; so does Chiapilla, which has an indian section. The only large nuclear settlement which does not have a grid-plan is Totolapa. This town of recently ladinized indians is arranged in the "haufendorf" hamlet plan. Unique to this zone is the considerable number of ladinos as well as ladinized indians who live in rural hamlets. These are the small-scale farmers (campesinos) who compose the recently-formed colonias.

The grid towns of Zone 4, the Northwestern Flank, are all of mixed composition; ladinos occupying the central blocks and indians on the peripheries (e.g., Ixtapa, Soyalo, Bochil, Jitotol, Pueblo Nuevo Solistahuacan, Simojovel, and Hecutiupan). The community of San Juan El Bosque contains a few ladinos living on two curving streets on the hillside on which the town is located, but the indians here, forming a majority, arrange themselves according to the hamlet pattern. In this zone are many ladino ranches and colonias of indians and ladinized indians, all conforming to the pattern of hamlets.

The presence or absence of ladino-owned agricultural holdings has many implications which are discussed below in

the Chapters on Land, Economics, and Conclusions. The zonal distribution of these holdings, known as ranchos, fincas or haciendas, varies over our region.⁵ The Eastern

⁵These are the names of the categories from the official census (categorías políticas). Although indians may own land privately, we assume that no, or very few, own enough land to be classified into any of these categories. See Table 3, Section 3, for the zonal and municipio breakdowns of each of these three categories.

Flank has the most with over 400. The Northwestern Flank has somewhat fewer with just over 300. The Southwestern Flank and the Plateau Summit each have around 180.⁶

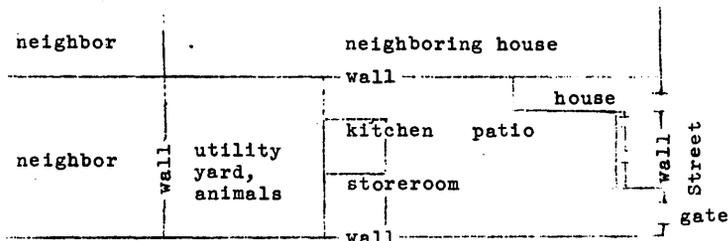
⁶We do not have reliable data on the amounts of land that these holdings embrace. The difference between municipalities or between zones in respect to relative amount of land controlled by ladinos and indians would be interesting to establish if this could be done realistically. It will be apparent from what follows why this was not deemed practicable.

Dwelling Types

Across the region as well as within communities, the ground plans of individual household sitios, or house lots, have significant variation which generally correlates with the social and economic position of the owners.

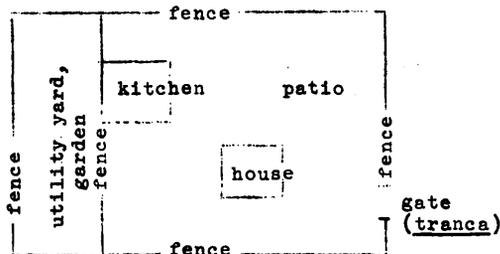
The predominant pattern for town-dwelling ladinos of the higher classes is the "street-sitio". The house abuts directly upon the sidewalk or street. The rooms of the house face upon an inner patio. Sizes of these sitios vary. These sitios are found in the central portions of towns and cities.

Plan of the "street-sitio":



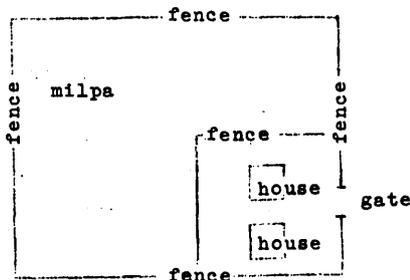
Poorer ladinos and town-dwelling indians are usually found living in "open sitios" further from the town center on side and back streets or paths. The "open sitio" contrasts with the "street-sitio" in that the house is set back from the street or path, and a low fence surrounds the lot, so that one can see into the patio. The open sitio is characteristic of Indians in nucleated settlements such as Pantelhó, Aguacatenango and Amatenango. The "open sitio" can be found in either the grid-plan communities or in nucleated villages of the hamlet pattern such as Sivacá. There are some open places, such as Sivacá and the cabecera of Tenejapa, where open sitios are unfenced. The open sitio usually corresponds to a less compact, more dispersed arrangement of houses. However, in Venustiano Carranza, where space is limited, there is a high degree of compactness.

Plan of the
"open sitio":



The "house-milpa sitio" predominates in the hamlet settlement. The house or houses of the family are clustered in one corner or on the edge of a large sitio which is planted in milpa. These sitios may reach one-half to one hectare in size. Therefore, the households of the hamlet are more widely dispersed. The house-milpa sitio is usually fenced, but not in the parajes of Tenejapa. House-milpa sitios are found in a grid-plan arrangement in Chanal, but this is also rare.

Plan of the "house-milpa sitio":



Further detail regarding the physical description of dwellings will be given in the chapter on the Domestic Group.

Demographic Trends and Settlement Change

At the turn of the century, our region had about 120,000 people. In the past fifty years the population has almost doubled. By zones, the highest rate of increase has been in the Eastern Flank, with 133 %, followed by a 112 % increase in the Northwestern Flank, and a 75 % increase in both the Plateau Summit and the Southwestern Flank.

Even though our region has not undergone as dramatic a population increase as the rest of Mexico, there are certain parts, nevertheless, that have felt the pressure of increasing numbers of people upon the land. We have noted that the region is predominantly rural. Population has increased in the countryside while the towns and cities here have not absorbed the increasing numbers to the degree as has commonly happened in other parts of the world. The most severe population pressure upon the land has been in the Plateau Summit Zone. The extreme example today is the indian municipality of Chamula, which has a population density of 674 persons to the square mile. The Chamulas' position is rendered more acute also because they raise sheep, and overgrazing has caused serious land erosion in their territory (Pozas, 1959; pp. 24-29). This population pressure has resulted in considerable movement of peoples in the highland region of Chiapas during the relatively recent past.

One solution on the part of indians has been the renting of lands in other territories, either in neighboring or nearby municipalities, or, as is most common, in territories in the flank zones. Land renting, even in relatively distant areas, does not necessarily imply permanent residence change, although it may in some cases. The movement of indians, therefore, has usually been in the direction of from higher country to lands at lower elevations. This is because the lands in the lower zones are more favorable for agriculture, and because more land is available there. This general indian movement has occurred in a variety of circumstances at different times. We shall not go into the details of the several social, political, and economic factors responsible, but, briefly, these have been: agricul-

1.3.13

tural wage-labor opportunities, the agrarian decrees of the Revolution, the ejido land-redistribution program, community factionalism and separatist movements, illegal encroachments, and the varying inducements of cash crops. Subsequent sections of this report will discuss the details of some of these.

1.4.

the locations of

9

Indians have not been the only ones to move, and mention must be made of ladino movements, although these have not involved as many people as the indian movements. Since the agrarian reforms brought about by the Revolution there has been a widespread abandonment by ladinos of their ranches and fincas in the Plateau Summit zone. Many of the parajes or hamlets today were formerly finca settlements, to which the presence ~~these locations~~ of abandoned ranch houses attests. The changing periods of prosperity have affected ladinos as well as indians. There are some segments of the ladino population which are more mobile than others, such as the better educated younger generation of the Upper Classes, who move to greater opportunities in the cities.

In later sections of this report, historical data dealing with growth, decline and movement of populations in particular zones and communities will be discussed in greater detail. For reference, Population Change Tables are found in the Appendix.

12

DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES AND BILINGUALISM

1.4.1

For most ladinos of the region, a regional dialect of Spanish is the native language and the only language they know. A few instances are found in the Southwestern Flank and Plateau Summit zones, perhaps also in the North-western Flank zone, where a ladino will be bilingual in Spanish and an indian language. He is most likely to be a person who grew up in a rural setting, such as on an isolated ranch or finca, or is engaged as a trader in the cabecera of an indian municipio. Also, a few ladino itinerant traders in these zones may need to use an indian language as they visit indian households buying and selling goods. However, for these persons who have some knowledge and can make use of an indian language, control of the language, in most cases, is fragmentary and highly limited. In these three zones, with these few ladino bilingual exceptions, the language used between ladinos and indians is Spanish. This does not mean, however, that all or even most indians know Spanish.

For most indians of the region, the indian language, either Tzeltal or Tzotzil¹ (see Map for the distribution

¹Tzeltal and Tzotzil are Mayan languages. See McQuown, 1956, 1964, for a discussion of the genetic relationships of languages in this family. For the observations here on language use, I have relied on McQuown, 1962 (ms) and Hopkins, 1963 (ms).

of these languages) is their native language and the language that is used among themselves in their communities and in their homes. These two languages are closely related, having diverged from a common ancestral language at least 750 years ago (Swadesh, 1961).² Each indian

²See McQuown, 1964: 69-72, for a discussion of the implications for Mayan dispersals on the basis of linguistic evidence, and Vogt, 1964: 391-398, for a summary of the linguistic and archeological evidence for Mayan prehistory.

community possesses a slightly different dialect from all others, but these dialects are mutually intelligible. Mutual intelligibility between speakers of Tzeltal and Tzotzil is more problematical. Between some dialects of each, communication is not easy. However, in the marketing context, there are common conventions which make it relatively easy for a Tzotzil-speaker and a Tzeltal-speaker to understand one another.

The incidence of bilingualism for the region is difficult to assess precisely, but some general remarks on bilingualism and the contexts of language use are instructive. As mentioned above, most ladinos in Zones 1 and 3 (and probably in Zone 4, too) are Spanish monolinguals. In the Eastern Flank, however, practically all the ladinos know Tzeltal, and they are fluent in it. Spanish is their native language and is used among themselves and in the home, but they talk to indians in Tzeltal. Very few indians in this zone can control Spanish, so that this zone is unique in that the indian language is the vehicle for communication between ladinos and indians, and this communication is general: almost everyone can talk to everyone else.

In the Plateau Summit zone, there is considerable variation among indian communities in the incidence of bilingualism. This is an area of predominantly indian population. In general, very few women can control Spanish, while a guess is that between five and twenty-five percent of the men can. A most striking example that departs from

this general estimate is that of Chalchihuitán, where, at best, there are only a half-dozen men who know Spanish. Throughout this zone Spanish is the language used between indians and ladinos (as previously noted, there are very few ladinos who control an indian language); and in contrast with the Eastern Flank zone, this communication is select: not very many ladinos and indians can talk with one another. A special role as "cultural broker" is therefore available to the bilingual indian who mediates certain affairs between the indian community and the ladino world..

In the Southwestern Flank, most of the indians are town-dwellers, sharing the community with ladinos. Among Pinola indians, Tzeltal is the first-learned and everyday language of the home; but most men and many women can control Spanish. Most indian women in San Bartolomé are fluent in the second language, Spanish, but indian men are commonly less so (Salovesh, 1963). For this zone, then, Spanish is the language used between ladinos and indians, and here communication is more general than in the Plateau Summit zone because a majority of indians are able to talk with ladinos.

Recent observations for any community in the Northwest Flank zone are lacking; so little can be said about the language situation there. However, the census data of 1940, presented in German Parra (1950), show a profile of high incidence of indian language monolingualism¹, so

¹The percent of the population which is monolingual in an indian language is reported by German Parra (1950: 48) for the municipios in the Northwestern Flank as follows:

Huitiupan	93 %	Pueblo Nuevo	55 %
El Bosque	85 %	Solistahuacán	
Simojovel	77 %	Ixtapa	52 %
Jitotol	65 %	Bochil	48 %

1.4.4 that it appears that communication between ladinos and indians in this zone is similar to the limited situation that obtains in the Plateau Summit zone.

It would appear, then, that the agents of communication between the two ethnic elements are in the northwestern part of the area, the ladinos who manage thus to protect "their" indians from corrupting external contacts, **whereas** in all other parts of our area, it is the indians (few or many) who fulfill this role. The social and political implications of this fact are very great, as we shall show.

ECONOMICS AND COMMUNICATIONS

Chiapas is an agricultural state which possesses almost no modern industry. It contains one of the rich coffee belts in the most southerly point of the Republic around Tapachula which also produces bananas. The major surplus products of the economy of Chiapas are maize, coffee, sugar, and meat.

There are regions where modern techniques in agriculture are practiced, involving tractors and irrigation pumps. One of these is the land along the banks of the Grijalva River between Chiapa de Corzo and Acala which borders the area we are concerned with. The coffee plantations of the Eastern Flank which were initiated at the beginning of the century when a few German immigrants bought properties, are exploited on scientific lines. Otherwise, there is no modern agriculture nor modern industry within our area with the exception of the great liquor factory at Pujiltic which lies among its irrigated cane fields between Venustiano Carranza and Villa Las Rosas, a modern dairy in the Teopisca-Amatenango valley, and a few modern fruit-farms.

Owing to their warmer climate and richer soil, the lowlands are more productive than the highlands. Yields of maize are higher here and sometimes more than one crop is grown in the year, in contrast to the Plateau Summit where this is rarely possible. In addition, the lucrative cash-crops of the area, coffee, cane and citrus fruits, can only be grown below 5,000 feet.

It follows then that of our four zones only the Northwesterly and Southwesterly (Zones 3 and 4) produce an exportable surplus of maize. The highlands are too poor and too populous to produce any for export while the Easterly Flank (Zone 2) is too poorly connected to do so. In both zones such surplus as is produced is invested into pigs. 3

Coffee, on account of its great value, can economically be exported from the Eastern Flank either by truck during the dry season or by air to the road communications. Coffee also is grown commercially on plantations near Bochil, Simojovel and El Bosque in the North. Elsewhere in the area coffee is found (e.g., Villa Las Rosas in the southerly zone) only on house-sites, mainly for local consumption (Pinola produces a small surplus).

Cane is produced wherever the altitude permits--and this includes some of the low-lying valleys on the fringe of the highlands such as those of Tenejapa or Chenalhó. The modern factory at Pujiltilic, which owns a de facto monopoly of licit liquor production for the state buys a little cane locally, in addition to the produce of its own plantations, and also buys some panela (unrefined sugar). Cane is used by indians for making chicha (beer), which is also made of corn where the altitude does not permit the cultivation of cane. However, it has greater value as a cash crop when cultivated for illicit distilling or for panela.

Other than on the few commercial fruit plantations, fruit is grown on house-sites for sale locally and in the larger towns of the area.

An important non-agricultural resource of the highlands (Zone 1) which is exploited to a considerable degree is the extensive stands of pine forests. A few lumbering firms operate several sawmills which are relatively sophisticated technologically. A great deal of cut lumber is marketed in Tuxtla, and certainly some must be exported from the state.

The meat production of the area is important and is exported as far as the national capital. The problem of communications affect it less than other products since the cattle or pigs are driven on foot as far as road communications. Beef is produced mainly on fincas owned by ladinos

and often on a considerable scale--up to 1000 and 2000 head on the larger fincas on the Eastern Flank. Pigs, however, are a house-site product, raised in small numbers by individual families with the household maize and sold to a local butcher, or to a visiting drover.

Sheep are kept on the Plateau Summit and their wool is used to make the clothing and blankets of "cold country". The meat is rarely eaten by indians, but ladinos eat it as a customary dish at weddings.

The communications of the area center upon the Pan-American Highway which runs from Tuxtla to San Cristóbal and then on to Guatemala, traversing the area in a south-easterly direction (Map 2). All-weather tributaries connect up the towns of the North-westerly Flank as far as Simojovel and, in the highlands, Zinacantan, Chamula, San Andrés, and Chenalhó, and on the South-easterly Flank, Villa Las Rosas and the factory at Pujiltic. A road destined to link up with this branch through Venustiano Carranza has been completed from Chiapa de Corzo as far as Acala. There are a number of dirt roads (brechas) passable only during the dry season, connecting Venustiano Carranza and Chiapilla with the ~~highlands of~~ Pujiltic and with Acala in the lowlands. Chantal is linked up in the same way. Altamirano, Ocosingo, Bachajón, Chilón, and Yajlón are connected from Comitán by a road of this sort which is open for most of five months during the year, though its condition is such that to average six miles in the hour upon it is to make good progress. This is the only route on the Eastern Flank.

Upon these roads and brechas the traffic consists of buses, trucks and the jeeps of the affluent. Automobiles are rarely seen off the paved Pan-American Highway. Vehicles are owned almost exclusively and used mainly by ladinos though indians ride in buses and in trucks which stop to collect them for a small fee ("Bayunqueros"). They do also

Isthmus-Yuc
Railroad

7°30'

3000

17°

3000

Tuxtla
GutiérrezTo Mexico
City

THE I

16°30'

Legend

Principa

Pan Am

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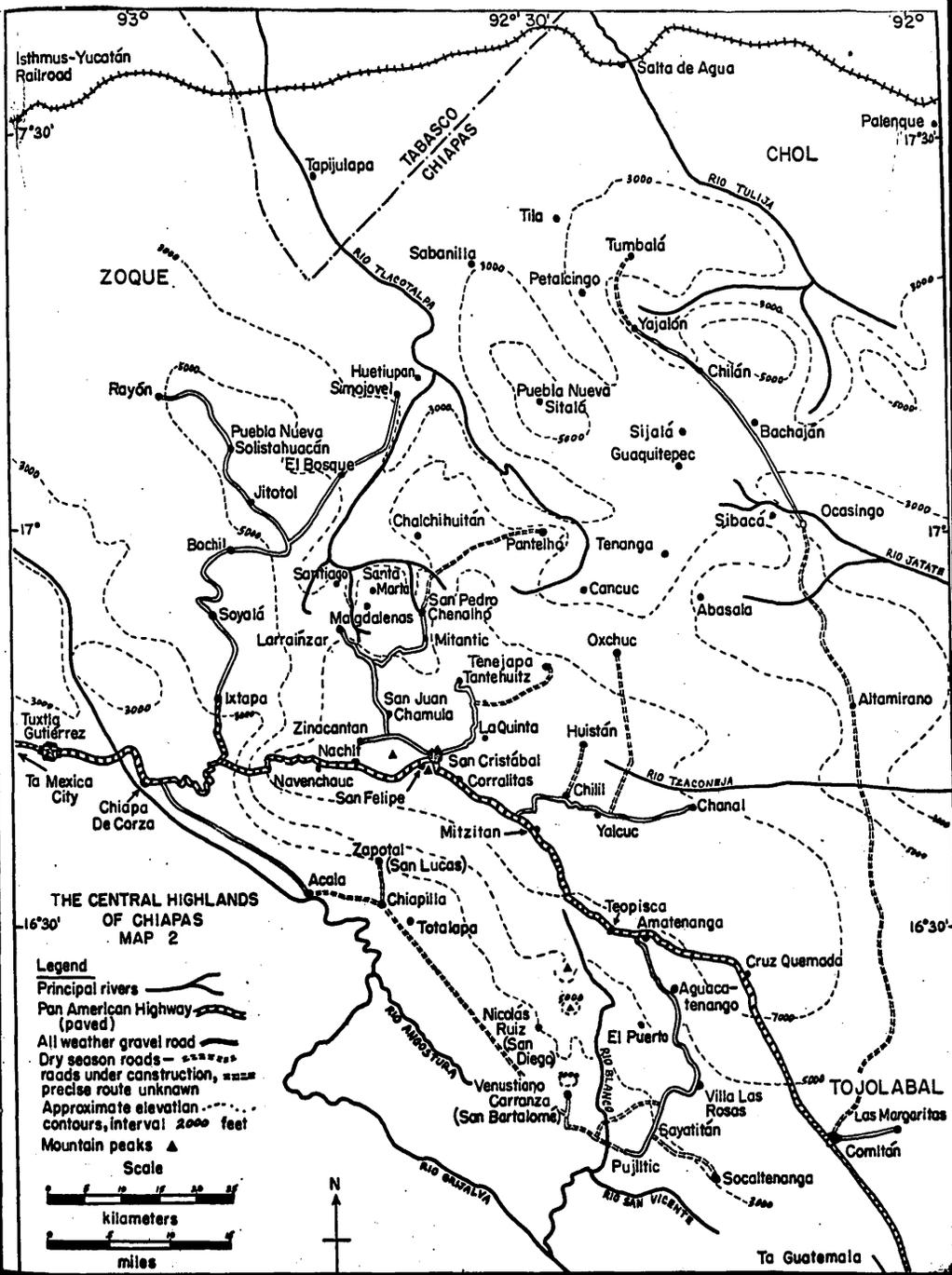
roads u

precise

Approx

contour

Mounta



THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS
OF CHIAPAS
MAP 2

Legend

- Principal rivers ————
- Pan American Highway (paved) ————
- All weather gravel road ————
- Dry season roads ————
- roads under construction, precise route unknown ————
- Approximate elevation contours, interval 2000 feet - - - - -
- Mountain peaks ▲

Scale

0 5 10 20 30
kilometers

0 5 10 20
miles

N

93° 92° 30' 92°

Isthmus-Yucatán Railroad Salta de Agua Palenque 17° 30'

Tapajulapa TABASCO CHIAPAS RIO TUXTLA RIO TUXTLA RIO TUXTLA Tila Tumbalá

ZOQUE Sabaniila Petacingo Yajalón Chilan 5000 3000 2000 1000

Rayón Huetiupan Simojovel Puebla Nueva Solistahuacán 'El Bosque' Jitotal Bachil Chalchihuitan Pantelha Tenanga Sibacá Ocasingo Rio JATATZ 17°

Soyalá Santiago María San Pedro Chenalhó Mitantinc Tenejapa Tantehuitz Oxchuc Abasala Altamirano Tuxtla Gutiérrez Ta Mexico City Chiapa De Corza Navenchauc San Felipe Mitzitan Rio TEACONEJA Chaniil Yalcuc Chanal

16° 30' Zapotal (San Lucas) Acala Chiapilla Totalapa Teopisca Amatenango Cruz Quemada Aguaca-tenango 7000

Nicolas Ruiz (San Diego) Venustiano Carranza (San Bartolomé) El Puerto Villa Las Rosas Sayatitan Socaitenango Pujlitic Rio SAN VICENTE Rio SAN VICENTE TOJOLABAL Las Margaritas Comitán Ta Guatemala

.5.4

on occasions hire a truck collectively to transport them, or to remove their maize from the land they have cultivated in the lowlands. A few cooperatively-owned trucks have been introduced into indian communities by the Instituto Nacional Indigenista, and very recently a private cooperative venture was launched in Venustiano Carranza involving 9 indians and 1 ladino, the chauffeur.

In addition to road transport there is an extensive network of landing strips in Zone 2 which are used by small planes for transporting passengers and goods. There is a daily air-service from Comitán to Ocosingo. Indians very seldom travel by air. In this zone as in other parts of Central America the difficulties of road building and the sparse population have contributed to the fact that the pack animal is giving way not to the wheeled vehicle but to air transport. It is cheaper to fly in such products as barbed wire to the isolated fincas of the Eastern Flank than to transport them there on mule back.

It follows, therefore, that a great many fincas and communities are connected only by natural means. Only the poorest ladinos travel on foot, and to do so is the mark of inferior status. Indians frequently own horses or mules and use them as beasts of burden but they do not always ride them, and most of them avoid doing so where they are likely to meet ladinos in numbers. Much of their freight is carried on the human back with the aid of a tump-line (though the Huastecos are an exception here) and in this manner they are able to travel long distances with weights up to thirty kilograms. Moreover there are regions in the highlands where the nature of the trails makes the beast of burden useless when the rains dissolve the mountain paths into a terraced series of mud pools divided by slippery rocks.

Poor ladinos use the tump-line also in the communities where they share the same economic status with indians.

This is not on the whole the case in the highlands.

Municipal centers are supplied with mail service and in some instances with a telegraph office or with a telephone service. The more educated ladinos sometimes own a radio, and read newspapers, more commonly in the country regions the local broad-sheets rather than the national papers.

It has been observed that the greatest density of population is found precisely in the highlands where the land is least productive and where there are no cash crops. As in other parts of the world, where people have nothing else to export and need cash, they export their labor. A market for this developed with the coffee plantations in the Socunusco area on the Pacific coast to the south around the turn of the century. Every year, large numbers of indians from the land-poor communities of the highlands, are engaged, often in return for the settlement of a debt or for a payment in advance for a fiesta, to go to the fincas to work for a period either during harvest season (October-December) or at other times for weeding and cultivation.

Some go also to work as seasonal labor in the factory at Pujilic, while others go to work for a wage paid in maize in nearby indian communities or to rent land in the valley of the Grijalva. Yet others go down to work in the ladino fincas to the north and east which also employ local indians. Some, again, supplement their meager incomes by craftsmanship, making charcoal or collecting wild flowers for the market in San Cristóbal, or by acting as intermediaries in trade, selling salt from Ixtapa (Zinacantecos) or oranges from Tenejapa (Chamulac) though people in the majority of pueblos take their own produce as far as the market.

Indians rarely become artisans save in the traditional crafts of their pueblo (though Zinacantecos occasionally work as builders in San Cristóbal): making pottery, wooden

chairs, musical instruments, sometimes even cloth for a neighboring pueblo which has no wool, woven palm articles and net bags. These activities reduce the necessity to go out of the region to work and involve them instead in local trade relations.

commonest [?]

The motive for journeying outside the community is pilgrimage and fiestas. (See Chapter on Religion.)

Not all those who come down from the highlands return. Some remain working on fincas in the low country. Some, having thus become accustomed to life there join the ranks of the (ejidatarios or) agrarristas, the landless poor who claim land from the government in the form of ejidos.

The land question will be discussed below in detail. Here we shall note only that since the Conquest the power of disposing legally of land has been in the hands of an upper class, at first, subject to the Spanish Crown which claimed direct ownership of all land and made over the right to exploit it or levy tribute upon those who worked it, to the Spanish monks and encomenderos. Later, the encomienda gave way to the notion of private property in land in the 18th century. In the 19th century the properties of the church and the common lands in large part also, were put on the market and we find an indigenous class of land-owners who held the greater part of the area in large private properties, exploited by a rural laboring class, attached to the land by a system of hereditary debts whose evils were sometimes recognized but which no legislation up to the Revolution succeeded in mitigating.

Beside this system there has existed in the past a concept of communal tenure in which land was owned by a community, and held only in usufruct by its members, as bienes comunales. While, since the revolution, the state has attempted to endow the landless under the Agrarian Program which expropriates private property and on occasions cedes

1.5.7

National land to found communities of land-holders (ejidos), whose rights are inalienable and untransferable.

Thus, the region is largely self-sufficient economically yet self-sufficient at a level which does not imply a very complex standard of living. The imports into the area are mainly luxury products: motorcars, manufactured appliances and personal enhancements for the well-to-do ladinos, musical instruments, household necessities and medicines for all.

The standard of living and the extent of cash transactions will be discussed later. Here we would only point out that there are many who live on a very sparse diet, that while there are few adults who suffer from shortage of food, malnutrition contributes to a high infant mortality rate.

1.6.

THE AGENCIES OF CHANGE

The problem which dominated the Mexican Revolution ideologically was the land question. In the north, under Pancho Villa, and in the center, under Zapata, it developed the characteristics of a social, not merely a political, revolution. Chiapas, further by far from the pulse of Mexican politics and lacking an indigenous revolutionary movement of its own, reacted to the cataclysms of the national scene by translating them into the structure of local allegiances. The revolution meant a change in the structure on which state politics rested, a change of governor, and the opportunity, while trouble nearer home pre-occupied the powers north of the Isthmus, for San Cristóbal to attempt to work off its lasting grudge and snatch back from Tuxtla the state government which it had lost some twenty years earlier. This is not to say that behind the local skirmishing a certain ideological alignment was not evident.

San Cristóbal, the ancient capital, the bishopric, the center of the Highlands and of the land-owning upper-class, some of whose members traced their descent to the founders of the Spanish hegemony, was from the beginning predestined to oppose the revolution and by its attitude towards Tuxtla, to predispose the latter in its favor. Its first move was to promote the pro-clerical indian uprising of the Pajarito and march on the capital. After this had failed and a subsequent attempt under the somewhat inappropriate sponsorship (for a supposedly clerical movement) of the Club "Benito Juárez", had come to nothing, the military spearhead of San Cristóbal, the Brigada Las Casas, was disbanded and the rulers of the highlands awaited on the

defensive the attempts of the Mexican government to impose its authority in favor of the principles of the Revolution. In particular, the Ley de Obreros of 1914 decreeing the annulment of the debts which tied the indian laborer to the fincas under the system known as "baldiaje" represented a threat to the economic interests of the land-owners.

In saying that Chiapas lacked an indigenous revolutionary movement it must not be understood that it lacked all propensity for revolution. The towns of the Grijalva valley were not only nearer to Tuxtla, they possessed a latinized rural proletariat which was able to understand something of the meaning of the Revolution's aims. In addition, the town of Comitán possessed a prosperous commercial element, largely of foreign origin, apart from the finqueros, which was quite out of sympathy with San Cristóbal, while the indians of the surroundings were already more nearly latinized than the traditional indians of the highlands. The result of this situation was a number of risings in favor of the revolution and against the finqueros in the region which stretches along the valley of the great river, our southwestern flank, and up to Comitán. Such things did not happen in the highlands. National troops, that is to say, troops foreign to Chiapas, occupied San Cristóbal for a year, looted some churches and earned the unpopularity of the inhabitants, until in 1916, the standard of rebellion was raised by Alberto Pineda, the son of an old land-owning family, who chose as his headquarters Ocosingo. Rebellion had already broken out south of the Grijalva led by General T. Fernández Ruíz at the head of a guerrilla force known as the "Mapaches" (raccoons).

Thus, the pattern of the Revolution was made clear from the first. Its center was Tuxtla. The lowland pueblos to the west of the highlands were mainly revolutionary;

the highland plateau was anti-revolutionary as to its ladino population and the indians remained indifferent, but it was occupied by government forces, while the eastern flank was largely in rebel hands.

The war ended after four years, when a less revolutionary government took power in Mexico, by a victory for the rebels. Pineda took San Cristóbal and made peace, virtually on his own terms which included the incorporation of himself and his officers into the national army without loss of rank. The agrarian policy of the revolution waited a further decade before exerting itself again in the 1930's.

The Revolution therefore took place only in certain parts of our area in its first phase, and in the later period it became effective through a gradual infiltration rather than a brusque imposition. The pattern of its progress is plotted by the fincas expropriated and the establishment of ejidos which show a concentration in the west and southwest, a moderate progress in the western part of the Plateau Summit and until recently a virtual abstinence in the east (de la Peña, II, p. 331 et seq. 1951). The traditional communal lands of indian pueblos were sometimes taken over by the ejido organization thereby giving the impression from the official data that the land reform had been more effective than was the case.

The reasons for this situation are easily discerned. In the Spanish-speaking communities a landless peasantry readily sided with the Revolution and was able to exert political pressure in order to take advantage of the new laws which accorded them land. But the indians on the whole ignored the issues of national politics and remained indifferent at what appeared to them the internecine strife of the ladinos. Cancuqueros fought both for and against Pineda, but they appear to be the only indians who contri-

buted manpower to the fight. Individual indians provided information to the Pinedistas who were known to them and could speak the indian language, an advantage which the government troops did not enjoy. Bachajón showed its sympathies for the government, inspired perhaps only by its antipathy towards a rebel army living off the land and was rewarded by a visit from Pineda who had the authorities hung in the town center. (Moscoso, 1960)

Subsequently the government has been hampered in the application of the agrarian policy by its respect for municipal freedom and has progressed as best it could without antagonizing local communities. Thus until the last decade there were few ejidos on the eastern flank, only one in the municipality of Ocosingo formed from the communal lands of Sivacá. In the highlands there were many fewer than in the western lowlands.

The conflict between the government's respect for local feeling (to which there are limits) and its attachment to the aims of its agrarian policy results in an ambiguity which, as such, has a function within the structure of this society, for there is a sense in which it can be said that the function of law, here, is to be ambiguous. (See section on Law)

Recent decades have seen other agencies of change. The Catholic Church has been attacked by the government during two main periods: in the initial phase of the Revolution and later, in the 1930's, during the presidency of Calles and of Cárdenas. Since then, though religious organizations remain under certain legal disabilities, these have been modified, and its activities have greatly increased. There is a resident priest in a number of towns of mainly ladino composition, most of the indian pueblos are visited by a priest at certain fiestas, and missions of an order of

lay-sisters, "lasmadrecitas", who give religious instruction, have worked in certain pueblos. The Church has been most active in the Western section of the plateau summit, radiating from San Cristóbal. There has also been a Jesuit Mission in Bachajón for the last three years.

Favored by President Cárdenas who saw in them a weapon against the Catholic Church, Protestant missionaries, led and financed from the United States, have established themselves in the area. Though they have a certain following in Tuxtla, their main effort has been concentrated in the eastern part of our area among indians, and they have attempted to avoid as far as possible coming into conflict with the ladinos. Working from their camp on the edge of the Lacandon jungle, the Summer Institute of Linguistics Field Station, they have made converts in a number of indian communities, Oxchuc, Tenango, Bachajón, Ocosingo, and in many of the new colonies. Their importance in the process of change is considerable, since the converts form a dissident element in the traditional communities. In accordance with their new faith, they must be prepared to sacrifice their prospects within the politico-religious hierarchy and their participation in the fiestas. The importance of alcohol which they must renounce is such according to indian custom that they remain cut off from normal social relations with the remainder of the community. It is not surprising then that friction tends to develop between them and their fellow villagers, and new communities are sometimes formed of Protestants who have been run out of their native pueblo. Protestants are also found among the revestido indians who are unsure of their ethnic affiliation and among the poorer ladinos. The bulk of the ladino population is unsympathetic to them, and is liable to be hostile to the missionaries. The indian population also frequently objects to their presence and there

1.6.6

are some pueblos where they have never been allowed to remain (Chalchihuitán, etc.).

On account of the opposition to them and the fact that they apply themselves to studying the indian languages, anthropologists are easily taken for missionaries, and we found it advisable to dissociate ourselves from them, and have therefore not been able to make a study of a Protestant group, which would have been of the greatest interest.

In addition to the Summer Institute of Linguistics who are Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, there are also Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses to be found in the area.

In recent times a powerful influence has been exerted by the Instituto Nacional Indigenista, a federal institution dedicated to the aim of acculturating the indian (Caso, 1958; Aguirre Beltrán, 1957, pp. 193-9). It was founded in 1948 to replace a previous organization, the department of Indian Affairs whose labors were centered upon vocational training schools for indians. It has had a number of distinguished Mexican anthropologists at its head. The important aspects of its work are to provide medical and technical assistance, but above all to train indians as teachers who will be able to carry out a program of education in the parajes of the highlands.

A more modest organization is the state office of Indian Affairs which has far fewer resources and deals with the relations between indians and the state government and with conflicts in which indians become involved. For reasons which will become evident neither of these institutions is popular with ladinos as a rule.

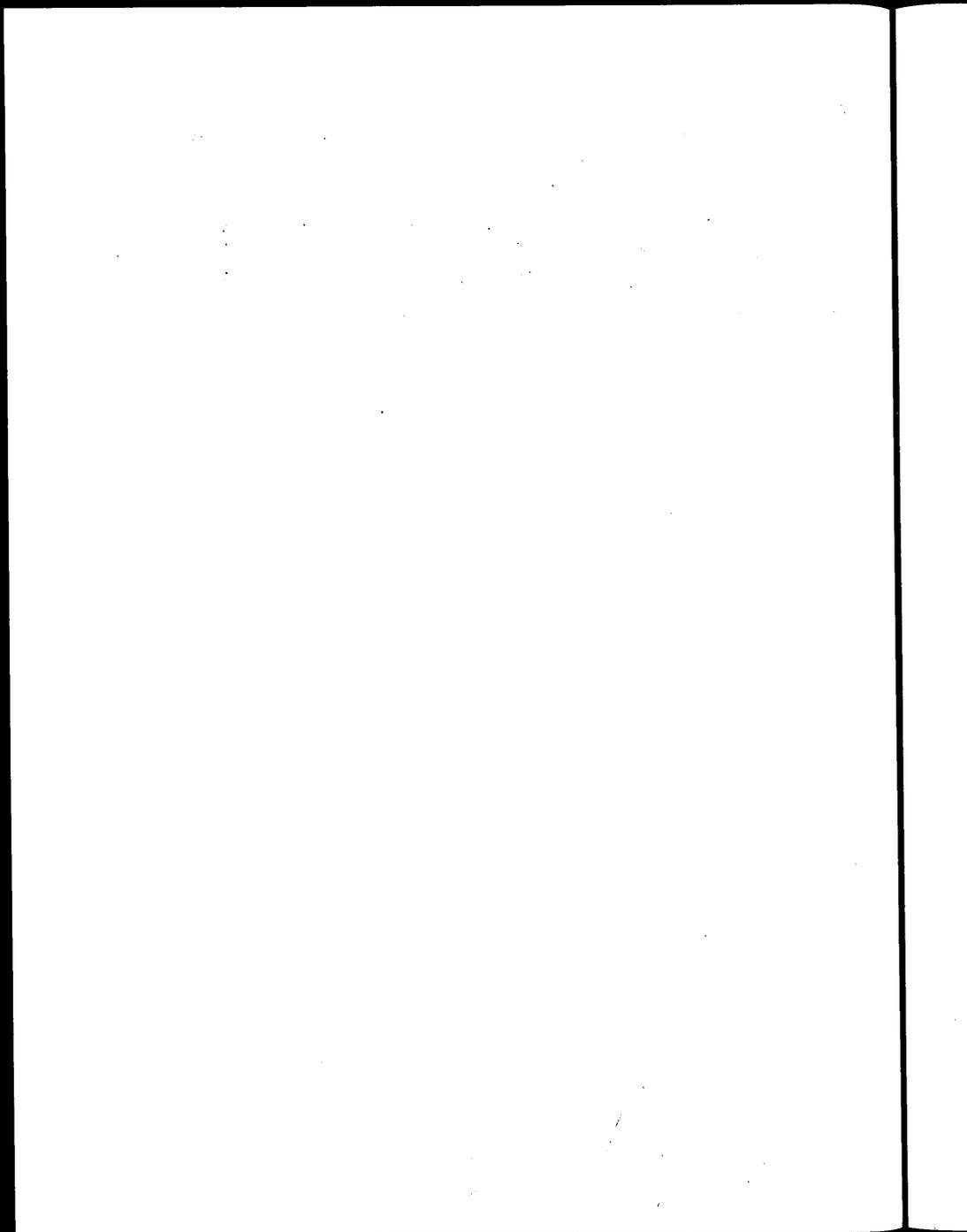
In addition to the organizations which are concerned to change the culture of the indians, there also exists an organization dedicated to raising the cultural standards

of the rural populations of Mexico which has concentrated its forces largely upon the poor ladinos. These are the cultural missions of the Ministry of Education and they consist of a team of teachers of the arts and crafts, simple medical care and hygiene, and agricultural techniques. They consist of a total personnel of ten persons or so who remain in one town for a year or more giving free instruction to those who wish to attend. Their presence is enjoyed by the population while they are there but the activities which they initiate do not often long survive their departure. Cultural Missions have worked in Teopisca, Yajalón, and Ocosingo, and in Huistán.

An organization which has had a profound effect in changing the society of Chiapas in the C.N.E.P. (National Campaign for the Eradication of Malaria), whose agents come round yearly and spray every house with DDT. This has virtually ended the malaria and has also killed off the vermin so that living conditions as well as health are greatly improved. This service is much appreciated and indian villages which brook no interference in their lives by ladinos in other ways soon came to welcome and even demand the attentions of the C.N.E.P. Its activities are the subject of no controversies such as are inspired by the other agencies of change, whose partisans are the opponents of each other--the Church versus the INI, the Catholics versus the Protestants, and the cultural missions devoted to nationalism and the principles of the Institutionalized Revolution against both. The C.C.E.P. creates N no factions and no causes for jealousy, and its agents demand no return for the duties which they loyally perform. It has therefore considerable effect upon the attitude of indians towards the government by demonstrating its disinterested concern for their welfare.

1.6.8

Finally, it must be recognized that ladinos in all their contacts with indians, whether as land-owners, traders, government officials or neighbors, influence the culture of the indians through their interaction with them. Yet the mode of this interaction and the effects which it has vary according to the social structure of the community and the moral tenor of ethnic relations.



SECTION II

THE SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

INDIANS AND LADINOS

In the Introduction we have attempted to give a general picture of the total area, dividing it up into four zones whose characteristics appear to distinguish them, approximately and not without exceptions. Since the degree to which it has proved possible to generalize regarding them was not apparent when the field-work was planned, the field-sites in which we have concentrated our community studies are not evenly distributed throughout. In particular the northwestern flank has been much neglected. It appears to the superficial visitor to be much more nearly ladinized than is the case--which is perhaps not only why, in our choice of field-sites, we neglected it, but also why previous anthropologists working in the area have never chosen to go there. Little is known of the social anthropology of the villages which stretch along the road from Ixtapa to Simojovel and for the information which we have regarding it, we are indebted to the passing observations of our archaeologists and to the survey teams of a social anthropologist and a linguist. The three remaining zones present an ample variety from which to derive our intended generalizations and we shall use the northwestern flank only to check them when we are able to do so.

The fact that we have only one study-in-depth (Tenejapa) performed within the project on the plateau summit is due in the first place to the withdrawal of the field-site in the paraje of Sisfm (Chalchihuitán) which would also have given us information on the northern zone which it borders. Nevertheless, we have been fortunate in being able to consult work available from our previous project, the Harvard Project and previous and present work by other anthropologists, in particular Guiteras, Villa Rojas, Camara, Pozas, Siverts, Holland, Miller, and the Nashes.

We have already given in this Section considerable amount of information with regard to individual pueblos. We have outlined the geographical setting of our field-sites, their demographic and linguistic situation and have given an overall view of the economy and the operation of the external agencies of change which have made themselves felt within the last fifty years. It is convenient to take a brief look at the main features of the social structure of the pueblos with which we shall be chiefly concerned, before dealing in detail with their institutions.

The primordial feature is of course the ethnic division. Let us start with Chiapilla. This small and hitherto isolated municipality lies in a region where the land has been either split up or converted into ejidos. There is no finquero class in the sense in which this is found throughout the remainder of the area. The population is composed of small land-owners and ejidatarios, in large part, of families who moved there during the first phase of the Revolution. They are entirely ladinized, though in many cases their grandfathers were not. They themselves are quite certain of their ethnic identity--only the more so on account of their frequent contacts with indians whom they regard as completely different. There is a small barrio of indians who came there from the Finca San Cayetano, which numbers around two hundred souls, living on one flank of the town, and men from Zinacantan pass through frequently as they go to their milpas in "hot country". At the time of the founding of the ejido of Chiapilla these indians were not yet there and they received land in a subsequent ampliación (extension of an ejido). They intermarry mainly among themselves though there are both men and women of the town who have formed alliance with them. They have economic relations with the ladinos

in that they are sometimes employed by them on the land. In some cases, they have even "bought" ejido land (i.e., the usufruct of it) outside the territories made over to them. The men, though not all the women, speak some Spanish.

The Zinacantecans from the highland have somewhat more contact with the ladinos since they rent lands on the small individual properties and occasionally take posada (lodging) with houses of their owners. The Zinacantecans sometimes bring down Chamulas to work as paid hands upon their rented lands, yet about such matters the ladinos of Chiapilla are quite incurious. They do, however, have recourse like the indians of the barrio, to curers from "El Cerro" up the hill, for the power of indian magic is thought to be great.

We go south to Venustiano Carranza whose old name, San Bartolomé, is still used by the indians (and by the anthropologists). It is the cabecera of a large municipality whose administrative territory contains rich pastoral fincas and includes other smaller communities (Aguacatenango, Soyatitán, Matamoros, Ribera de Chalchí), yet its own inhabitants nearly all live in the town. They are roughly fifty percent ladinos, living in the town center, and fifty percent indians who live in ~~one of~~ the six barrios. They have lived in this way for a great number of years, perhaps since the sixteenth century. They are of different origin, it appears, to the other indians of the area and the Spaniards at one time hazarded the guess that they were really Moors. They have sufficient communal lands and are therefore relatively independent of ladinos for whom however they sometimes work on the land and from whom they sometimes rent lands richer than their own. They have no specialized craftsmen (though the women weave) and on occasions they employ ladino builders and carpenters. There

are poor ladino milpa-cultivators (campesinos) who in some cases live on the edge of the indian barrios and belong to the land organization controlled by indians. The cultural distance which separates them from ladinos is less than in the highlands, yet they dress as indians, have their own religious organization and are very traditional in their outlook. Ladinization is rare. Their conceptual system is quite distinct from the ladinos', yet their activities are interlocked with ladino life in economics, in politics and in the church fiestas. How the two conceptual systems fit together within a common society is examined by Díaz de Salas.

Moving east from here on a dry weather track as far as the cane factory of Pujiltic and thence up the hard road on to a lower terrace of the plateau, we come to Villa Las Rosas (Pinola). Though the town is only slightly smaller than San Bartolomé and the percentage of indians somewhat larger, the ethnic division is different, for in addition to the native indians and ladinos there are elements of the population who have moved in during the past century: the "medio-comitecos" are poor ladinos whose status as such is not fully recognized by the ladinos of the town so that they form a group apart; in addition there is a colony of indians from Huistán, established on the lands of a former finca, El Paraiso, who are in the process of ladinization. Less close to the ladinos in their culture than the Bartoleños, and more distant from them socially, the indians of Pinola have at the same time acculturated in many ways in recent years: their formal religious organization has disappeared, yet unlike San Bartolomé the town retains a separate indian political organization which is subordinate to the ladino municipal government. They have less and poorer land than the Bartoleños. There are both more monolingual indians and more cases of ladinization.

There is also a difference between the ladino population of the two towns. There are many fewer large fincas here and more commercial enterprises--perhaps a recent development due to the construction of the road in 1954. The ladino population was formerly much smaller. Taken all in all, the picture is one of a less stable indian community, poorer and more fraught with anguish, a fact reflected, perhaps, by the great importance given to witchcraft. The indian attitude towards ladinos is less indifferent and more bitter.

Not far further to the north, rising onto the southerly tip to the plateau summit, we find two pueblos which are entirely composed of indians--Amatenango and Aguacatenango. There is no resident ladino population other than the schoolmasters and the ladina wife of an indian (Chanalero) who keeps the INI clinic in the one, while there was once a mission of madrecitas in the other. Hunt's careful comparison in her thesis, of these two pueblos with regard to the domestic group shows that there are in fact considerable differences between them, yet at this point we can speak of them together. They are both highly traditional and wear indian dress though most of them can speak some Spanish. They formerly had greater contact with ladinos since they were frequently employed on fincas, but they have now recovered sufficient land for their subsistence and they go out to work less (Nash, M., MN. III, 22; p. 12). With regard to their culture, it shows certain similarities to the ladinos: they live in grid-plan towns and use ploughs, yet ideologically they are traditional Tzeltales. Their contact with the ladinos is mainly through trade relations of which Amatenango has the more, on account of its pottery industry, yet it is Aguacatenango which shows the greater tendency to acculturation today.

Only two miles up the road from Amatenango, north towards San Cristóbal, lies Teopisca, though their proximity is no indication of similarity. They are poles apart.

Teopisca, studied by Hotchkiss, is a ladino town with a prosperous commercial upper class vying for power with the remainder of the traditional landed upper-class. Fifty percent of the inhabitants are indians though nearly all of these have changed their dress and are largely ladinized; they are apt to deny knowledge of their native Tzotzil. They were finca indians mostly from Huistán who settled there around 1915, some twenty years after the bulk of the native indians had moved to found their own community at San Diego (Nicolas Ruiz today). The few families who still wear indian dress are virtually all bilingual. Though elements of Tzotzil belief and practice persist, the customs and organization of the barrios of the one-time indians are all ladino in form: fiesta and religious comités, not cargos. They control the ejido organization which they share with a few ladino campesinos. The ladinos of the town are proud that their indians are "civilized", and not like the Amatenangueros, and they only refer to their indian origin when they wish to be discourteous.

For the sake of contrast we go to the Eastern Flank, leaving the remainder of the plateau summit until last. The chief town here is Ocosingo, studied by Mann, whose municipality includes all the lands up to the Usumacinta River, the frontier with Guatemala, that is to say, the Lacandon jungle. Ocosingo was founded by the Dominicans who supposedly settled there with some Chol indians in 1564 and built the convent. Their lands extended down the rich valley to the military outpost against the Lacandon indians at El Real. After the dispossession of the Church, these lands were acquired by families from Comitán and San Cristóbal whose descendants today form a large

element of the class of the finqueros. On account of their isolation and the course of the war of Pineda (in which they did not all support the local hero) they have retained until the present a social organization and a way of life which is reminiscent of pre-Revolutionary days. These people live on their fincas most of the time, and have a house in Ocosingo, Comitán or San Cristóbal and sometimes in Mexico City also. On their fincas they command the services of a hamlet of indians attached to the property, who identify themselves by it and recognize no association with other groups. These form the smallest communities which we have studied. They depend upon the finquero for land, protection and for justice in cases of dispute, and they work for him in exchange at a reduced wage.

In the town of Ocosingo itself we find a society of ladinos composed of officials, schoolmasters, owners of smaller fincas nearer to the town who are often merchants as well, artisans and campesinos. The outskirts of the town contain indians in varying stages of ladinization. There is a colony of semi-ladinized converts to Evangelism from Oxchuc who were given land beyond the cemetery some twenty years ago. These form the hard core of the agrarian movement which has a certain following also among the poor ladinos of the town. The indians of Ocosingo are said to have deserted the town about forty years ago under the combined threats of the civil war (the siege of Ocosingo was the fiercest and lengthiest action of the war) and of the Spanish flu which decimated the area.¹ A few families

¹There was a general tendency during this period for indians to evacuate the cabeceras and move into parajes. (See Demography and Settlement.)

are claimed as traditional Ocosingo indians but the dress peculiar to them in ancient times no longer exists. A few of these elderly indians dress in calzones on occasions but the younger ones dress in ladino clothes. Some of the women still wear the blue enagua.

On the fincas surrounding the town there are villages of indians, revestidos yet mainly monolingual, among whom there are men who have come down from the highlands, referred to here as curiques, and also some Bachajontecos.

There are various colonies throughout the area which are composed entirely of indians who have been settled there during the past fifteen years. The only ladino in such communities is the schoolmaster.

The other ladino towns on the eastern flank, Altamirano, Chilón, Yajalón are similar in their general structure though their territory is smaller and possesses fewer and smaller fincas. Yajalón is larger than Ocosingo, and, to judge by appearances, the richest town in the area. Its commercial importance is due to its coffee fincas and its role as a center for air communication.

Apart from the ladino towns, the indian hamlets on the fincas and the indian colonies, there are two communities which deserve special mention. The first, Sivacá, studied by Zabala, is not very different to look at from many colonies of newly established indians, save for the ruins of a church of some size dating from the 17th century and a more recent smaller one which is in actual use. As in the colonies mentioned already, the only ladino to live there is the schoolmaster and, as in many of the previous cases, he is absent much of the time.

The other community is Bachajón, a town center with an ancient church and a small number of ladino inhabitants. Its dispersed settlements, divided into two barrios, cover

a great area and the general characteristics of the population liken it in many ways to the towns of the plateau summit. The Bachajontecos have been increasing in population for a considerable time and have encountered a certain pressure on their lands with the result that they have been extending in recent years not only over the finca area of Ocosingo where they are to be found as laborers, but also into the semi-jungle of the east where they cultivate virgin lands.

Other than those we have already mentioned, the towns of the plateau summit have a fundamentally different character. As has been shown in the Introduction, it is here that the concept of the vacant-centered town comes into its own with its concomitant, the *paraje*. (Tax: 1937).¹

¹A single exception is Pantelhó.

Let us examine some of the social implications of this territorial distribution. To begin with, we must exclude the fincas which are, in any case, of much less importance in this zone both as regards their extension and also their productive value. The land is poorer and they are fewer and smaller than in the eastern flank. In Tenejapa there are still a certain number of fincas with indians living upon them, though in other pueblos they are worked with labor from outside. With regard to the fincas of the highland area, our knowledge is, in any case, limited.

The vacant, or ceremonial, center contains always the church and the cabildo, and its importance lies in the spheres of religion and politics, rather than in daily life, since it is commonly inhabited only by those indians whose religious or political functions oblige them to live there. They do so only for the duration of their year of

office and after that they retire to their parajes. Certain of them, however, for example Zinacantan, have a settlement in the immediate proximity of the town center.

The cabecera is the symbol of the unity of the pueblo and the place in which this unity is expressed. Yet for the purposes of daily life the community is the paraje, the social unit in terms of which the relations of kinship and neighborhood take place and within which everyone is known. Ladinos all live in the cabecera (unless upon a finca) and form a dominant group which controls the exterior political relations, the education and much of the trade--and also the formal Catholic religion. On some occasions ladinos go to the parajes and in certain pueblos, for example Tenejapa, even take posada there in the houses of the indians. Yet generally speaking the ladino is not welcome.

It is on the Plateau Summit that we find kinship playing a more important part, that we find the indian surname as well as the Spanish one (though there are examples of this in the Southwestern zone also), and that the Spanish name group has greatest importance in terms of social organization. It is here that that we are justified in calling the indian culture the most "traditional" and here also that we find the highest percentage of monolinguals and the fewest ladinos.

Since the ladinos are a minority in these pueblos it is to be expected that the relations between the two groups are not the same as in the other zones. Here one finds ladinos related to the indian community as officials, of one sort or another, as finqueros, as commercial middlemen and as artisans. One rarely finds them as campesinos. Therefore the ethnic distinction corresponds also to the differentiation of function since they neither compete nor

join forces with indians in any sphere of activity. Consequently, the social distance as well as the cultural distance between the two is much greater than in the communities in which there is a higher percentage of ladinos.

Taking the individual pueblos of the highlands we can nevertheless discern considerable differences between them. There are, first of all, those surrounding San Cristóbal whose decorative costume is seen daily in its streets: Zinacantan and Chamula, Tenejapa and Huistán. Contact with the ladinos has not made them acculturated nor has knowledge of the ladino world made them depreciate their own customs. The Zinacantecos are among the most traditional indians of the highlands and are also among the most competent at handling their relations with ladinos. They are great traders over all the area as they were before the arrival of the Spaniards who regarded them as far superior to other tribes, as "gente de razón" (reasoning beings). In contrast the Chamulas are not only much the most numerous but also the poorest and most despised of the indians, so that "Chamula" is a term of contempt among other indians, meaning "stupid", "dirty" and "brutish", though in fact they possess more crafts than other indians, are skilled at making musical instruments and chairs, indulge in commerce and show ingenuity in growing vegetables as a cash crop. These may be viewed in fact as the adaptations, born of economic necessity, of a people who overpopulate an eroded territory. Recent colonies of Chamulas are found as far south as Teopisca and as far north as Rincon Chamula where they have reproduced a political-religious hierarchy as in Chamula itself.

The Tenejapanecos, like the Huistecos, put on their oldest clothes to come to San Cristóbal, thereby demonstrating their essential orientation: they have contact with the ladinos in San Cristóbal and in Tenejapa, yet they do

not accept their values. They use the same church for their festivals, yet their understanding of religion is very far from that of the ladinos. They baptize their children rarely, seldom marry in church and bury their dead inside their houses.

Huistán includes a considerable number of modern colonies founded with ejidos upon lands which were formerly fincas and the people of these are frequently revestidos and are acculturated in other ways. Huistán, nevertheless, also includes some very traditional indians.

Unmoved by ladino pressure, these people stick to their customs with a tenacity which can be attributed neither to ignorance of the culture which would enable them to ladinize nor to economic necessity: indian clothes in most cases cost considerably more than ladino clothing and moreover many of them possess ladino clothing which they wear on their visits to "hot country". The significance of indian clothing is, first of all, that it maintains an ethnic similarity between members of the same pueblo, but differentiates them completely from the members of other pueblos. It symbolizes a mental attitude which reflects their social solidarities. In the pueblos to the northeast of the plateau summit, whose access from San Cristóbal is more difficult one finds many fewer bilingual indians and much less knowledge of ladino culture. It is here, also, that one finds land-rights vested in kin groups. It is in the most inaccessible of these pueblos, Chalchihuitán, Larráinzar, and Oxchuc that in recent times images were discovered in caves to which the population resorted on occasion. It is these more distant highland pueblos that have, on occasions within the last thirty years, attempted to rebel and expel the ladinos.

In these pueblos, much more so than in those nearer

San Cristóbal (and in direct contrast to San Bartolomé), it is the men who have contact with ladinos rather than the women, comparatively few of whom go to serve in the houses of ladinos in the cabecera. It is in these same villages where the old people are nearly all monolinguals, that the recent work of the INI has created something of a schism between young and old. A new generation of young men trained as schoolmasters (promotores) has arisen to challenge the authority of the old in certain contexts through their knowledge of the ladinos and how to handle them. These young men acquire a very changed outlook, usually wear ladino clothes and in some cases become contemptuous of traditional custom.

We can see then that the reciprocal behavior which constitutes the day-to-day idiom of ethnic relations in this area vary very widely. We might place on a continuum the attitudes of the ladinos toward indians, ranging from that, already quoted with regard to Teopisca, of pride in the "civilization" of their indians; to the amiable patronage of those of San Bartolomé among whom is found a poor ladino who devotes himself to the defense of their rights as Secretary of the Bienes Comunales; to those old schoolmasters imbued with the ideology of the Revolution who dream of the days when all the poor shall have land and all the indians speak Spanish; to the patronizing benevolence towards their "inditos" of the finqueros, one of whom once pointed out jokingly that: "The indians are much more honest than we are"; to the atajadora of San Cristóbal who unpacks the load of an indian entering town and imposes her price categorically in the hope that he will not have the effrontery to stand up for himself; to that tax-collector of Oxchuc who once spent a night in his cups, inveighing against "los putos indios", and telling stories of their

treacheries and the dangers of living amongst them.

The terminology used in Spanish to define the indian varies both in its connotations and the context in which it is usually encountered. The indians refer to themselves, speaking Spanish, as naturales, that is, persons born in a place, natives. Ladinos refer to them in formal terms as indigenas. The word has something of the ring of a euphemism at times. The word currently used among ladinos is inditos, and the word indio is frankly insulting and, as such, is used between ladinos without any ethnic connotation at all. The people of the Grijalva valley refer to the Zincantecos who come down to rent land from them as los caseritos, but this term is used among the indian pueblos to mean simply a person with whom one takes posada or someone from elsewhere with whom one has friendly relations, regardless of whether he is indian or ladino.

From the point of view of the indians the ethnic distinction looks somewhat different; ladinos are always regarded as totally different from, and potentially hostile to, Indians. They are persons morally beyond the pale, not members of the community and persons against whom the indian has little recourse. The myths and the contrasts which the indian language makes demonstrate this: ladinos are pukuh (evil; e.g., Pinola) who were created from horses' excrement, unlike indians who were made of earth (San Bartolomé), or are contrasted with the bats'ilwink, true men, who are indians (Chenalhó; Guiteras, 1961, p. 23). Nevertheless, the myths also enjoin submission to the ladino who was created to play this role.

However, as has been implied already by the ladinos' view of the indians, the indian's view of the ladinos varies considerably from one pueblo to another; there are different degrees of cooperation or hostility ranging from the pueblos

in which it is common for the indian to invite the ladino to be the godfather of his child and thereby to establish a certain preferential tie with him, or those in which the leaders of the indian community have sufficient understanding of the political structure of the country to appeal over the heads of the local ladinos to authorities or lawyers in Tuxtla, to those in which the indian's attitude to the ladino is one of withdrawal in the form of submission, or even of physical flight. In all of them the indian faces the problem of how to organize his relationship with ladinos and the ability to do so places a certain type of power in the hands of individuals of particular capacity. (See Politics.) Nevertheless, precisely because of his superiority in material matters and in technology the ladino presents to the indian a coveted image.¹ Therefore one is

¹Thus Frank Miller writing of a largely acculturated colonia of Huistán: "The school teacher... is feared and respected because of and in spite of the fact that he is a ladino." (1960, p. 33.)

able to discern ambivalence in the attitude of certain indians to whom ladino culture offers a temptation. Thus, for example, Doña Carmen Solano of San Bartolomé who has brought up her sons to dress in the ladino style and to marry ladinas. Thus also, our transcribing informant from the same town who, while working for us in San Cristóbal, successfully courted and "robbed" the waitress from a nearby café and was bitterly disappointed when he discovered that she was not, as he thought, a ladina but a Chamula revestida. The lady in question made the same disappointing error, impressed by his debonair aspect and flowery Spanish love letters copied from a book. Thus also, also, the catechist of Sivacé who, with his Spanish far from perfect, is yet applying himself to learning Latin.

Thus also, the promotores mentioned already.

The difference in the degree of cooperation or hostility relates of course to the social structure of the community even though it does not fit neatly into zones. To begin with, the finca indians must be placed in a category by themselves since their relations with ladinos are of quite a different order to those of independant indians. In addition, the indian who lives in a town or on its outskirts acquires a different orientati on towards ladinos to those who live in a paraje where ladinos are seldom seen. Whether the town in question contains a class of ladino campesinos or not is important since, in the former case, he is likely to find himself cooperating with them within the ejido organization. Again, if he lives in a community which possesses sufficient land to satisfy his needs in subsistence agriculture, he goes away to work for ladinos less. If he is a man of political power, he inevitably comes into greater contact with ladinos than if he remains living in the wilds. Finally, the opening of further educational possibilities for indians has reduced the cultural distance between the young men and the ladinos and by the same token has created a cultural division between young and old. However, this latter difference is not found among the finca indians of the Eastern zone where, on the contrary, it appears that a closer contact existed formerly between the ladinos in authority and the indians, and where in any case the kind of political power which means contact with ladinos is in the hand of the old; not the young. So that unlike the highland pueblos where only the young commonly speak any Spanish, it is the old who know it here.

The various modes of interaction can be seen to depend upon the factors of proximity and contact, economic relations and political structure whose effects are in any case qualified by the cultural distance between indians and ladinos.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in financial reporting. The second part details the various methods used to collect and analyze data, including surveys, interviews, and focus groups. The third part presents the results of the study, highlighting key findings and trends. The final part concludes with recommendations for future research and practical applications of the findings.

The study was conducted over a period of six months, during which time a large amount of data was collected and analyzed. The results show that there is a significant correlation between the variables studied, and that the findings have important implications for the field. The study also identifies several areas for further research, and provides a framework for future studies.

In conclusion, this study has provided valuable insights into the relationship between the variables under investigation. The findings suggest that there is a strong link between the two variables, and that this relationship can be used to inform decision-making and policy. The study also highlights the need for continued research in this area, and provides a clear path forward for future work.

LAND

A system of rights in land depends upon three main factors: its availability, the means of exploitation and the social unit which exploits it. When the population is too thin on the ground to take advantage of the capacity of the land available, it can scarcely have any value other than such as derives from convenience of location or superior yield. The capacity of the land, again, depends upon the uses to which it is put, and these again imply a certain organization of labor.

The population densities of the different pueblos have already been discussed (1.3.1) and they provide a prime factor to explain the pattern of land rights. The staple crop here is corn and the traditional method of cultivation is that system of slash-and-burn agriculture known as "milpa" which is common to Mexico and Guatemala and which offers the only way to utilize much of the rocky sloping terrain of our area. It is a method which is costly in terms of labor and wasteful in terms of land utilization compared with plough agriculture, but is not inferior to this in yield. The plough is, in fact, particularly associated with the cultivation of wheat which cannot be grown by the milpa system. Wheat bread is a ladino food and a status symbol among ladinos.

Cultivable land is commonly classified as temporal which is dry land, the typical terrain for milpa (and of which pedregal, rocky ground, is a variety), tierra fresca, damp land, and riego, irrigated land.¹ The relative value

¹The official system of classification (see Código Agrario, Ch. IV, art. 76) uses the same categories under the titles temporal, terreno de humedad, and terreno de riego.

The first part of the document is a list of references. The references are listed in a standard format, including the author's name, the title of the work, and the publication details. The references are as follows:

[1] J. K. Knowlton, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 1-10, 1911.
 [2] S. P. Huxley, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 11-20, 1911.
 [3] W. D. Ross, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 21-30, 1911.
 [4] J. K. Knowlton, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 31-40, 1911.
 [5] S. P. Huxley, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 41-50, 1911.
 [6] W. D. Ross, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 51-60, 1911.
 [7] J. K. Knowlton, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 61-70, 1911.
 [8] S. P. Huxley, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 71-80, 1911.
 [9] W. D. Ross, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 81-90, 1911.
 [10] J. K. Knowlton, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 91-100, 1911.

The second part of the document is a list of references. The references are listed in a standard format, including the author's name, the title of the work, and the publication details. The references are as follows:

[11] J. K. Knowlton, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 101-110, 1911.
 [12] S. P. Huxley, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 111-120, 1911.
 [13] W. D. Ross, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 121-130, 1911.
 [14] J. K. Knowlton, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 131-140, 1911.
 [15] S. P. Huxley, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 141-150, 1911.
 [16] W. D. Ross, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 151-160, 1911.
 [17] J. K. Knowlton, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 161-170, 1911.
 [18] S. P. Huxley, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 171-180, 1911.
 [19] W. D. Ross, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 181-190, 1911.
 [20] J. K. Knowlton, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 191-200, 1911.

The third part of the document is a list of references. The references are listed in a standard format, including the author's name, the title of the work, and the publication details. The references are as follows:

[21] J. K. Knowlton, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 201-210, 1911.
 [22] S. P. Huxley, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 211-220, 1911.
 [23] W. D. Ross, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 221-230, 1911.
 [24] J. K. Knowlton, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 231-240, 1911.
 [25] S. P. Huxley, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 241-250, 1911.
 [26] W. D. Ross, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 251-260, 1911.
 [27] J. K. Knowlton, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 261-270, 1911.
 [28] S. P. Huxley, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 271-280, 1911.
 [29] W. D. Ross, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 281-290, 1911.
 [30] J. K. Knowlton, "The structure of the human brain," *Journal of the Royal Society*, vol. 10, pp. 291-300, 1911.

of these varies according to the rainfall of the area and the condition of the soil. The leached soil of Teopisca's irrigated land is unproductive, while that of Amatenango, close by, is exploited intensively and manured and is very fertile.

The plough is used most in the southerly and western half of our area: in the valley of the Grijalva, in Chiapilla, in the valley bottoms of Amatenango and Aguacate-nango, in Teopisca and Huistán. Chamulas sometimes hire their Huisteco neighbors to plough for them (Pozas, 1959). The Huistecos were largely finca indians in former times and Huistán still produces wheat as a cash crop which requires either ploughing or cultivation with the hoe. Further north and to the east the plough becomes a rarity and is used in any case only by ladinos. It seems probable that in the days when Ocosingo was a wheat-producing area (see Gage, 1958) there were more ploughs there than today when they are a rarity. Today Ocosingo imports wheat flour.

The other main utility of land is grazing. Cattle can be put on to the milpa once the crop is harvested and they may also be pastured on milpa returned to fallow. The better land for grazing cattle is found below the 5,000 foot contour and, mainly at lower altitudes to both east and west, the rancheros grow as fodder for their herd a coarse cane-like grass, known as zacate.

The quality of the stock has been greatly improved in recent years by the introduction of Cebú which is well-adapted to local conditions, and of crosses of Frisian and Swiss. Sheep are kept in the highlands, particularly by Chamula, for the sake of their wool and their manure, but their meat is consumed only by ladinos. Over-grazing contributes to the erosion of the soil.

If the land is exploited in milpa, a single family

can find the labor to till no more than a few hectares a year. By taking into account the number of years it will yield in succession and the number it requires to lie fallow before a fresh exploitation, the total land requirement can be worked out: two years in cultivation and then ten years fallow would give a maximum requirement of around twenty hectares per household. As many as five harvests may be taken in succession and the land may be left fallow for as many as twenty years. The proportion of years of harvest and fallow varies according to local conditions. There are parts of our area where two crops may be grown in succession in a single year, but these are confined mainly to the lowlands of the south-west and to certain irrigated lands.

Cattle-ranching, on the other hand, can occupy a very vast area with a small amount of labor. Hence a basic propensity for a type of conflict (common in the literature of anthropology) between those who cultivate for their subsistence and those who raise animals for the market. It is not only a struggle for the possession of the land. The requirements of the cultivators who keep no stock may be inextensive, yet they nevertheless need protection from animals which can invade the milpa and destroy the crop. This is a continual source of conflict between ranchers and indians. Yet conflict also occurs within the community, when the cattle owned by individuals are run in a common herd upon the open range of the community's lands.

Thus, there are, to begin with, two principal conceptions of land utilization which vie with one another and which correspond to different types of social organization and of property rights:

(1) The pastoralist's ranch: permanent individual property of a large area unintensively exploited by a small

number of hired hands, and a small community of indians.

(2) The collective lands of a community, or section of a community, in which the individual household exploits intensively a small area on the basis of usufruct, for a period of one or a few years, abandoning its rights, once the land has earned its fallow. These models, both of which are qualified in various ways by reality, are the ladino cattle ranch and the indian milpa lands. In addition there are also small agricultural properties, held in private ownership and exploited either as milpa or planted in part with cash crops such as coffee or kept as pasture enclosures in the proximity of a town (Potreros).

There are also inalienable small holdings granted in ejidos which are treated much as if they were private property. They may be held by either indians or ladinos according to the ethnic affiliation of the lower class of the area. Where the indian community does not recognize individual property in land, the ejido may function as a communal property in which individuals have only the right of usufruct within the milpa system.

Though many of the cattle ranches of our area have been dispossessed in favor of ejidos by the agrarian law within the last thirty years, there remain, particularly in the Eastern lowlands and especially in the valley of Ocosingo, ranches which run several thousand head of cattle. (Figures of ejidos and private properties are given by La Peña, 1951)

The cattle ranch needs labor for a variety of current and maintenance tasks connected with stock, and its needs are much greater if it includes a coffee plantation. Since its utility is in no way depreciated by being cleared periodically for milpa, the most economical way to obtain workers is by ceding land for subsistence cultivation to those who

will pay for it, not, or not only, in produce or cash but in labor. This is the logic which underlay the system of debt-peonage known as baldiaje. Indeed the value of a property formerly depended in large part upon the number of indians attached to the land and in the period prior to the Revolution advertisements for properties offered for sale often stated this rather than the number of hectares. To obtain labor, the finquero must be able to offer something which is in demand: land for cultivation or protection of some sort, or something which obviates the need for a demand constraint. All these require power of one sort or another: economic, where enclosures have left no alternative land to cultivate--and enclosures were sometimes formerly defended as a means of providing labor for the fincas and also, thereby, of "civilizing the indians"; political where, as in the colonial period, the indians were controlled directly through encomiendas and reducciones; or where legal sanctions were applied in support of the right of the finquero to claim his due in labor (as in the decades preceding the Revolution); or social, where through his influence in the ladino community he is able to guarantee protection against economic want, the marauding stranger and the demanding official.

It is natural to find under these conditions that squatters, seeking to avoid paying for the right to cultivate, should establish themselves upon empty national land or in some uninhabited area whose ownership is not clearly asserted.

The classical system of debt-peonage ended when and where the government succeeded in enforcing the abolition of hereditary debts, yet in areas where the land is scarce, one still finds it rented out in return for the obligation to work for a given number of days at a reduced wage, with or without an additional rent in corn and even to supply as

many as three days of labor for no wage. Increasing pressure upon the land has increased the need to rent, while an increased need for money has augmented the inducement to work for a wage. However it is significant that one finds only indians paying in labor for the right to cultivate and only in the Eastern half of the area. Poor ladinos do not accept such terms, nor do the indians of the southwest. This payment in labor, then, gives a measure of the inability of indians of different zones to defend themselves politically against abuses of what is today the law, and it corresponds both to the physical distance from the state capital and also to the areas in which there is a low proportion of bilingual indians. In the "hot country" to the west to which indians and poor ladinos go down to make milpa, both are charged the same terms as are current in the community. Land is commonly rented there (see Hotchkiss, Stauder, and Stern) at a fixed rent in corn (usually two fanegas per hectare). In addition to those who go down to richer and less populous climes to rent and to provide for their subsistence, there are also those who hire themselves out within the area as agricultural laborers either to ladinos or to other indians of their own or other pueblos. Those of San Bartolomé and Pinola find employment within their own municipality while those of Chamula, San Miguel Mitontic, Tenejapa, etc., go further afield.

The milpa system has certain general characteristics which derive from technological considerations. It requires a minimum of equipment, and there is no task which cannot be carried out by a single man or two at the most. Where, as in Oxchuc (Siverts, personal communication), we find a work group for sowing of up to forty men, the reasons are social, not technological. It is therefore well-suited to the household exploitation. During the long

period of fallow, the requirements of the exploiting household changes as its structure changes. Where the community possesses sufficient land for its need, the factor which limits the extent of cultivation is manpower. There is no advantage in retaining individual rights to land which is no longer utilized. Under such conditions milpa establishes a right in usufruct for the period it remains in use after the initial clearing. When it is abandoned the fencing may, as in Sivacá, be removed and the land reverts to the community. Who knows who will want the land in ten or twenty years time?

Moreover, where land remains in excess of the community's requirements, the motive to defend an unexploited right to it is not strong. Hence the facility with which encroachment has been effected in the past. Yet when, subsequently, the population expands, the result is a land shortage which is seen first of all in the necessity to shorten the period of fallow and which results in time, in loss of fertility and inferior yields.

The traditional forms of land-holdings in indian villages are usually communal. In the smaller communities, for example Sivacá, the land is held by the whole pueblo, and it appears to have been so before the government established it as a ejido in 1937.¹ Sometimes it is held com-

¹Zabala mentions the Probanza de Sivacá which showed the indians as owners of lands of far greater extent than today. (1961b)

munally by the subdivisions of the pueblo: the barrio (e.g. Aguacatenango), the paraje or the indian name-group within a paraje, as in Cancuc or Oxchuc. These divisions may be more or less clearly defined by custom, marked by exact boundaries as in Oxchuc where there is a land shortage, or,

as in San Bartolomé where there is sufficient land, expressed today only as a general area in which the members of a given barrio habitually make their milpa. In any case, where the communal lands of a pueblo are subdivided by custom, the division often remains unrecognized by law.

In addition, there are in most pueblos communal lands which are never subdivided, and these are called monte (scrub or forest) and serve the members of the community to pasture animals, to obtain firewood and to collect materials for housebuilding. All milpa, however, is not communally held. Indians, as well as ladinos, rich and poor, own land and not only land under plough cultivation. These small agricultural properties, called ranchos, are found throughout the area though there are few of them in the poor and mainly monolingual indian municipalities. They are normally owned by ladinos, though we find occasional cases of indians owning them in San Bartolomé, Pinola, Teopisca and Yajalón. They belong to the poor but not impoverished member of the ladino community who works the land himself. Such holdings are frequently found in the proximity of the towns, since they are often owned by townsmen who have an additional occupation as artisan or employee. Much of the coffee of the eastern flank is produced by such properties and in Yajalón these small coffee-producing ranchos are mostly owned by indians.

However, there are other small agricultural properties found in out-of-the-way places which are inhabited by their owners. Moreover, it must be remembered that there is no clean division between large and small properties. In addition to the rancho of ten or twenty hectares there is that of 40, still mainly agricultural, that of 100 which may already deal in livestock and the smaller fincas which employ occasional labor for their cultivations but whose principal interest is in cattle. From the ranks of these

small land holders came many of the men who took political power in the ladino pueblos following the Revolution.

If land has no exchangeable value where it is in excess of the capacities of the community to utilize it, it follows that where it is scarce it should acquire value and that individuals should attempt to maintain their right to it on a more permanent basis than the usufruct of the milpa. Thus in Chamula and Zinacantan all the indian lands are held in private property according to custom even though they are legally ejido. (Pozas, op. cit., p. 117).

Tenejapa presents a particularly interesting example, since the concept of individual property appears to be a recent development there. Tenejapanecos suffer from a shortage of land. There are only two small ejidos on the borders of the municipio, and many go to rent land in the territories of neighboring Cancuc. Within Tenejapa they have evolved a system of private property on lands which are communal by law. Yet, under the proviso that land cannot be alienated to ladinos or to outsiders and can be redeemed if sold by the original owner on return of the sum paid, they "buy", "sell", and "inherit" among themselves. It would be more correct to describe this as a system of pawning.¹ The (indian) municipal authorities measure the

¹This appears to be similar to the system of private property which obtains in Chamula (Pozas, op. cit., p. 112).

land meticulously and make out deeds which are recognized throughout the community, even though they have no validity in law.

The ways in which pressure upon land arises can be attributed, in the first place, to a change in the density of the population upon the lands at its disposal and this can be seen to occur when either the population increases

or the area available decreases through encroachment by ladino ranchers or both of these things. Another factor is the increase in the size of the indians' herds of cattle, horses or sheep which has taken place in recent times in many pueblos. Yet it must also be recognized that the fertility of land is not always constant and erosion can produce the same effect. In fact much of the area is subject to erosion and the example is startling in the instance of Chamula, where excessive grazing by sheep has increased its progress. Even without this factor there is a vicious cycle which pressure on the land produces: over-exploitation, that is to say, an inadequate period of fallow resulting from a shortage of land, produces in its turn a reduction in yield and therefore increases the requirement of the subsistence farmer.

To summarize the different legal rights in land, there is first of all, private property. This implies all the rights of usufruct and disposal normal in Western civilization with the qualification that according to Mexican law, land in excess of a stipulated maximum is liable to confiscation by decree of the President of the Republic, in response to a claim by landless persons who have associated themselves in order to found an ejido or to enlarge one which already exists. The stipulated maximum varies according to the nature of the land, agricultural, pastoral, or mixed, and according to the zone. It has also varied in the past. In addition property can be certified inalienable ("inafectable") as cattle ranches within certain limits.¹ Since

¹Today: pastoral, 700 hectares; agricultural, 50 hectares; mixed, 350 other. Reglamento de inafectabilidad v. Código Agrario, 2. VIII of 9 Oct., 48.

many of the fincas are in excess of the legal maximum their

title is commonly divided up and parts are placed in the names of different members of the family. From this a certain mystery surrounds the legal basis of land-ownership.

The smaller land-holdings often have a legal basis which is far from clear. Formed through divided inheritance, through purchase, through cession by the government of an earlier period, or through occupancy of vacant lands (baldíos),¹ their origins are often obscure. The lack of

¹The law concedes a right to free title to those who have occupied and worked vacant lands for three consecutive years. (Ley de terrenos baldíos, nacionales, 7. Feb., 1951, Ch. III.)

education, if not the illiteracy, of the owners means that they frequently have only a very hazy idea of the nature of their title to their land. A former commissary of the Ejido of Sivacá, for example, produced, as his title to what he believed to be his private property, the publicity sheet of a commercial enterprise which he had guarded preciously for many years, ever since as commissary of the ejido he believed that he had been granted it. In addition the fact that in some cases titles to land have been lost or destroyed, and that there is no effective catastral organization² to which reference can be made, brings in

²The Registro Publico de la Propiedad exists in every pueblo and is used by the Tax-Collector to establish his demands. For this reason many people avoid registering their land with it. Those which we have examined offered no possibility of knowing what extensions the property possessed on the ground.

a further element of doubt.

In the past it has happened that owners have been tricked into handing over their deeds only to have them lost

by a person who masqueraded as their helper, with the result that people are now understandably chary of producing them.

The question has been complicated further by the fact that title to land has sometimes been illicitly acquired, or acquired in a manner regarded as licit at the time but subsequently declared illicit¹ through forced sale, through

¹E.g., the Código Agrario explicitly denounces the legality of all concessions and sales by the Federal Authorities from the 1st Dec. 1876 until 6th Jan. 1915 (Art. 46, 2.b.), a measure inspired by a concern for social justice rather than legal clarification.

the encroachment of other indians, or through the sale of land by persons who were not legally entitled to sell it, being only holders in usufruct or the trustees of a collectivity (both presidents of bienes comunales and commissaries of ejidos are among those reputed to have done this). In other cases land was sometimes bought by an indian as the representative of a collectivity but was registered in his name as individual property with the result that the collective nature of its ownership was subsequently open to dispute.

Land has frequently been occupied without title, while in some areas, the population was formerly so sparse that it was possible for agriculturalists to cultivate or pastoralists to enclose without the legal owner being aware of the fact, while in other instances he has not deemed it worth his while to seek redress. Thus, a gentleman of Ocosingo went away to work in another part of Mexico for ten years and found on his return that his neighbor had enclosed a caballería of land (108 acres) of his finca situated on the outskirts of the town and had subsequently sold it to a third party. He preferred to do nothing about it, since he feared that the legal expenses involved in

recovering it might be more than the land was worth. In addition he did not wish to make enemies. When a man is not too certain of the validity of his title, and the complications are such that few titles are beyond question, he is wise not to go to law, unless he has powerful friends. The helplessness of the law in the face of the ambiguities which surround the question of legal title make this an area where it is still possible to steal land.

There are three forms of collective ownership in our area: First of all there is the private collectivity in which persons band together in order to purchase land and found a community (Mancomunidad). This has occurred in Tenejapa and Oxchuc when Indians who live on a finca buy the land from the finquero in order to form their own community. It has happened sometimes in the recent past when the owner has been in fear of seeing his land expropriated for an ejido. Land from a finca has been given to Indians as a gift in certain cases in the valley of Ocosingo, when the owner has wished to insure the proximity of an Indian community from which he will be able to recruit labor and which otherwise threatened to move away to acquire land elsewhere.

Another form of collective holding is the traditional common land of a pueblo referred to as "bienes comunales". It comes under the authority of an elected president, member of the municipal government, who is responsible for apportioning it in usufruct to the householders, who, in principle, are accepted into the organization only if they have no other land, but who should be eligible to receive it by virtue of their membership of the community.

We even have the case of the pueblo of Aguasatenango which bought land from a neighboring finca in order to extend its common lands. In this case the purchase was made

in the name of an influential member of the pueblo who on account of his superior knowledge of the ladino world habitually serves as a guarantor (fiador) in negotiations between the pueblo and the ladinos.

In addition many pueblos were endowed before the Revolution with territories under the title of Fundo Legal which remained in the gift of the municipality, mainly for the purpose of giving house-sites to new members of the community, but also for distributing cultivable land. All enclosed house-plots are private property and only in Sivacá do we find enclosed house-sites in the center of the pueblo which are occupied only in usufruct and without the right of sale. In this way Sivacá resembles a paraje.

Finally there are the empty lands (baldíos) over which the federal government has jurisdiction when they are of any great extent and which are called Terrenos Nacionales. Their chief importance is as forest and they are protected by the Forestry Officer of the area. However, grazing upon them is a common right and "occupation", (a term whose interpretation is somewhat ambiguous in the context of this type of agriculture) can entitle the occupant to claim them as private property.

Land can also be held collectively as an ejido in which case it depends directly on the Federal Agrarian Office in the state capital. There is a minimum number of twenty persons necessary to form an ejido and a minimum amount of land which they can receive, an amount judged to be necessary in order to maintain a household without hardship. The land is given to the ejidatarios in permanent usufruct, but it is inalienable and indivisible, though it can be transmitted to a male heir with the sanction of the commissary of the ejido. Only persons registered as members of the ejido may receive land from it though its land may be amplified with the addition of a minimum of twenty new

members. They are entitled to retain their ejido land only so long as they work it themselves. This is the legal status of the ejido and the authorities intervene periodically in order to attempt to enforce it. Yet the concept is not so clearly understood by the people themselves with the result that the practice frequently departs from the theory.

In a number of cases the traditional communal lands of indian pueblos have been transformed into ejidos without any change in the traditional custom with regard to its administration.

A somewhat exceptional instance of irregular administration of lands which were legally ejido occurred when the people of Magdalenas and Santa Marta sold part of their land collectively to the people of Larráinzar. In other cases where the ejido is endowed with the land, its members tend to regard their holdings as private property and to rent them or sell them or divide them among their heirs. When ejido land is sold, the official holder of the land remains the ejidatario and the buyer gets no representation in the ejidal organization. His right to the land is recognized to be less secure since, as they put it in Chiapilla, "there are no papers", and for this reason it is likely to fetch a reduced price (Stern).

It must not be thought, however, that the formation of ejidos has no effect on the traditional indian pueblo which formerly held its lands as common lands, for it creates creates the office of comisariado ejidal which often becomes a position of great power, and places the administration of the land under the aegis of the state agrarian department, thereby giving recourse to a powerful political authority in the state capital. Moreover, the blessings of organization into an ejido are not always unmixd. It can happen, as in Teopisca, that the Federal tax collector who receives

the records of the ejido from the federal government uses them to impose more heavily upon the ejidatarios, while the organization is used by the municipality in order to impose supplementary levies of taxes and labor corvées. At the same time, they do not receive the entitled advantages of the ejido credit system (Hotchkiss, 1961).

The factors with which we started our analysis were: the availability of land of a given nature, the methods of utilizing found in this area and the social organization implicit in the different methods. We found, at one extreme, the family milpa exploited in usufruct upon communal lands and at the other extreme, the ladino finquero with his vast herd of cattle and his indian village surrounding the ranch house. Between these two are found smaller individual properties the nature of whose exploitation and the form of whose tenure varies. The control of land we related to the social structure of the area and the political structure of the state.

Where there is a shortage of land we find a tendency among indians to adopt the concept of individual property which modifies the traditional communal patterns of milpa exploitation existing still above all in the pueblos of the eastern highlands. The richer lands at lower altitudes were enclosed by ladinos in the past and the indians' relationship to land was thereby changed. In the modern era the application of the agrarian law, while it increased the land available to indians, has also modified their traditional system of land-holding through the creation of a political control which looks through the ejidal commissary to the agrarian authorities in Tuxtla for its ultimate sanctions. These disparate influences have created ambiguities in the basis of land rights which confront the social system with difficulties in the resolution of conflicts whether or not they reach the notice of the judicial author-

2.2.17

ities. For these difficulties relate not only to ambiguities in the law itself but to the absence of consensus with regard to the law itself, which means that it is constantly put to the shifts of political maneuver. We should distinguish therefore between land rights devolving from the law, that is to say from legal title to land which implies the possibility of invoking legal sanction (right-in-law); land rights devolving from the consensus of the community, which are not used in law but are supported by the sanction of custom (right-in-custom) and finally land-rights which devolve from the personal control of sanctions which annul any of the previous forms of right, placing them in abeyance. (right-in-might).¹

¹It is perhaps stretching the concept of right to speak of right-in-might which might be taken to be the antithesis of law, yet though not validated by either custom or the law, this right is "customary" in the sense that it is recognized as habitually effective by people who base their conduct upon such established expectations. Here we are concerned with ethnographic description and must leave for a future occasion the discussion of the problem posed to jurisprudence by this system of social control.

How, in fact, these operate in detail will be examined in more general terms in the chapters on Politics and Law. Here it remains only to outline the conceptions of the people of our area in regard to land.

We can, I think, distinguish three main attitudes:

(1) That of the traditional indian who regards land as intimately linked to a community through mystical ties, and through the natural features which are the homes of the spirits who determine the success of the agriculture. Agricultural rites are centered in the paraje, rather than the cabecera. "The land belongs to the ancestors", and in Oxchuc this means the ancestors of a particular patriline.

Elsewhere it may mean the ancestors of a larger social group (Sivacá, Chenalhó). The mystical tie remains regardless of the way the land is held or exploited, and it justifies in indian eyes, the community's right to it.

(2) The ladino's attitude to land is different. For him it is a commodity belonging to an individual to whom it is linked by no mystical ties but simply by the fact of possession. Hence it is bought and sold according to the fluctuations of his economic situation. If he does not own it he must acquire it, in order to make his living, by renting or by joining an ejido which "gives" it to him. The ownership of a finca and cattle is a symbol of prestige in the eyes of the upper classes. But whether rich or poor, finquero or ejidatario, the attitude to landed property is essentially the same.

(3) The government's attitude to land: private ownership of land is tolerated up to any extent provided that it is not claimed by the agrarian organization. The small private property is defended. The National Government's duty on which its popularity with much of the population depends is to find land for the landless so that every family may have the usufruct in permanence of sufficient land for its subsistence. The success of the individuals who compose the state government depends on the other hand on not expropriating the lands of powerful persons.

The compromise between these two conflicting pressures accords with the national interest in technical improvement in agriculture. It is, briefly, to expropriate the lands of some old-fashioned and uninfluential finquero from time to time but to respect the holdings of those who are attempting to modernize their fincas. These are, of course, those who have close relations with the state capital and political influence. There are two reasons for this: first of all, the modern-minded finqueros are those who have closer ties with the upper class of the state capi-

tal and of the national capital, in contrast to those who stay all the year round upon their fincas. Secondly, the modernization of a property involves a certain inversion of capital not only in stock but in buildings, plantation, improvement, etc. And in order to make this worthwhile the owner must have security that his property will not be confiscated. Only those who have political influence have this security.

These attitudes are defined in general terms. It cannot be expected that every individual will exemplify one of the three. All indians do not have the "indian attitude" to land. As we shall see there are powerful indians who invest in land like ladinos and, in addition, the general norms of different pueblos vary in this regard. The ladimized indians of Teopisca have "a ladino attitude to land". Indeed it would appear that the attitude to land is something that changes inevitably whenever indians become ladimized, while other of their mental attitudes can remain as they were before. Moreover, this concords with another observation we can make: that in many, by no means all, cases, indian communities which have recently become ladimized are those which have severed themselves from the land of their ancestors, and settled in a new environment.

Finally, in differentiating between the attitude of the ladinos to the land and that of the government, we do not mean to suggest that there are no ladinos who understand and sympathize with the attitude of the government and who would like to see the agrarian law complied with. We have found, not only in Tuxtla, but in the pueblos of our area, persons prominent in agrarian affairs, and others, whose attitude to land is in keeping with that expressed by the agrarian code. Yet it is evident not only from our field-work but from the writings of Mexicans on the subject that the majority do not share this attitude (see Bibliography in Section 3).

THE ECONOMY

Maize and beans are the basis of subsistence for the poor of our area whether indian or ladino, with a little meat, weekly, every two weeks or occasionally, and some dried prawns and fish. According to the pueblo and the altitude, various garden products are cultivated around the house for consumption: chayote, squash, and the small tomato, cabbage, potatoes, peas, broad beans, onions, lettuce, melon, carrots, chile, coffee, unrefined sugar, bananas, avocados, citrus and other fruit. A little lard may be used, though most indians do not use it, and sometimes explain the sicknesses of ladinos as being due to this inadvisable habit (Hermitte). In some pueblos eggs and chicken are eaten, in others they are produced for sale. This depends upon the possibility of marketing. Since a fowl or a dozen eggs is, in the more populous markets, worth more than an indian's daily wage, this is understandable. Eggs are used throughout for curing and chickens are used in ritual. For fiestas both indians and ladinos enjoy foods which are not eaten in the diet of every day: meat is eaten then by those who seldom eat it otherwise; pork, beef or goat (and, in Huistán, lamb), and fowl, particularly turkey, sweet bread and candies or candied fruit. The daily diet of the agricultural family is a monotonous repetition of maize gruel, boiled beans and tortillas supplemented by garden produce, wild herbs, and such small game as may be hunted. The quality of tortillas is a matter of great concern, though the opinion that mill-ground corn is inferior in taste to that ground on a metate is no longer frequent. The diet is not ill-balanced. The richer ladinos have a much more varied diet, including

canned products and nescafe which is regarded as a more "distinguished" beverage than natural coffee, white bread, vegetables imported into the community and a great variety of sweetmeats which are made within the town. At Christmas and for certain festal occasions a great deal of trouble is expended in preparing stuffed turkeys and ducks.

With regard to purchased equipment most indians manage with very little. They build their own houses, make what furniture they require, cook with pots of indian manufacture, made by the women of the house in certain communities, and in others purchased, weave their own articles of platted palm, make their own clothes, often of home-woven cloth, and twine their own rope. There is a certain interchange of goods between indian villages of the area but the only essential manufactured goods possessed by every household are the steel tools necessary in agriculture. The metates (corn grinders) are made in Chamula. Many, however, spend money on cloth for clothing, pharmaceutical products and certain utensils and manufactured articles such as detergents, and ribbons and personal adornments. In any case, the cash expenditures on household necessities are likely to be dwarfed by the outlay on fiestas. The expenditure on alcohol and rockets are very considerable both among indians and ladinos. Comparative data on standards of living will be included in Section 3.

The capital involved in exploiting a milpa, if we do not consider the value of the land, is negligible. A machete, an axe, a digging-stick which may be hardened by fire rather than armed with a steel tip, a hoe, a kind of billhook called "luk" and a net bag are all the cultivator requires. The barrier around the milpa, if one is placed, is made of the wood and branches of the thorn cut in clearing it, which may be bound together with strips of

bark called bejuco. Barbed wire is used by finqueros often and sometimes by indians where permanent fencing is required. The cost of agricultural production is almost entirely in the labor. The ash from burning the milpa is the only fertilization which the land receives in most places. No artificial fertilizers are used and natural manure is used sparingly in Larráinzar and in Chamula where it is collected by hand. Human excreta are used in Oxchuc. In Amatenango and in Aguacatenango the cattle are pastured on the irrigated plots, and in Chamula sheep are penned, in order to improve the land. Granaries are sometimes built in the milpa (trojes), but grain is often stored inside the house, or in the form of ears, in the attic (tapanco). The corn-husking is done by hand, by flailing in a net, or, in the Grijalva valley, upon a net or a pierced hide suspended above the ground. Some fincas have mechanical corn-shellors. A cement drying-floor is commonly found on fincas which have a coffee plantation and where cane is produced it is pressed by a simple wooden press powered by one or more animals, trapiche. Where wheat is grown there are threshing floors of mud on which animals are used. There are flour mills within the town of San Cristóbal and one in Teopisca. In all the larger towns the mechanical mill is replacing the metate.

Maize, and beans which may be planted either in the milpa to grow up the stalks of the dried maize or in separate plots, are also cash crops whenever a surplus has been produced. Rent is commonly paid in maize, and labor is also often paid in the same way. Wheat is grown chiefly in the southern end of the Plateau Summit (in Huistán, Teopisca, Amatenango, and Aguacatenango), but also in Chamula, Chenalhó, and Larráinzar, and it is always a cash-crop since it does not compete with maize as a staple but is sold to make sweet bread. Indians buy sweetbread for

fiestas but unsweetened white bread is eaten as a staple in place of tortillas only by the upper classes of San Cristóbal. It is not eaten in this way by those who grow the wheat.

Each of the highland pueblos cultivates certain cash-crops; broad beans and peas, particularly in Chamula, and also potatoes, carrots and tomatoes. Peanuts and oranges are important cash products in Tenejapa, chile in Pinola, tomatillo in Chiapilla. Cane is grown in the lower-lying lands of the periphery of the Plateau Summit and in the lowlands, and it provides, other than the cane-beer (chicha) drunk at fiestas, unrefined sugar for consumption and sale and above all the illicitly-distilled liquor which is sold, lucratively but dangerously, throughout the area. Again, it is the Chamulas who play a leading part in its distribution. Bananas and citrus fruits have considerable economic importance and once more the highlands are supplied from the lowlands, as is the case with coffee, cocoa and avocado pear.

The Plateau Summit where the land is, generally speaking, poorer is mostly exploited directly¹ and rented

¹There is a considerable variation in the quality of land in the highlands relating both to the depth of soil and also to the condition. The richest part is supposed to be Huistán which was formerly held largely in fincas and today is mainly ejido.

lands are found around the flanks to which the indians (and poor ladinos) of the highlands go in search of additional territory to cultivate. These lowland lands are also richer so that the highlanders usually do better out of their rented lands even after paying the rent and the cost of transport than out of their own impoverished soil.

Moreover, the risk of failure of a crop in one place is offset by cultivating in several different places.

There is considerable variation both in cost of exploitation and also in yields (as the economic reports of the Chicago project and other published data show), not only from pueblo to pueblo but within a single pueblo. These relate both to the quality of the land and its condition but also to the hazards of a particular season. The amount of weeding varies very greatly, for the sound husbandry which is preoccupied with keeping the land free of weeds cannot be used here where the land lies fallow for long periods. Cleared forest land with top cover requires much less weeding than that which is scrub on account of under-brush. Since the main crop is always maize there is little opportunity for rotation, though corn and wheat are rotated on the irrigated lands of Amatenango and Aguacatenango.

The techniques for making milpa are highly standardized and the success of the cultivator relates to the quality of the land, the amount he undertakes to exploit, the availability of labor in the weeding season, and the freedom from misfortunes: rain at the wrong time, animal pests and the damage of marauding cattle. It should be noted, however, that these, even the climatic variations, are extremely local. They threaten individuals rather than the inhabitants of the whole area.

The interchange of produce and goods takes place in various ways and through various agencies. Since each domestic group in an Indian community indulges in much the same activities, there is little economic division of labor within the community. There is, however, a continual interchange of products through borrowing or petty cash sales between households. The elaborate pattern of

gift-giving as a part of essentially economic transactions, described by Guiteras (op. cit.), is not common to all indians of the area, and particularly in the south we find a more strictly commercial attitude, more similar to that of the ladinos. In San Bartolomé, other than to kin and immediate neighbors, tools are rented rather than lent. The supplicatory gift as an element in economic transactions like the elaborate bride-price payments is a feature of the traditional highland indian community.

Until houses start to be built of adobe with tiled roofs and carpentered doors, rather than wattle-and-daub, thatch and the tranca (barricade), no professional help is required and there are, therefore, few craft specialists in the poorer areas of the Plateau Summit. On the other hand, it is precisely here that household manufacturers provide a means of supplementing an inadequate income from farming. There is considerable interchange between areas of different elevation, and this involves mainly exchange between the agricultural and artisanal produce of different pueblos, and exchange between indians and ladinos.

San Cristóbal and Pinola have a daily market to which individual producers bring their wares from the surrounding villages. They take advantage of the occasion to make their purchases from the ladino shops. Small-scale indian traders also bring their goods to the market. The housewives buy direct from the market but there are also professional stall-keepers who handle the greater bulk of the goods in San Cristóbal. In the smaller markets the interchange takes place more directly in the sense that there are fewer professional stall-keepers. However, it is characteristic of the whole of this society that anybody may buy and sell. The difference between indians and ladinos in this regard is seen in the nature of the objects and the scale of the commercial enterprise. Teopisca, Larráinzar,

Chamula, and Chenalhó have weekly markets. In addition, markets take place at certain fiestas which are always accompanied by an array of booths set up by professional traders. All the markets deal in much the same articles and there are no specialized markets in our area. (There is an annual horse-fair in Comitán.)

There is also a great deal of door-to-door trading and hawking. In the ladino towns trade is plied through the small shops which abound. An architectural form common in San Cristóbal allows for a shop on the bevelled street-corner and, where this does not exist, a house is easily converted into a shop by the simple arrangement of a stall just inside the front door. These household shop-keepers buy from indians from the country and also sell anything the house-site itself may produce. In the instance of Ocosingo which has considerable importance as the economic center of the Eastern Flank, there is no market and all the interchange of goods is made through such shops and through hawking from door to door. A market was once founded by an enterprising municipal president but people refused to utilize it (there was a small charge placed on the right to sell there), and continued buying and selling as before.

A significant figure in the system of the interchange of goods is that of the atajadora, an intermediary who makes her living by waiting for indians on the outskirts of the town, buying from them and then reselling in the market or in her shop. The trade in the markets deals in very small quantities, since people buy their supplies from day to day. Therefore, there seems little economic reason for the existence of these intermediaries, since the indians are going to market in any case and are likely to spend all day in the town. However, the business of fractioning demands a certain skill or at least exper-

ience of the market. The rough manner in which these ladies treat their indian suppliers reflects the somewhat imperious way in which ladinos habitually treat indians¹

¹For a lurid portrait of the atajadora, see Castellanos, Rosario, Ciudad Real, the story entitled "Modesta Gomez".

based on the shyness of the indian on the one hand and on the belief common to all ladinos that the indian is a simpleton who does not know how to trade. This belief has something of the quality of a "self-fulfilling prophecy" for it makes it much more difficult for the indian to indulge in commercial relations with ladinos on any but the most elementary level, since on the one hand it invites sharp practice with respect to him and on the other he possesses little recourse, save through the Office of Indian Affairs, in cases where he is cheated. With certain exceptions, therefore, the middlemen between the indian and ladino communities are ladinos. On the eastern side of San Cristóbal a barrio has grown up in the present century formed largely of indians who settled there from Tenejapa and Huistán to buy the produce coming in from these villages for re-sale. However, in the following generation these families have become ladinos and treat the indians with as much guile and effrontery as their predecessors. The indian villages which have the greatest number of what might be called professional traders rather than occasional hawkers are Zinacantan and Chamula whose representatives circulate around the area of San Cristóbal and specialize in certain local products, such as the salt of Ixtapa (Zinacantecos) and the oranges of Tenejapa (Chamulas). Nevertheless they also make milpa for their subsistence.

The pig-dealers of the area are all ladinos of Cuxtitali, a barrio of San Cristóbal, who circulate as far as

the jungle to the east buying pigs and hawking cloth and trinkets. The commerce of corn and coffee as well as manufactured products is all controlled entirely by ladinos.

There is, in fact, a great difference between the commercially-sophisticated indians who live in frequent contact with ladino centers of trade and the indians of the highland parajes, or the eastern lowland colonias or fincas. But this is not only a matter of intellect and experience, but of the local social structure. Thus, to return to the example of Ocosingo, the market failed because many finca owners of the region have houses in Ocosingo to which the indians who stand in clientship bring their produce. A credit system of chits is operated by these people for their indians. Almost all the well-to-do keep stores, even the "cream" of society, and the market was in effect a threat to their power as patrons. It also meant that the ladina housewife is at a disadvantage if she must buy from the indian in the market where she can much less easily take advantage of him. A free economy is no friend to the kind of monopolization of trade relations which the ladinos of the eastern zone possess. The attempt to build a market in Pinola is rather a different case. The market existed already and the people refused to move into the new building. Just as indians in the south do not accept different wages from ladinos, so the indians of the southern zone do not allow themselves to be made the victims of the atajadoras. They understand enough about ladino culture to be able to defend themselves.

The economic advantage of uniting a large labor force in agriculture is negligible as has been stated, since a man does by himself half the work of two men in the majority of agricultural tasks. There is a disadvantage in being alone when building a fence, and in fact there is a

tendency to form groups at the time of seeding, but there are no tasks where it is essential to be numerous. Men work together because it is more congenial and more convenient, not because it is technically necessary. The indian household is a self-sufficient economic unit both as regards production and consumption. Only in building a house is it necessary to find a more numerous body of labor, and this is the one task where there exists in the traditional pueblos an obligation for kin to assist.

Within such a way of life there are few occasions which require economic cooperation outside the domestic group and fewer still outside the kin-group. Exchanges of labor are on a quid-pro-quo basis, inspired by the necessity of increased manpower at a particular moment, a borrowing of labor which can be paid back later. The houses are built as an economic undertaking with the assistance of an employed ladino mason. Equally, they here form economic cooperatives, grupitos, for the purpose of marketing corn and on occasions for agricultural work. In many pueblos it is possible to employ paid hands, pagados. The marginal benefit deriving from such increased labor appears to be not very great where the land is poor and in the highlands additional workers are employed, not in the spirit of capitalist enterprise, but rather to supplement the manpower necessary to meet the subsistence requirement of corn, or supply a surplus for a particular need. Men who have adequate land employ their land-poor neighbors and often pay them in corn rather than in cash (Guiteras, op. cit., p. 48).

A more capitalist form of enterprise is found among the poor ladino and ladinized indian agriculturalists of Teopisca (Hotchkiss: Campesino agriculture) where a man who has sufficient cash in hand to provide himself with additional workers may invest the money in extending his

area of cultivation and realize a profit in cash. This is done in the instance cited by going down to rent land in the lowlands. In San Bartolomé where the lands are communal property and are more than adequate and very productive, the custom of paid labor is fully accepted and one may wonder why the possibility of investing money in additional labor to produce a greater cash crop is not utilized more by the wealthier indians. The allotment of communal land is limited by custom, but wealthier indians also rent land from ladinos to exploit with paid labor. Where an attitude or rational calculation in order to achieve economic predominance runs counter to the norms of the community, social considerations tend to outweigh the advantages of gain. In accordance with the goals of the indian community surplus money is important in order to acquire prestige through the system of cargos. If in order to gain the money a man violates the values of the community and behaves like a ladino, then the object of acquiring it is forfeited. In addition, the sanction of witchcraft may threaten the man who builds up his economic position by imitating the economic activities of ladinos. The economic importance of the sanctions deriving from witchcraft will be examined later.

In order to further the economic advantage of the indian community, the INI has introduced a number of cooperative stores which have encountered difficulties owing to the failure of the indians to understand the intentions of the cooperative.

As will be seen in the chapter on kinship, the domestic group is the social basis of economic life. The solidarity of the name-group expresses itself as an obligation to assist in time of need, and in certain cases as a landholding unit. The village is the social group of most

importance, the community par excellence. The modes of its collective action are in the hands of the authorities and principales. When money is required to be raised for some communal project it is levied on the basis of equal contributions from each household. This contrasts with the ladino methods of taxation and also of voluntary fund-raising; the method of the "lista", in which the contributions are collected and the amounts donated made public. The ladino community admits economic inequality as a principle--it could scarcely fail to do so. The indian community does not, even though in fact some economic inequality exists. This difference is illustrated in the customs which relate to the distribution of meat: an indian who wishes to kill an animal for a fiesta or merely for consumption recruits participants among his kin and neighbors and when the requisite number have been found, the animal is butchered and each in exchange for a fixed sum receives an identical portion of each part of the animal.¹ The hide goes to the butcher. Indians do not

¹This custom is practiced in Chiapilla at the festivals of All Saints' and at the washing of the Holy Linen before Easter.

launch out into the enterprise of commercial butchering, though they accept that ladinos should do so within the indian village. In this case, a ladino comes to the village, purchases an animal, butchers it, and puts the meat on sale in the normal ladino manner.

Throughout our area (and this is general in Mexico) there is a clear notion of cash values. Everything has a price, and is potentially for sale, so that it is not regarded as discourteous to inquire regarding the cost of personal possessions. The anthropologist more often than

the informant is embarrassed by the economic curiosity of the other. Yet gifts play an important part in the life of both indians and ladinos. Gifts are made in the indian community as a form of supplication for a favor: to the parents at the pedida, that is, when asking for the hand of a girl in marriage; to an artisan on making a request for his services (Guiteras, op. cit.); to a curer; to any potential lender accompanying the request to borrow. When placing a quarrel before the authorities a gift of liquor is presented by both plaintiff and defendant, as a request for justice. The gift carries with it an implicit contract and therefore if the favor is not granted, then the gift is either refused or returned later, though this is not the case with the gifts which precede the payment of the bocado, the bride-price, nor obviously is the liquor returned to the unsuccessful litigant.

Gift-giving in the ladino community is somewhat different. Normally the cession of goods or services is for cash even within the family, yet gifts are made within the compadrazgo, and upon festive occasions food is sent to relatives and friends unable to attend. The notion of individual hospitality plays a much more important part in personal relations than among indians. Gifts are not normally offered with a request for a favor, but in return for one, a concept which easily slides over into the "mordida" which will be discussed in the chapter on Politics. The bank manager of San Cristóbal formerly received numerous gifts from his clients who resented being asked to pay bank charges and interest.

In order to understand the economic mentality of the inhabitants of our area it is necessary to examine their attitude towards calculation. To begin with, there is a great deal of variation in the systems of measurement

used from one village to another, as well as the difference between local systems and that of the government. One village measures land by tablones, a measure which is calculated as 25 by 100 brazadas--a brazada is the armspan of a man--another by the number of ears of corn sown on it. According to indian tradition, yields are measured in zontles, that is to say, units of 400 ears. The damaged or incomplete ears are fed to the pigs because they cannot be counted in the zontle sold for cash. But while the indians of the east measure in zontles the indians of San Bartolomé sell their grain stripped off the cob in measures of volume, like the ladinos. Grain is measured by fanegas and almudes, which are used to measure both grain for consumption and also grain for sowing and therefore the area sown, but the size of the almud varies (Stern: "Buying maize"). The government organization, however, buys by weight, according to the metric system. The weight of different varieties of corn varies and in any case ears of corn vary in size. In addition, where measures of volume are employed, the instruments of measurement vary to a certain extent and the smallest measure, the porcelana is simply a porcelain bowl of an approximate size which varies within a margin of ten percent. The notion of precise measurement is somewhat foreign to the indian community. But the significance of this is that such ambiguities make it much more difficult to establish a market price for the whole area. This is not to say, however, that people are unconcerned or oblivious toward measurements. In the markets and stores of San Cristóbal many items, no matter how small their quantity, are sold by weight (e.g., meat, ground coffee, rice, sugar, rope, nails) and measured out on scales. In the process of haggling between the seller and the buyer, whether indian or ladino, considerable attention is given to the weight and accuracy of the scales. Periodic inspections are made

by government authorities of storekeepers' scales, and investigations are made regarding consumers' complaints about adulterating certain products (e.g., coffee adulterated by maize that is ground and roasted, or rotten meat). Nevertheless, ladinos habitually cheat indians by giving them short measure, a fact of which the latter are well aware.

There are advantages in measuring land by the amount of seed sown in the sense that variations in quality, in slope and the presence of rocks make a purely areal measurement less useful than the estimate of the seed which can be sown on it. Also, daily transactions are constantly carried out in small quantities and the margins of uncertainty are used to advantage by the dealers and merchants. However, the notion of standard prices applies only in a limited field and the majority of transactions of food-stuffs and local produce are conducted as bargains. Fixed rates are accepted for certain operations, particularly wages, but when these are fixed in corn no account is taken of the current price of corn.

This is not an economy which operates with narrow margins. The risks are various and unpredictable. If he can, a man sows what he hopes will bring him in his year's supply of corn. If he finds himself with a surplus it is likely to be devoted to fiestas. If with a deficit, he takes action when the time comes. This is not to say there is no provision for the future; the obligations of political and religious office (cargos) require an expenditure in one year which represents the income of several years and men plan in order to accumulate at least a part of what they will require in advance. Borrowing is continual and is sanctioned by custom. The idea of overdrawing against the future in order to fulfill obligations in the present is entirely accepted and is necessary for

the working of the system of cargos. Repayment, if it cannot be made in cash, can be made in labor. In the same way crops are often sold in advance and delivered when harvest time comes. For the lender, to advance money is a way of ensuring labor or corn in the future, and as such it is used by the corn-dealers and finqueros today and it was, in the past, a concept essential to the system of baldaaje and was also used by the enganchadores, the labor contractors who gained their ends by advances of liquor and cash. Thus the conceptual basis upon which these two methods of exploiting the indians ^{rested} is provided by fundamental values of the indian community and in particular in the necessity of the cargo system. Credit is all important in this society but as an overdraft against the future, not as investment credit. The legitimate and either for the accumulation of wealth or the contraction of debt is the fulfillment of ritual and familial obligations. The concept of investment is limited to the richer and more educated ladinos who in this way are divided from both indians and to a large extent from poor ladinos, too. There is, however, a clear distinction between indian and ladino values in one regard: indians never charge interest on a loan, but consider it rather as a social obligation and a security against the time when they will require to be paid back in order to fulfill a ritual duty themselves. Moreover, the social sanctions on the conduct of the individual are much stronger in the indian community and the risk involved is consequently diminished.

The concept of lending at interest is well-developed among ladinos and rates of up to 20 percent per month are found (and even higher for shorter term loans) (See Hermitte, 1962). Not that ladinos do not also lend to their friends and family without interest (Mann), but they do so as a personal favor and acquire no prestige in the eyes of

the community through doing so.

A problem connected with the credit system of the area is presented by the custom of buying "en cosecha", that is to say, advancing money on the security of a crop which has not yet ripened, or may even not yet have been sown. Thus in Amatenango, men in need of cash negotiate a payment in advance from the wheat merchants of Teopisca before sowing the crop (Nash). People who have exhausted their supply of the previous year's corn need to bridge the gap until the next harvest comes in. To buy at that time is highly disadvantageous because the price of corn fluctuates very greatly (up to 100 percent, on occasions). The risk involved for the lender is evident since the harvest may be lost and the borrower may be unable to pay. The amount paid for futures is normally inferior to the price a few months later when the harvest comes in, but one also finds corn-merchants in San Bartolomé buying in this manner at a price which is no lower than that paid in the village at harvest time (Díaz de Salas). The difference between this price and that which is paid by the government buying agency is nevertheless very great, so that the merchant still gains an advantage from the operation. In Pinola one finds the wealthier ladinos buying "en cosecha" at prices far inferior to the price at harvest and making a profit of up to 200 percent. Those who have run out of supplies and have no harvest to sell in advance must buy their subsistence at a high price. The poverty and incompetence at handling their negotiations with ladinos of the Pinolteco indians contrasts strongly with San Bartolomé.

The yearly fluctuation of the price of maize is connected with the problem of storage. The great majority of cultivators sell their surplus corn at the time of the harvest when the price is low. Corn left on the stalk or

stored in the granary in the milpa or in the house suffers the depredations of rats and weavils, so that the fluctuation may be attributed in part to the loss involved in conservation. (This is greater in hot country than in the highlands owing to the greater prevalence of pests.) The cultivators prefer not to run these risks. However, certain ladinos buy corn at harvest time and store it in their houses (where it is still, nevertheless, attacked by pests) and sell it to the needy later in the year. In the houses within the town it suffers less perhaps, but it must be counted as above all due to their ability and willingness to speculate.

Pigs are particularly important in this regard since they fulfill the function of converting corn into cash. All households who have sufficient corn raise pigs, yet the household pig is not usually for consumption but for sale. This is true of both indians and poor ladinos. Sometimes a pig is killed for a fiesta, but even then it obviates an expense which would otherwise have to be made. In the first place, it has the advantage in poorly communicated regions that the pig is more easily transported than a surplus of corn, since it can be driven on its feet. In addition, though it involves a risk, it is not subject to the certain depreciation which corn suffers in storage. Stern maintains that pig-raising represents no financial gain in Chiapilla, but is rather a method of saving a lump sum which can be realized at any time in the emergency of a funeral or on the occasion of a feast and which remains inviolate as a hoard which cannot be broken into under the stress of day-to-day temptations or necessities--a banking device like those "piggy-banks", clay money-boxes in the shape of a pig, into which children in our own society insert coins until the day when the treasury is smashed and the hoardings released in a lump sum. It is interesting to

compare this with the practice of the finca indians (see Montagu) who refuse to break into their savings when in need of cash but instead borrow money from the finquero who, as one of his traditional duties, lends to his indians without interest.

If we ~~compare~~^{see} in general terms the economic mentality of the people of our area we can see that at one extreme stands the family which owns the factory at Pujiltic and runs a variety of modern enterprises in our area (for example, the model dairy farm of San Nicolás, or an ^{large} extensive fruit farm near San Cristóbal), men who have mastered the techniques of modern capitalism, and at the other, the subsistence-farming indians of the highlands.

Between these two lies a spectrum of attitudes which relate to the individual's place within the social structure, his way of life, economic resources, his aspirations and world view. Cutting across this spectrum lies the ethnic distinction, not always very clearly traced and not always cutting it at exactly the same point, between indian and ladino. Within the ladino half of the spectrum we find very few persons at the capitalist extreme and after them a class of land-owners and shop-keepers and dealers (from whom the professional men also come who handle money with a view to making a profit, who bank, invest in a truck or a new shop-front store, speculate in commercial undertakings and invest their profits generally in land. The spectrum continues through the ranks of employees, artisans and small farmers who work their land themselves, persons of more limited horizon and fewer resources whose entrepreneurial activities are inspired by the desire to make some extra money at a given time or to make ends meet, who employ labor to supplement their own arms and, in agriculture, mainly on a temporary basis.

At the end we reach the poor ladino milpa-farmer who follows a way of life very similar to an indian, albeit with a somewhat different world-view and within a different social setting--the "milperos" of the finca area or the agraristas of some isolated colony.

Within the indian half of our spectrum we can distinguish not only individuals who have shown aptitude for making money in ways commonly followed by ladinos and who have often had to face the hostility of their community for so doing (e.g., the innovators of Sivacá, or D. Sebastián Jimenez of Bachajón) but we can also distinguish between pueblos whose norms in this regard differ, from the poor traditional indian village of the highlands who works only communal land to San Bartolomé whose rich indian invests in home-sites or pack animals and lies in his hammock, uncriticized, while watching his pagados work his milpa. The importance of investment in pack animals is very great for those indians who trade regularly. The pack trains of Zinacantan are by far the largest in our area. These two pueblos appear to possess more financial acumen than the others. Most indians retain such funds as they are able to accumulate in the form of money hoarded since it is secret and therefore less likely to inspire the envy of witches.

The chart in Section 3. shows the pueblos of which we have most information arranged with regard to certain criteria which are significant to the understanding of their economic structure and mentality.

It will be seen on the one hand that the idea of a spectrum has its limitations; there is not a single evolutionary path by which characteristics are acquired one after the other in a progression towards assimilation to ladino activities and integration into the economy of the

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region, yet there are nevertheless connections and oppositions between certain characteristics illustrated by the course of development which a given community can follow. Some of these have already been suggested in the text. A full appreciation of the significance of one or other feature of economic behavior can be reached only by relating it to the whole system of social relations.

THE FAMILY

There is considerable variation in the setting and nature of family life among the people of our area. We shall show, to begin with, that there are fundamental differences between indians and ladinos in this regard, but we shall also see that there are variations within both groups. The variations among the indians however are between one pueblo and another, while among ladinos they are between one social class and another.

In an indian community the household, or more precisely, the domestic group, is the unit of both production and consumption and it is also the unit of political and social action of which the larger groups of the community are constituted; the household head is the spokesman and representative of his house and his authority over its members is very real. In order to take a post of any importance in the civil or religious hierarchy a man must be married and have a wife with him and the roles of women in religious activities other than the roles performed by unmarried girls come to them in most cases by virtue of their position as wife of a specific household head. The wichilantz in Tenejapa is a notable exception to this rule.

In all these ways indians can be contrasted with ladinos among whom the domestic group is the unit of consumption but not necessarily of production and whose political and religious activities are pursued as individuals rather than as representatives of a household. The relatively greater stability of marital unions in the traditional indian communities reflects this fact. This is not unconnected with their way of life as subsistence farmers and where, as in Amatenango, the economy depends to a large

extent upon the cash-producing activities of women as potters, the stability of marital unions decreases as Hunt (1962) found. Yet the largely subsistence cultivators of ladino Chiapilla, where women have no such specialty, show a very marked instability in this regard. It must be pointed out, however, that all ladina women have greater economic resources and therefore the possibility of greater independence than indian women, for reasons which will become clear. Though poor ladinos, like indians, require the material services of a woman in order to maintain a household, the very instability of marriage makes it easy for them to find a substitute when their consort abandons them, if indeed it is not the man who abandons his consort first. The attachment to place, the role of the principle of descent and the existence of corporate groups within the social structure all give the indian community a structural stability which the poor ladino community does not have.

The Division of Labor

The broad outlines of the indian community's division of labor are similar throughout the area. Men are responsible for all the activities of the agricultural cycle; the care of large livestock; and the construction and repair of their houses. Women maintain the domestic establishment--cook the meals, make and mend clothes, clean the house and yard, care for the small animals around the house, and care for the young.

Supplementary productive activity is also usually differentiated by sex. Women weave, make pottery and handle petty sales of fruit, fowl and eggs. Men do carpentry work, make rope or weave palm leaf. Firewood is gathered by both sexes, though in Amatenango it is the

man's task to gather wood to supply the firing kilns while the women work at their pots. Children of both sexes care for younger children and run errands, as well as assist in various adult tasks.

The division of labor among the poor ladinos is not very different: the man provides the main source of income; the woman's place is in the home. However, it is customary throughout all the ladino social classes for a woman to make a substantial contribution to the daily household expenses, by working independently if not in collaboration with her husband. A good and efficient wife sells garden products, sews, bakes, launders, manages a small store in one room or in the doorway of the house and may even engage in commerce on a larger scale. She makes herself free to do this by delegating the ordinary household tasks to daughters or servants. Thanks to their economic capacities, ladina women are able, therefore, not only to supplement the income brought to the household by their husbands, but, if need be, to fulfill themselves the role of household head; there are a number of ladin@s who bear alone the burden of supporting their family. The number of such households diminishes as one goes up the social scale, a fact which correlates with the greater stability of marriage in the upper classes. e

When a woman must support her family, she may work more intensely at the tasks whereby she supplemented the family income when she had a husband or she may operate a restaurant or seek employment as a storekeeper or clerk, or teach or run a kindergarten. Less prestigious are the occupations connected with the market: stall-keepers, or merchants (vendedoras), and employment as cooks, waitresses or servants in private households is less prestigious still as well as less lucrative. The least fortunate are some,

times reduced to gathering and selling firewood, which is considered "indian work", or begging.¹ In addition to

¹See papers on Teopisca (Hotchkiss), Ocosingo (Mann), and Chiapilla (Stern).

widows and abandoned wives there are not a few cases among ladinos where the male household head is idle (flojo) and the women must work to support the family.

Ladino children, like indian, are entrusted with caring for younger siblings and running errands. However, among families high in the social scale, Mann has observed that "boys (of the crema families) seem rather indolent and pampered".² In general, the sons of the rich are en-

²Mann, "The Family and Domestic Group in Ocosingo, Chiapas", p. 18. See also Hotchkiss (1962) for the significance of child errand runners: Their role in the social life of a small Mexican community.

couraged to work in helping their fathers, once they have reached an age when they can do so in a role appropriate to their social status. All are expected to work once they are grown up.

As Hunt (1962) points out, there may be departures from the customary division of labor among indians, and the same is true of ladinos also, who, given the more complex occupational structure of the ladino economy, have more opportunities to violate the norm in this regard.

The Physical Setting of the Domestic Group

The domestic group can be defined as the unit of consumption, that is, as that group which shares the food

cooked in a single place--a fire or hearth for indians; a hearth or kitchen for ladinos. It is also the unit of production in the indian community as has been said. Where more than one domestic group occupies a single house or house-site, we shall refer to this as a dwelling unit. There is considerable variation among indian communities in the type of house or sitio, but within any one indian community, the variation is minimal. Within the ladino community on the other hand, variation in the style of the domestic establishment is far more pronounced. This supports our general assertion that indians vary by pueblo, ladinos by class.

In the nucleated, compact indian settlements, domestic units occupy a sitio, a plot delimited by a fence with a gate to the street--the "open sitio" described above. On the edges of town, the sitios tend to be larger, settlement less compact, and sitio boundaries less clearly marked ("the house-milpa sitio").

A fenced sitio does not always demarcate a domestic group, but may contain several related families, each with their own cooking hearth, the "compound sitio". This is found in Amatenango, Pinola, San Bartolomé, and among poor ladinos. Stern's thesis examines the domestic cycle of Chiapilla and shows how the compound dwelling-unit represents a stage in the dissolution of the domestic group. The compound sitio occurs, here, as the result of spatial pressure. Marriage is ideally neo-local and it involves the immediate formation of a new domestic group, even when the new couple remains under a parental roof. The young couple is frequently given a piece of the parental sitio on which to build a house, but it is the sitio of the husband's parents, twice as often as the wife's. This is not expressed as a norm or even preference; it is the result of the prior claim of male over female heirs to

assistance from their parents.

The compound sitio of indians in the southern zone also develops as a stage in the dissolution of the domestic unit under conditions of spatial constriction. But here, it is a product of the pattern of inheritance combined with economic necessity and though it is not necessarily patrilocal, this is preferred. Its sociological nature is very different from the compound sitios of the highlands, of which Chanal presents an example which is illustrative since the sitios are arranged on the grid-plan and their subdivisions are clearly visible. Here the patrilineal grouping of household responds to a notion of patriline solidarity. It can very well exist, as it does without any visible boundaries in Sivacá, as a group of close patrilineal kin. The tendency towards a patrilocal clustering of domestic groups is all the more marked in the parajes of the highlands where land rights are vested in patrilineal descent groups. Here the "house-milpa" sitio prevails, usually unfenced. Patrilineally-related households are scattered about in ill-defined groups surrounded by milpas, bush and forest. Therefore we can say that there is a continuum along which we might order the communities of Chiapas from the ladinos of Chiapilla to the traditional highland pueblos such as Oxchuc, according to the importance which patrilineal descent has, which is manifested in the spatial distribution of domestic groups, whether in terms of the compound patrilocal domestic groups the compound sitios or simply the proximity of residence.

Each household usually has its own granary (troje) or corn storage place, such as the attic of the house (tapanco), though on the Ocosingo fincas, where a father and his independent son form separate domestic groups and cultivate their separate milpas, they store their corn in a single

troje, keeping a record by means of notches on a stick of how many ears of corn each family consumes. The social organization is the same as in those pueblos where separate trojes are kept; it is only the cultural means of implementing it which differ. The example serves as a warning against jumping to hasty conclusions regarding social organization from cultural data.

In the nucleated communities, such as Aguacatenango, the fence symbolizes the independence of the domestic group. When a family splits into two separate groups, but remains in the same lot, a fence is built between them, or a separate gate is opened to the street to serve the newly-formed independent unit. If the "interior" fence has an opening connecting the two groups, it usually means that there are amicable relations between them; however, when a quarrel between the two households ensues, the interior gate is barricaded shut, even more securely than the rest of the fence. In ladino Chiapilla, when relations deteriorate between the families who share a sitio, the junior householder usually sells out and the new buyer puts up the fence.

The number of buildings in the sitio varies. About one-third of the indians we have observed over the entire area have two buildings, one is a main house, used for sleeping, and the other may be a separate kitchen, or another house used for sleeping quarters. If there is no separate kitchen, a corner of the main house is used. Occasionally, the main house will be partitioned into two rooms, as in Sivacá, Pinola, or the Bakilte'el paraje of Bachajón, but this internal partitioning is not usual.

The typical indian house is built without windows of wattle-and-daub walls, and with palm or zacate thatch, and a four-sided peaked roof. A small opening at the peak

of the roof allows the smoke from the cooking fire to escape. Many houses have a corredor, a porch on the front, sometimes partially walled-in, which is used as a "living-room"--a place where women sit and sew or make pots, and where visitors are received. In front of the house is the patio where water jars are kept, small livestock run, and children play. In the back, which is usually fenced off, is a "utility yard", with fruit trees and a small garden, where pigs or larger livestock are corralled. Very few privies are found in indian communities, in spite of the recent campaign by INI to introduce ready-made "baños". Pitch-pine torches (ocote), candles or a small kerosene open-wick lamp are used for lighting. Gasoline lanterns are rare, and electricity has reached very few communities, and where it is available, few take advantage of it.

Variations in the use of construction materials are found. For example, in some parts of the highland Summit, pine boards are used for house walls (Tenejapa and Chanal) or wattle-and-daub, whereas in the tropical lowlands, walls are made of carrizo (reed). Tile roofs are commonly found on the houses of indians in the mixed towns, and in a few highland pueblos a recent increase in the use of tile for roofs has been observed.

In ladino towns, proximity to the central plaza is a measure of social status; the houses in the center are occupied by the upper class. They are laid out in the "street-sitio" fashion--houses adjacent to one another and abutting on the street or sidewalk. Where the sitio borders the street it is separated by a high adobe wall. A room that opens onto the street is commonly used as a place of business.

The largest ladino homes have several rooms: the sala or parlor, a dining room near the kitchen, bedrooms, a small room devoted to the household altar (oratorio) and storerooms. Bathrooms with running water are rare in the rural towns, more common in San Cristóbal. People bathe in kitchen tubs or in the river, and use a privy in the back yard, which in the rural towns is often functionally related to the raising of pigs.

Electric lighting is utilized by some where this is available (only in 1960 did an efficient public electric system reach Pinola, San Bartolomé, and Teopisca), otherwise gasoline or kerosene lanterns or candles are used. Occasionally light is provided by a small gasoline-engine generator.

The intermediate sector of town, between the center and the margins, houses families of all social classes, but the lower and middle classes predominate. The "street-sitio" and the "open sitio" are the most frequent here. (In San Cristóbal the street sitio reaches to the outskirts of the town.) The house lot is enclosed with adobe walls or more commonly with a fence. The lots are larger, making a less compact plan than in the centers. Houses with more than one room are rare. The main house serves as living-room and sleeping quarters, though these are commonly separated by a partition or curtain. The cooking is usually done in a house apart, or on the corredor. A privy in the sitio is not unusual.

On the outskirts which are occupied mainly by poor ladinos and ladinized indians, the sitios are of the "open" or "house-milpa" type. Hedges and rough stone walls often take the place of fences. Most of the houses are of a single room and there is no separate building for the kitchen. Privies are rare, and candles or small kerosene

lamps are used for lighting. There is little to be seen here which distinguishes indian and ladino domestic establishments.

This change in ground-plan and facilities from the center to the outskirts of the town corresponds to differences in construction materials and furnishings. The large houses of the center are built of adobe with windows and tile roofs, recent buildings are sometimes of brick or concrete with modern details of design reminiscent of the fashions of Tuxtla.¹ Verandas, such as ranchhouses have, are

¹Colby and van der Berghe (1961) are mistaken in thinking that the houses of the center are of brick in San Cristóbal.

common. The floors are of tile or concrete and the furnishings include carpentered beds, cupboards, tables and sometimes ample modern stuffed armchairs protected by plastic covers.

As one proceeds from the center to the exterior of town, the windows and verandas disappear, adobe gives way to wattle-and-daub or slats, tile roofs to shingles and even thatch, cement and tile floors to a trodden earth. Thus excluding modern innovations, the movement corresponds to a steady social and economic declivity. This is particularly well-illustrated in Ocosingo: from the plaza with its church and cahildo and the columnated facades of the houses of the crema, its concrete sidewalks surrounding gardens planted with roses and shaded by the flaming acacias where the marimba plays on Sunday evenings, its concrete fountain and ancient Mayan stelae imported from a nearby archeological site by a "culture"-conscious municipal president, one moves down streets of diminishing prestige until

the grid-plan wavers, orange trees grow on unfenced sitios, thatch becomes the norm and the whitewash vanishes, until at last one stands in the countryside overlooking the cemetery, or the quinta¹ of the rich man, the ranchos of the

¹The word denotes an upper-class suburban dwelling in Tuxtla. In this case though it is an upper-class style dwelling as regards its interior and has a corrugated iron roof it is in fact an agricultural and dairy exploitation of some fifty hectares, run in conjunction with a much larger ranch. Anomalous in the context of Ocosingo, it represents a trend which is not in the least so, viewed on a wider scale. It represents the influence of the new Mexico. It is significant that its owner is not only a member of the purest indigenous upper-class of the town, but the most scientifically-minded cattle-rancher of the region.

middle-class ladinos, and also, hidden in the brush, the houses of a few indian families with undaubed wattle walls and a sweat-bath. Thus the ground plan of the town provides an illustration of the social structure, in terms of its living arrangements.

Ritual, Belief, and Symbolism

The domestic group in indian, in contrast to ladino, society is the locus of a wealth of household ritual. The house is a representation of the family's social relations, A house "talks" about its owners--a large house demonstrates economic solvency or announces that a man has many friends who helped him (prestaron la mano) in its construction. A small, rundown house is the "house of a drunk", meaning that the head of the house is not a good worker, is not frugal, and spends his income on liquor. A house reflects how much ladino influence its owner has assimilated. Houses with tile roofs, with windows, or with plastered whitewashed

walls, provoke comment from villagers as departing from their norms (and it should be noted that imitation of the ladino may be a pretext for bewitching). Houses are considered part of the family. They are thought to be alive, to grow old, to have a soul, and to watch the behavior of their inhabitants. If they are displeased with the conduct of the occupants, they may bring nightmares, sickness, death and other misfortunes to them.

Guiteras (1961, p. 26) has remarked that houses are thought to have an intimate relation with "Mother Earth". The House is also linked mystically with the monte--the surrounding forested countryside where the materials for its construction were gathered. The monte is a dangerous place, and because the house is a projection of this malefic world, it has to be appeased with ritual.

This ritual is performed before the house altar. In some communities, households, in addition to this, have a cross or set of crosses in the patio where certain rituals are performed. Some of these are private and exclusive to household members--praying for the health of the household members, praying and mourning for a deceased member, appeals for protection against witchcraft, food offerings at All Souls' Day to the deceased (and these may have been non-kinsmen, who had lived in the house), and prayers for an abundant and successful corn crop. When sickness befalls a member of the household, part of the curing ceremony involves an offering to the house, to cleanse it and give attention to its "spirit", as well as other rituals for the people who live in it.

Other ceremonies held before the altar such as marriage rites are not strictly private. The relationship to the house of the new member brought into the household by the marriage must be given a ritual initiation. When a young couple build and move into a house of their own ex-

pressing their domestic, economic and jural independence, a house-warming fiesta is held. Candles are burned and ritual offerings of food are made to the "Mother Earth" by being buried in the floor of the house. The house is thus "fed", and prayers are said beseeching it to treat its new inhabitants beneficently. In such rites the ideological identification of the family with the homestead is expressed.

Funerary rites are also held in the house, and in Tenejapa the dead are buried in its floor, a fact which surely enlightens us with regard to the sacrificial nature of the offerings to the house. Since such a burial custom is contrary to the laws of Mexico and is followed in Tenejapa only thanks to the comprehension of the municipal secretary (who charges thirty pesos for permission to do so), it is not unlikely that the practice may formerly have been general. In any case, the offering of a chicken buried in the floor of the house to propitiate it becomes in the light of this supposition a scapegoat paid for the extended lease of life of the householders who will, when this lease runs out, pay in person the claim of the grasping Earth-spirit. The idea that life must be repaid to the earth is represented in the indian burial custom by placing the corpse face downwards so that his soul may return.

Other communities have cemeteries and the significant relationship of person to house is symbolized in the layout of these. In Amatenango and Aguatzenango the cemeteries are small approximate replicas of the town plan, and the dead lie in a section of the burial ground which corresponds to the location of their house in life. All indian communities emphasize funerary and memorial ceremonies whose neglect incites the restless dead to wander back to the

house to punish the living. Lest this should happen the house of a witch who has fled or been killed must have its roof stove in.

Ladino cemeteries present a quite different aspect. Here the social status of the deceased are represented by the importance, expressed in size, materials and ornamentation of the funerary monument. A single vault or plot contains the remains of close kin, with only a slight preference for the patriline. The tombs of equivalent splendor are grouped together, not necessarily in the center of the cemetery, and bear no relation to the geographical situation of their houses in the town in relation to one another. In view of the neolocality of their marriage and the fact that they buy and sell houses without any thought of attachment to a particular location, it could not be otherwise.

Although some of the formal aspects of ceremony conducted in ladino households are similar to those of Indians, belief and ritual have a different significance. It is true that offerings to the house are also made by ladinos, and the chicken is buried in the center of the house, even by educated persons, such as the schoolmaster of Pinola or members of the crema of Ocosingo. But the intention and conceptual background is different. The custom is followed here as a superstition rather than as a sacrifice. Most ladino homes have an altar. However, the kind of ritual performed there signifies a different relationship to the supernatural. The altar is adorned with images or pictorial representations of saints, to which members of the household relate individually. To be sure, adults pray to the saint for the welfare of the family and its economic success, but in the idiom of a request for his or her personal well-being and comfort. In some

indian communities saints' images are placed on the altar and this observation can be used as an index of resemblance to ladino thinking in regard to religion, whether individually, between factions within a community or between communities. As an edifice the ladino house is not tied to surrounding nature. A negative example can be instructive here. Although ceremonies are held in the ladino home for weddings, housewarmings, curing and death, none of the ritual aspects conducted there have the same significance as for indians. In curing ceremonies (and ladinos often patronize indian curanderos), the curer may make a ritual offering to the house, but the ladino interprets this act in the first place as homage to the saints. During wakes, funerary novenas, and annual memorial novenas, the ritual is intended to aid the deceased to reach paradise, rather than remain in purgatory or go to hell. The family ritual during All Saints' and All Souls' Days are a memorial and homage to the deceased. These mortuary rituals, then, do not express the spiritual relationship between the deceased and the living as among indians, who harbor beliefs regarding reincarnation, but relate to the destiny of the individual soul.

The most important ceremonials that ladinos conduct within the confines of their households are not "private", but have a more or less public "audience"--the elaborate wedding communion breakfast and wedding fiestas, house inaugurations, birthday or saint's day fiestas, baptism fiestas, and celebrations of the blessing of an image which an individual (encargador) sponsors--all can be viewed in the context of providing display and community recognition of the change of status of some household member.

Indians and ladinos differ with regard to the significance of the domestic group, as reflected in the different

nature of their respective household ritual and ceremony, in the degree of individualization and secularization, concepts which Redfield used in describing and analyzing the different cultures and societies of Yucatán (Redfield, 1941). However, we shall attempt to put this observation to the service of a somewhat different theoretical argument.

The Formation of the Domestic Group in the Indian Communities

In indian communities throughout the area, households vary in their membership. These variations can be classified under the headings of "Nuclear" and "Compound" households. A nuclear household is composed of a man and his wife and their children. It always contains one and only one marital union, though we may find attached to it persons who formerly belonged to other nuclear households which time or adversity have disintegrated. The compound household contains two (or more) marital unions, normally of successive generations, an older and one (or more)

younger, formed by offspring of the first. They may or may not contain unmarried children of either, and members of former households antecedent to them.

These households represent different stages of the cyclical development of the domestic group, and in the following pages we discuss in more detail the dynamics of these stages.

The choice of a bride is made either by the young man himself or by his parents. There is at present a trend towards individual choice rather than parental choice, especially in those communities where people marry at a later age and where the descent group possesses less soli-

parity. Personal acquaintance between the prospective bride and groom is limited in any case because opportunities for the couple to meet are restricted.

After a choice has been made, the parents of the prospective groom initiate a series of visits to the bride's family, which are called the pedidas de la muchacha (asking for the girl). A matchmaker, usually a kinsman (or kinswoman) of the boy, but not a resident of his domestic group, accompanies the parents to act as middle-man during these tortuous proceedings.

The pedidas are conducted with formality and take place over a variable period which may be as long as a year. During this time the families of groom and bride are expected to develop ties of friendship; yet the bride's parents should act as though they reject the suitor; the point is stressed in the speeches (pat'ot'an) which are made during the pedidas. In this way parents defend their pride by demonstrating that they are not anxious to marry off their daughter and at the same time they test the sincerity of the groom and his parents.

Gifts are given at each pedida and at marriage, a final gift, the crianza (the raising of the child), which may consist of food, alcohol, tobacco and clothes.

The traditional marriage ceremony, which is unelaborate in comparison with the pedidas, is called "the handing over of the girl". The elaboration of the wedding ceremony is a measure of Catholic influence in the community and it tends to develop in imitation of the ladino wedding. An elaborate wedding is also associated with a greater importance attached to the ties of compadrazgo which may even be formed through the wedding ceremony like the the ladinos (see compadrazgo), and with a diminished importance

attached to pedidas and bridewealth or crianza. In Tenejapa, where traditional institutions are very much alive, elaborate weddings are unknown (and there are few baptisms for that matter), whereas in Pinola and San Bartolomé weddings involve high expenses and feasts; non-relatives and ladinos are sometimes invited and the frequency of civil and church weddings is highest. In the more traditional pueblos of the Plateau Summit, such as Tenejapa, Amatenango and Aguacatenango, church weddings are rare and usually take place only long after the household has been long-established and productive. In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, the church wedding has developed a particular function: it is used to reinforce a marriage in danger of dissolution, since it is thought to be more binding than native marriage; the native custom approves of divorce and separation under certain circumstances, while the priest insists that a church marriage cannot be dissolved because the couple are chained together in the eyes of God. For the same reason, when a suitor is rejected during the pedida his parents may offer a church wedding immediately after the union as an additional inducement. Church weddings are used in a similar way by the ladinos of Chiapilla.

A marriage does not necessarily initiate the formation of a new domestic group which occurs only in those communities where neolocal residence is the rule. In most communities the wife joins her husband in his parents' home, where they remain, forming a compound household until such a time as they may leave to set up a nuclear household of their own. Various pressures inherent in the social structure, whose force varies from place to place, build up to precipitate this development: the necessity to marry the groom's younger brother; a quarrel between mother and daughter-in-law which is likely to occur when the younger

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has acquired a certain self-confidence in her new role and begins to resent the authority of the older woman and the obligation to serve her in menial tasks; the birth of a child to the young couple which both incapacitates the young mother and improves her status and that of her husband. An unmarried man is still a "child" (tek'el or solterito), yet even after marriage, as long as he remains in his father's domestic group, he is bajo su poder (in his tutelage), and must obey him in everything. It is the father who disposes of the common household funds, ~~decides~~ whether to pay for a curing ceremony for a sick member, whether to sell an animal (the chickens, however, are the personal property of the mother), whether the son shall help him in the milpa or go to the coffee fincas to earn cash. In Sivacá, though animals are said to be "owned" by each couple separately, the household head must be consulted regarding their sale.

With the birth of a child he becomes tat (a man or father). He then has the status proper for a household head, and he is ready to build his own house and move away. It is customary for the youngest son to remain with the parents, however, and to inherit the house in return for caring for his parents in their old age. This is typical of all systems of ultimogeniture.

Property considerations influence the decisions which lead to the formation of a new household. While a son is economically dependent upon his father he has no possibility of amassing the wherewithal to set up house and he therefore depends upon his father to help him in this. This help may take the form of a gift of a piece of his sitio or purchased land on which to build a house, assistance together with the other agnatic relatives in the building of the house, the gift of some animals, of money or some

agricultural land (where land is held individually) or help in paying for a piece of land, as in Tenejapa.

A woman does not, except in certain pueblos (San Bartolomé, Amatenango, Pinola, Zinacantan, Chamula), have any rights to inheritance if she has brothers, though her father may make her a present of an animal at marriage. She passes from the care of her father to that of her husband who has complete authority over her, and she must put up with his behavior; beatings, drunkenness, and marital infidelity are the common lot of wives in the communities where women have no economic power. She has recourse, however, to certain sanctions; she can complain of the treatment she receives from her husband to the principales or to the municipal authorities who may admonish him; she may run away to her parental home, thereby breaking up the marriage--though a divorced woman is not well-received there as a rule; or she may go out into the ladino world as a servant. This last course of action requires a certain acquaintance with ladino ways, if it is not to prove too terrifying, and except in the eastern section, a certain rudimentary knowledge of Spanish. It is therefore a recourse which is in fact not common outside the southern and eastern zones and the communities around San Cristóbal.

The economy of the domestic group is, however, very markedly different in two of the indian communities we studied, Amatenango and San Bartolomé. Here women have an economic independence which changes the whole tenor of their relations with men. In Amatenango, women have an authority equal to that of their husbands in domestic matters. They keep the money of the household and control its expenditure, especially that of the cash derived from pottery and garden produce. Women are here able to make a living without a male in the household. In many cases they

own the house in which they live with husband and children. They are able to inherit both land and animals. Adultery is cause for a wife's legitimate complaint and she "is considered within her rights to order an erring husband out of the house", "women do not tolerate beating by their husbands" (Nash, June, 1960). In San Bartolomé, women often control as much cash as their husbands. They live in the town, while their husbands are away in distant milpas. They are given a small sum of money at marriage by their fathers, and through trading, weaving, keeping animals, and domestic service in the town, they are able to augment their private property. They lend money to their husbands on occasions and this is always paid back to them.

In Chamula and Zinacantan, where women have rights of inheritance in land, they also enjoy a liberty of action which is denied the wives of the other highland communities. Therefore extending Hunt's analysis (1962) of the contrast between Amatenango and Aguacatenango we can hypothesize that the relation between the sexes is heavily influenced by the economic potentialities of women and these, though they liken certain indian villages to the ladinos in this respect, do not necessarily imply acculturation in other ways.

Their economic potentialities are dependent, in the absence of specialized feminine occupations, upon individual ownership of land--clearly, women can only enjoy rights to it if it can be individually held--therefore, since individual ownership is related also the pressure on the land, it is only in the pueblos where erosion and overpopulation have made themselves felt that we have the possibility of finding feminine economic independence. But this is not saying that women have more economic power and therefore a greater freedom of action wherever land is

scarce. In Chamula and Zinacantan they do; in Tenejapa less so since land rights are still vested essentially in men, but in Cancuc where land is also short the notion of women's individual land-rights is missing altogether. The transition from an indian to a ladino concept of the role of women in relation to land follows no simple economic criterion, but is also affected by the power of the law of Mexico and the strength of the traditional kinship system.

In Tenejapa, the fincas of the region of Ocosingo, ^{and in} Bachajón, and Chanal, the bride-groom must serve his bride's father, it is said, for a year. In other pueblos there is no stated rule for the duration. It may or may not involve time spent in uxori-local residence and there is great variation in its practice. In the finca of Chajtajal only 6 of 10 grooms performed the service. In Tenejapa, in the paraje of Kulaktik, of 33 grooms only 25 performed the service. Within the 25 cases the period of service ranged from one day to as much as three years, the mode (five cases) being eight days. The longer periods were due to the death of the parents of the groom. During this time the new husband is expected to work for his father-in-law, and not in his own or his father's lands. It is commonly said that the couple should not have marital relations during this time.

If the bride is not living with her own parents, groom-service is not given and the bride-price may be reduced or passed over. In the fincas groom-service can be replaced by a payment of a peso for each month that is not served. In Chanal such an accommodation is viewed with disfavor. As one man said, "We do not sell our girls like pigs, for money". However, if a woman is a widow marrying for a second time, groom-service is replaced with a small cash payment.

If the groom, for some reason, is intended to reside in the bride's parents' home, little or no bride-price is paid; if the young couple elopes, no bride-price is paid at the time of the union, but a compensation is given to the parents of the girl when amicable relations are re-established. In Aguacatenango, this compensation is called the agradecimiento (thankfulness) and it is half of the regular value of the bride-price.

Bride-price is commonly (and logically) associated with patrilineal descent. Throughout the area, save for a few exceptions such as Amatenango, the children are said to "belong" to the father. Thus, bride-price establishes the rights of the groom's family over the reproductive powers of the bride. The name of the bride-price, la crianza, the "upbringing", indicates that the parents of the bride are reimbursed for the expenses of raising a woman for another family.

Her family of origin also loses her labor if she goes to live virilocally. The importance of this varies from community to community. In Amatenango where the economic role of women is great, as has been said, the bride-price runs as high as 1000 pesos. This is exceptional. Viewed as payment for her labor, it depends, then, on which household will profit from it, and how valuable it is.

Under the rule of patri-virilocal residence, a new wife becomes a worker in her husband's parents' household. This is a clearly stated norm. For example, in Aguacatenango, during the marriage ceremony the bride is told that she has a new family now, that she should learn "new ways," obey her mother-in-law, respect her, and work hard for her, she should cook and clean her husband's clothes, gather firewood with her mother-in-law, rather than with her own mother, and not spend her time visiting her relatives.

In San Bartolomé the bride-price has a symbolic rather than a real value, since, although the groom is expected to give articles to the value of two hundred pesos for the crianza, the bride gives her husband a set of ceremonial clothes, woven by herself which have an equivalent value. Neither parental group profits from the inclusion of a new worker, since regardless of the location of the new household it becomes, at least in terms of economic organization, a separate domestic group at marriage.

Therefore one can see that from the point of view of social structure a marriage between (patrilocal) households involves an exchange between, on the one side, the labor and reproductive powers of the bride, and on the other, the payment of bride-price and the rendering of groom-service. The two are in a sense cumulative and it is therefore understandable that groom-service should be able to be replaced by a monetary equivalent (pace the informant from Chanal) and that where the couple resides uxorilocally the bride-price should not be paid, or should be diminished. see pp. 112-125

Both bride-price and groom-service are regarded as more strictly obligatory among the traditionally-minded. Thus, the less acculturated the community the more common the custom of a fixed sum, paid in kind, to obtain a wife. In Tenejapa, Chanal and Aguacatenango, the bocado is clearly specified; anybody can tell the investigator how much it should be. In Sivacá, among the traditional faction, the Libres, the bride-price is always paid and it varies little in value, but among the Católicos Moderados, who are more acculturated, it has very little importance, and among the Evangelistas, the converts to Protestantism, it is not paid at all. In the ladinizated communities it has little importance if it is paid at all and in ladino society it does not exist. The variation of custom in

regard to bride-price can be seen then as a variation between pueblos and also as a variation within certain pueblos, but in all cases it serves as an index of the strength of patrilineal ties.

In addition to structural considerations, one must also point out that psychological factors are involved. The advice given to the young bride in Aguacatenango, quoted above, gives an ominous premonition of them. The emotional ties which bind her to her family of origin are severed when she moves into her husband's household where she is on terms of intimacy with no one. She is subject to the authority of her new mother-in-law whom she is likely to resent whether she shows it or not. Many a man finds himself placed between a mother complaining of the laziness of his wife and a wife complaining of the hardness of his mother. In all the communities of patri-virilocal marriage conflict is reported between the two women and this is frequently the cause of premature divorce. It is also the common cause, when husband and wife remain attached to one another, of a fragmentation of the compound household. A virtual avoidance exists between the young wife and her father- and brothers-in-law and she often inspires the jealousy of her sisters-in-law.

The young bride who marries a man whose mother is dead is therefore regarded as fortunate, since she will not have to bear the burden of "becoming a daughter-in-law", or "buffering in the house of a mother-in-law", as one informant put it. The tension between mothers- and daughters-in-law is world-wide, but it appears to be more intense under conditions such as these. This appearance is augmented, moreover, by the fact that the daughter-in-law, as one might expect, becomes the scapegoat for the quarrels which develop between her husband and his father

or brothers, which often derive from jealousies regarding the inheritance of the land, as Hunt has observed (1962).

Another psychological factor which foreshadows a structural development in the future is the fear of incapacity in old age. The need to be supported (mantenido) by a son who will provide food, shelter, and company, is very important in Chiapas. There is no sadder old man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has "supported them for many years", and who lives to see them refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of their married sons living with them are, indeed, very unhappy. Gossip stigmatizes them as "people with small hearts", who did wrong to their daughters-in-law and mistreated their sons. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of being envious and selfish. Widows and orphans are equally pitied, as are the childless. "Poor little people", it is said, "who is going to support them when they grow old?"

With the fear of abandonment in old age goes the fear of loneliness; everyone needs to have company, tener su compañía.¹ But having company means a great deal:

¹The word is also used to refer to the nagual, or animal companion, but in a quite different sense.

protection from the supernatural on a long trip (one man became sick as a result of espanto, soul loss, because he was alone), harmonious social relations with age mates and kinsmen (a man is happy if he can report that he always has his compañía while drinking), insurance against loneliness and sadness (in our projective test, informants identified the isolated figures as "being sad because they

are alone"), help around the house (old women without children will "borrow" a granddaughter to stay with them if the men leave the house for several days so that they may have their *compañía*), and protection against sickness (a young wife going to market or to fetch firewood is expected to find company for the occasion; if not, she may well meet a stranger on the road and be afflicted with vergüenza, a physical sickness inspired by shame.

These psychological factors reflect the struggle between the two families united through a marriage which are each concerned with their maintenance in the future, both as regards descent and material comfort. It is a struggle which is played out under the aegis of a norm of patrilocal residence, and it is therefore in terms of this struggle that we must view the departures from that norm.

The incidence of uxori-local marriage varies from almost none in Bachajón, to 20 % in Pinola, to 28 % in Tenejapa, and to the quite exceptional figure of 50 % in Amatanango. Under certain circumstances the norm of residence is reversed and the daughter-in-law is freed from her burden. This means that the son must sacrifice his own prerogatives and enter another household as a son-in-law. These circumstances are dictated in the first place by the claims of the wife's household to retain her.

These claims materialize when:

(1) The bride's father is a widower and he needs to retain his daughter to look after him. He is likely to consent to her marriage only on condition that his son-in-law comes to join his household.

(2) When there are no sons in the wife's domestic group or dwelling unit, either because they have left or never existed. Or when, and this is likely to be the same

case, the wife is an heiress. (Clearly this case only occurs where there are individual rights-in-land.)

(3) When there is no adult man in the wife's household. Here the incoming son-in-law becomes the household head.

(4) It may also occur when the wife's family is richer than the husband's and her parents object that she should not go to share a poverty to which she is not accustomed.

(5) Uxorilocal marriage is also established when the husband's household has no claim to retain him and this occurs when he is an orphan or when he cannot pay the bride-wealth. This last case amounts to an increased groom-service.

(6) It may also occur for practical reasons when there is no room for the new couple in the husband's domestic group.

When the counter-claim of the husband's family is strong, they may insist upon him remaining with them foregoing groom-service and establishing patrilocal residence, then and there, and this is particularly the case when he is the youngest son.

A test case which demonstrates the rival claims of the two households is to be seen in the event of the young wife becoming sick after marriage. The couple may then return to the parental home of the woman--this has been reported from Aguacatenango. While a woman resides in her husband's parents' sitio, the household head is responsible for the expenses of her cure. If she remains sick, she becomes an economic burden and she may then be persuaded to return to her natal household where her own family becomes responsible for her. Her husband usually moves with her but continues to work his own father's land. This situation habitually produces disputes as to responsibility for her and while she remains sick the two households

will bargain endlessly about it. Sometimes they agree to share the expenses of her cure, and then she remains in her husband's sitio. Amatenango illustrates the importance of the economic aspect of this struggle, as will be shown.

Uxorilocal residence tends not to endure unless the husband is an orphan. A man will often agree to stay with his wife's parents, if the circumstances are favorable, but after a while he insists on moving away, being anxious to occupy his place as a dutiful son, working with his own father from whom he may expect inheritance, or to become independent.

In regard to the locality of marriage, Amatenango, Ocosingo, and San Bartolomé are markedly different from the communities where there is normative patri-virillocality. In Amatenango, married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses for a year or two after the "giving away of the girl". Whichever household they live in, the young wife works at pottery with the eldest female, and the husband works the land with the eldest male or household head. The couple lives only temporarily with the parents, but the stability of the compound household depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children in the homestead, it is likely that the young couple will move to another house after a short period, just before the next child marries. Apparently the most efficient work-team is a dyad, both for agricultural and for pottery production. It is expected that the last child of whichever sex, will stay in the parental home, unlike the patri-virillocal communities, where it is the last male child who should remain.

"At any stage in the developmental cycle, alternative choices of residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors."

(Nash, June, 1960; p. 41.) The factors are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse, (2) the presence of absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation, and (3) the age of the couple.

"A new couple will take up residence quarters with the parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle" (Nash, June, 1960; p. 45). In the second place, if there are already-married children living in the house who can help with the agricultural work or pottery-making, the parents are less anxious to keep additional children as members of the domestic group. The third factor is a personal one, rather than a standard choice: if a bride is very young at the time of the marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her house until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, June, 1960; p. 45). As has been said, there is no manifest preference between virilocal or uxorilocal residence.

It is very possible that the community of Amatenango had patri-virilocal norms of residence in the recent past. Blom and La Farge (1927) stated that women learned to make pottery from their mothers-in-law, and in view of the fact that a woman learns from the woman with whom she works, and works with woman with whom she lives, it is probable that daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law shared a common compund.

Between 1927 and today, important cultural and social changes have occurred which might account for the change in residence norms. The cooperative bonds between father and son in agricultural work have entered into strong competition with the cooperative activities of mother and daughter. The reasons for keeping a son after marriage are less pressing than those for keeping a daughter. "The

limited land-holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land-holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half of the households can keep more than one man actively employed." "Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation" and is not limited except by the number of workers, and the time available. There are no exterior pressures to limit production such as a shortage of land provides. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperative bond between mother and daughter: (1) with the introduction of many new items in the material culture, there is an ever-increasing need for cash, which pottery provides, and (2) marriages are contracted now at a later age, ②

1927 About a generation ago girls married around eleven or twelve years of age, and that is the age at which intensive training in pottery begins. Yet, by the time a girl is ready for marriage today, she is used to working with her mother, is a proficient potter, and there is more pressure to keep her at home after marriage, in order to retain her labor.

San Bartolomé recognizes a norm of neolocal residence, though it is neolocal only in the sense that the new domestic group is initiated at marriage, even where the young couple remains living in the same house as their parents who are preferentially the parents of the husband. If we were to employ other criteria for the definition of the domestic group than the community of eating arrangements we might say that the Bartoleño family is patrilocal by preference, for in fact the traditional preference is for young people to set up house upon the groom's father's sitio and while they reside there they are in certain regards under the tutelage of the parents: the son is expected to continue working for his father, the wife must

respect and obey her mother-in-law, and help her in certain ways. Moreover, the mother-in-law may buy the food for the whole household which may be cooked on the same fire. Yet the father pays his son a wage from now on and the son repays his mother for the money which she spends on account of the younger couple. They are therefore conceptually separate domestic establishments, albeit in very close cooperation. The last child either male or female is expected, as in Amatenango, to remain with the parents after marriage and to inherit the sitio and the father's property.

In other communities indians who are far down the road to ladinization are apt to adopt the neolocal preference of the ladinos though material necessity often obliges them to share a dwelling and even a domestic group composed of successive generations or siblings. This is the case in Ocosingo, according to Mann ("The Family and the Domestic Group," p. 7.)

Among ladinos, there is a statistical preference for grouping agnatic closely-related kin, but this is, as Stern's analysis in Chiapilla shows, the result of contingent spatial and economic factors. It does not reflect a stated norm.

A marital union may be formed by elopement and this custom accounts for 70% of the marriages in ladino Chiapilla. It also occurs, if less frequently, in indian communities, either when the formal pedidas are not performed or when they do not lead to the acquiescence of the bride's parents. It is criticized in all places, since it runs contrary to the ideal standards of the community.

In indian communities it is liable to occur when a man wishes to marry a girl from a different endogamous

barrio; the pedidas, obviously, cannot be made. Yet if the young man has succeeded in courting his girl and gaining her agreement, the couple may run away together. The same thing may happen if he is rejected by the bride's parents during the early pedidas, or if the groom or his parents are unwilling or unable to pay the bride-price. It may also occur if she has become pregnant and cannot, obviously, go through the long series of pedidas without "showing her disgrace".

When, in the normal course of events, the couple returns to the bride's parents' home to make peace after the robo (the stealing of the girl), the bride is given a reprimand and in some communities (e.g., Bachajón), she and her groom are ceremonially whipped by her relatives.

If the groom's parents approve of the elopement the couple may move straight to the husband's parents' home, but if they do not, they must run away together to start life on their own, to a new colony or to the fincas of Tapachula. In either case they run away from the traditional communities of the highlands and to the lowlands.

Sometimes the elopement is no more than a symbolic gesture; the couple hides for a few weeks in a house on the edge of town borrowed or rented for the occasion. The reconciliation is not then difficult. But if they elope without the consent of the groom's parents, the groom loses his rights to his share of the inheritance, and in any case he is not provided with the bride-price.

The power of paternal authority is very great. While he is under the tutelage of his father within the domestic group, a man, even though he be an adult and married, can do very little without his father's approval. Everything costs money in this community where people have so little; and the father holds the pursestrings. Even after a man

has set up a separate domestic group, his father continues to exercise a considerable authority over him within the patrilocal residence group, since age is equated with spiritual strength and spiritual strength provides the sanctions on which authority in the community rests.

The Fission of the Domestic Group

When a couple has lived for some time with the parents of the husband (or the wife in the special cases discussed above), they set up a separate domestic group, that is, the man starts to cultivate his own fields, and the wife sets up a separate kitchen and housekeeping. This, we have said, occurs normally when the couple has had one or more children.

In Bachajón, paraje of Yulumax, all couples living in independent households had children. In the paraje of Kulak'tik, Tenejapa, there were six domestic groups without children, out of sixteen, but these contained several second marriages of older couples, some of whose children were living elsewhere. Only seven percent of the households of Aguacatenango had no children, while for Pinola the figure was twenty-one percent.

There are several alternative courses which lead to becoming separados (separate) for various reasons. (1) The new domestic group may stay within the boundaries of the same parental sitio, but build a new house with a separate hearth, granary and gate. (2) The new domestic group may move out of the parental compound, into a different sitio, but close to the husband's parents' home. (2) The new domestic group may move out anywhere within the boundaries of the village. (1) and (2) are direct consequences of the general norm of agnatic sponsorship of marriage. Under this, when a couple moves out, it is

provided by the husband's parental household with land to build a house and cultivate milpa, and the agnatic relatives (father, brothers, father's brother, etc.) ought to contribute with materials and labor to help build the new residence. This is called "to give a child his inheritance", and it also means that the son is no longer "in his father's power" (bajo su poder).

Ideally, when the son moves away he stays as close as possible to the father's compound. This ideal is not always realized. In the paraje settlement or where there is enough land available to build new houses, in the fincas, for example, neighborhoods are settled by agnatic kinsmen. In Chanal, a recently-settled nuclear village, the sitios are large, and therefore most sons are given a plot by dividing the father's. The same occurs in many cases in Aguacatenango. Thus, the neighborhoods within the community are settled by localized clusters of domestic groups whose heads are agnatic kin.

However, in the nucleated communities in which land for sitios is scarce, the ideal of contiguous residence is not always possible in practice. In this case, a son will move to the closest place he can find near his parental home.

Hence, in Sivacé, 65.4% of couples live in close proximity with the husband's parents, 22.6% live near the wife's, and 12% live far from either. In Aguacatenango 95% of married men live in the same or adjacent compound to their parents, or in the same or an adjacent block, while only 64% of women do so. A man tends to marry a woman who lives close to his parental home.

Exceptions to the norm of clustering of agnatic households are Amatenango, San Bartolomé, Pinola and Ocosingo.

In Amatenango, where residence is bilocal, when a couple separates from the parental household they move close by; thus, the neighborhoods are settled by clusters of bilateral kin. In the other communities, where residence tends to be neolocal, couples may live equally close or far from their parents, distributed over the village, or more commonly, over the endogamous barrio more or less at random.

The acquisition of the land for house-building which is called "inheritance" when it comes from kin whether it is inherited from a deceased person or given by a living one, shows a clear relation to the clustering of kin.

The correspondence is obscured however in towns where housesites as in ladino communities are the subject of financial transactions and are used as a resource in moments of need. One such situation occurs typically in pueblos where burial expenses are high (Amatenango and Aguacatenango). In Tenejapa, the expenses are low and houseplots are not sold to cover them. In Sivacá, housesites are not owned as saleable property (though there are forms of private ownership in agricultural land), but are left abandoned after a death as in many parajes.

With increased possibilities of economic initiative, young couples are more likely to establish themselves neolocally, buying land or even moving out to join a new colony, and this tendency is also affected by the shortage of land for housesites in many communities.

It is therefore to be expected on all counts that we find the pattern of patrilocal proximity in settlement pattern most clearly laid out in the parajes of the highlands, where it is not hindered by lack of space, nor

subject to the financial situation of the household, since it has no cash-value, where burial is not an expensive community rite and where rights in agricultural land are vested in a group of kin. In all these ways the dwellers of these parajes are differentiated from ladinos.

Although it is expected that a couple will move out of the parental domestic group, once they have children, their departure is always occasioned by personal conflict. A father tries to keep his son living with him for as long as possible, for among other considerations he is an economic asset through his contribution of labor. This is particularly the case where the only source of labor is the household. Where paid labor is commonly employed, the participation of sons is less crucial, and this is seen in the correlation between the average size of the domestic group and the the absence of paid labor. The value of household labor is also increased by the availability of land (whether communal or rented). Thus, where land is available and paid labor is not, the break-up of the domestic group is delayed and this gives rise to larger domestic groups.

When the son leaves the household, the father is obliged to divide his land-holdings under cultivation, in order to give him a piece, and also to hand over some of his animals. Alternatively, he should help him to buy land, a paternal duty, which despite its general recognition, is avoided as long as possible. In the communities in which women do not have important economic activities, their departure from the domestic group represents no threat to its well-being. When the son leaves, the household loses his labor and some of its land-holdings, while when a daughter leaves, the loss of labor is negligible,

there is no loss of land, and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household, nor does it upset its basic economy.

The multiple bonds between a father and a son, centered in the patrimonial land of the family, their joint production and their common responsibilities for maintaining the standard of living of the homestead and protecting its members, are hard to break. At the same time, a man wants to become independent because, while he is living in his father's compound, he is considered a "child" by the community; he is bound to obey his father and cannot control the product of his own labor. He cannot have full rights to participate in the political-religious hierarchy because (1) he is bound to follow the political decisions of his father, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and (2) he cannot materially afford the expenses of office. Women are also anxious to set up their own domestic group. Independent housekeeping gives them an autonomy which they cannot obtain otherwise. While they live in the same household with their mother-in-law they have no power to make decisions on their working schedule, their housekeeping or budgeting. A woman cannot freely take time to visit her own mother, and she is usually given the less enjoyable tasks to perform. She looks forward therefore to having her own home.

All these factors provoke tensions in the home. In the course of time they accumulate to the point when they precipitate its breakup. The dynamics of conflict are controlled by the traditional patterns of behavior, so that very few couples move out before their time. Even so, when the leave, the fission is expressed in terms of personal conflict. People say that the women had a fight, or that the young wife fought with the sister-in-law; the most frequent accusations are that sisters-in-law accuse

their brother's wife of being adulterous, that the children of the two couples fight and involve their mothers, or that the mother-in-law is too strict.

The break between a father and son is finally precipitated by a conflict, expressed not in terms of their own relationship, but through their wives. There are some psychological aspects of the social behavior which require this. The bond between father and son in this society is highly valued. The bond between a woman and her daughter-in-law, however, is expected to be weak. They are not members of the same consanguineal group, nor of the core of the household (the hoy ta yutil sna : of the same blood who lives in the same house), and their antagonism is not viewed by the society as threatening the unity of the kinship group. At the same time the women are the respective expressive leaders of their nuclear families (Parsons and Bales, ed. 1955) and in case of conflict, it is socially and emotionally acceptable that the conflict created by the fission of the domestic group, should be expressed through their relationship or verbalized as such, even when, in fact, they are not the instigators of the conflict. Thus jealousies between father and son over land and authority are presented as conflicts between the women.

After a couple moves out of the compound household another child usually marries and brings his wife into it. Thus, the domestic group moves through a cycle: it starts as part of a compound, then sets up independent housekeeping, and becomes a nuclear household. When the children of the nuclear household become marriageable, the domestic unit becomes a compound again, and continues as such changing its components until the last child marries. If all the children move out, the household reverts to a nucleus. This is rare, however, since the last child should remain and provide with his spouse the nucleus of the successive

generation.

Widows and Divorce

The death of the household head precipitates a re-arrangement of social relations in the household. After her husband's death, a woman has, basically, three alternatives: (1) to return to her own parental home, with her small children if she has any; (2) to stay in the husband's sitio with his relatives; (3) to stay in the same sitio without her husband's relatives who have already departed.

The first (1) is the most common in the following cases: (a) if the widow is a young woman who expects to get married again; (b) if, according to the norms of the community, the widow does not inherit her husband's land, the male children are too small to cultivate the milpa inherited from their father, and she has no possibility of supporting her own domestic group with her labor. Hence, in Amatenango, where land is controlled by the agnatic kin group, the wife has no rights over her husband's milpa nor his sitio, which returns to his kinsmen until her sons are old enough to reclaim the property of their father. A woman has very few alternative ways to convert her labor into subsistence goods or cash, so that she is unable to support her family, and on becoming a widow she returns to her parental home. Then, even in the exceptional case in which the sitio is left to her in trust, it is usually sold to pay the husband's burial.

If her parents are dead, she usually elects to reside in the home of one of her male agnatic kinsmen: an elder brother, or father's brother.

The second alternative (2) is very rare and is never normative, but rather the result of an unusually good relationship between a woman and her in-laws. In such cases,

a widow may marry again from her in-law's household, and it has been reported that the parents of the first husband are compensated with presents for her loss. (This is not a formal bride-price, but a gift of, usually, some liquor.)

Most widows, however, refuse to stay in their in-law's household, "for fear of being asked in marriage by one of the deceased husband's brothers". This has been reported for Bachajón.¹

¹We have no indication either that there was formerly a prohibition against marrying one's husband's brother or, on the contrary, that it was an old norm which has fallen into disuse. This fear may be associated with the custom of brother's-wife avoidance.

Thirdly, (3) a widow may stay in the sitio in which she was living as a simple household with her husband and children under two conditions: (a) If her sons are old enough to cultivate the father's land. In this case she keeps the property in trust for the children until they marry, and subsequently becomes dependent on the married son who stays in the house. (b) If the sons are not old enough to cultivate the milpa, but a widow can support herself and her children with the product of her own labor.

In Tenejapa, Sivacá, San Bartolomé, and Amatenango, it is common to find widows as household heads. In Tenejapa, women may cultivate the milpa, so a widow can provide for the subsistence needs of the household without a man in the domestic group. In Amatenango, women may support their domestic group by selling pottery, and buying corn with cash. In Sivacá, widows may earn a living by making pottery for sale and working in the fincas picking coffee. Although all women know how to make pottery (they are taught by their mothers), they do so normally only

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for their own household. But widows make it for sale. If they do not inherit the husband's sitio, they can pay 100 pesos to have a house built, or ask for this from their relatives. In San Bartolomé, a widow can support her home with many different activities which were discussed above. In Pinola, she supports herself partially with various different small activities which provide her with cash, but she is also expected to receive help, if her children are small, from her own brothers who cultivate her milpa and give her money for everyday expenses. She can inherit the husband's sitio, and remain living there. In Aguacatenango, there are no widows with small children living alone in town. Those who decide to support themselves and their children go to San Cristóbal to take up employment as servants in ladino homes. This solution is also open to those of Zinacantan, Chamula, and in fact any who are prepared to seek employment with ladinos.

The causes of divorce are many: sterility, conflict between a woman and her husband's relatives, adultery of either husband or wife--or "incompatibility".

In Chamula it is thought that both sexes should take pleasure in their physical relationship and either is entitled to complain of the failure of a mate in this regard as Pozas (1959) has pointed out. Zinacantecan men are heard to complain of the demands of their wives. Thus while male authority is clearly accepted in the realm of social relations, sexual relations follow a pattern of parity. This appears not to be the case in all indian villages and information is more easily obtained in those where an open attitude to the subject exists. In Pinola, the opposite was the case, and we are reduced to guessing that if the matter may not be spoken of, it is unlikely to have a similar basis. It would seem probable that the

feelings of women in regard to sexual experience gain less consideration in those communities where they have no property rights and where the possibility of divorce is less.

Among the Indians, there is no ideal attached to the validation of masculinity in the ladino sense, a concept expressed in the word machismo. A single man may brag about his sexual experiences, with his age mates, but a married man is expected, in the monogamous villages, by men as much as women, to be "faithful". In villages which accept polygamy, if he is rich enough to afford it, he may have a second wife. A man sometimes acquires a mistress, but he should not spend his money on her nor should he pass much of the night outside his own domestic unit, and if he lets it be known his behavior incurs the displeasure of his own kinsmen, who are then duty bound to advise him against it.

Women are always, and under all conditions, expected to be fully faithful, that is, under no conditions may they have a lover, before or after marriage. Although children are not punished or reprimanded for sexual play when they are small, girls close to puberty are closely watched, for fear of their becoming pregnant with a fatherless child. Virginity per se is not highly valued by most Indians, but the woman should not have children at the time of her first marriage. The emphasis on the "virtue of virginity" seems to be a result of modern religious teaching in the Indian community. Disputes resulting from a young wife's lack of virginity occur in San Bartolomé (see Pozas, C.G.H.)¹ where unlike the traditional highland villages, boys are encouraged to become sexually initiated before marriage--an achievement which they usually attain through the good offices of widows who are credited with a predatory attitude towards young men. San Bartolomé can be seen then to

¹Calixta Guileras-Holmes, op. cit.

be more like a ladino community in its attitudes both to male and female premarital virginity.

Children's sexual play is never encouraged, but if it happens in the presence of adults, it is usually ignored. Young girls may play at feeding their infant siblings from their own nipples, and little children of both sexes handle their sexual organs without apparent inhibition. We have seen mothers put their babies to sleep by masturbating them; although in some communities (San Bartolomé), it is said that masturbation may bring madness, this seems to be a ladino belief which some indians living in close contact with ladinos have adopted, and refers more to adolescent males than to children.

Men joke frequently among themselves about sexual matters, and the young men ask each other for advice in "techniques" of talking with the girls. They may approach the girls in the street while they go on an errand or to fetch water, and throw little objects at them to provoke a smile of approval. Some sexual experimentation goes on in propitious hiding places in the outskirts of the village.

Sexual dreams are not considered shameful, but are thought to be real experiences of the spirit, and in some cases deformed births or the pregnancy of an unmarried girl are attributed to these. They are nevertheless feared, because sexual relations with the supernatural are believed to bring death. Notoriously unfaithful spouses risk punishment by being tricked into having relations with supernatural beings disguised as humans.

The indians not only accept but approve of separation under certain conditions, but a woman wishing to divorce may find more obstacles in her path than a man; she may face the displeasure of her own parents, who, if the

marriage is recent, are obliged to return the bride-price, and receive at home a daughter whom it may prove difficult to marry off again--as well as unprofitable; for divorcees (like widows) who enter second unions command no bride-price, or a reduced amount only. Moreover, divorcees easily acquire a reputation for promiscuity which makes them undesirable as wives. Their chances of remarriage depend upon what the community accepts as the causes of divorce. If a woman's husband gets constantly drunk, refuses to support her and beats her so that the neighbors hear it, she may be pitied, and if she runs away from her spouse, she will not be blamed, but she will be expected to return to the conjugal residence if he promises to correct his behavior.

In the communities in which women have economic possibilities of their own, they initiate divorce more frequently, than elsewhere. This is consistent with what has been said above regarding residence arrangements. Men may separate without difficulty. Though his parents attempt to prevent a separation, they frequently take their son's side in a quarrel between husband and wife.

The only reason why a divorced man may find it difficult to remarry, is that he is accused either of being a witch or of being constantly bewitched. This may occur if all the children of his first marriage died or if he has lost more than one wife.

Parents want their children to remain married, among other reasons in order to insure "support and company" for their old age. If their children maintain irregular marital lives this reflects on their prestige in the community and on their judgment in selecting a spouse for their offspring.

When a wife separates from her husband, she moves out

of the household, taking her children with her. If she is the owner of the sitio (as, in many cases, in Amatenango) she refuses her husband entrance into the house. Usually, she returns to her parent's household. When the man initiates the separation, he may return the wife to her parents and reclaim the bride-price, provided there are no children, or he may "abandon" her, moving into a house with another woman, but refusing thereafter to support her or her children. Such cases are frequently brought before the authorities of San Bartolomé, as "bigamy" or adultery cases.

Catholic teaching has sometimes resulted in the separation of well-established indian couples. A church wedding for the traditional indian is a luxury, which involves feasting and great expense. Therefore many marital unions are free, or what the priest calls "amancebados". Free unions are sinful, and he preaches constantly against them, recommending religious marriage to those "living in sin". Some indians become convinced of their sinful life, but being unable to pay for a traditional wedding or unable to marry because one of the spouses has been legally married beforehand, they separate. Such occurrences provide a measure of the moral hegemony of ladino values in an indian community.

Polygyny and Monogamy

The same type of conflict between the accepted indian practice and the Catholic Church occurs with regard to polygyny. Polygyny is found only in the most traditional communities of the area where it is an accepted and even, in a sense, prestigious custom. It is certainly not accepted in those where the indians have had regular close contact with the priesthood. In Aguacatenango, for example,

which the priests have visited more or less regularly from the time of the conquest, there is a strong feeling of the rightfulness of monogamy. Aguacatecos pity the women of La Palizada, a highland settlement of Chanalero indians with which they have regular commercial contact, because their men practice multiple marriages. Polygyny is, obviously, never practiced by more than a minority of the population; the question is whether custom allows it at all. Three cases were reported for Sivacá, many for Chanal and Bachajón. For the fincas of Ocosingo it has been reported as rare. Our information of the structure of polygynous domestic units in the area is scanty.

In Bachajón a man may have two or occasionally more wives if he can afford to keep them in separate households. Usually one is in the ranchería (the small paraje settlements where the men have their milpas) and another in the town center itself. If both are kept in the same settlement they are placed far apart within the town division to which the man belongs.

In Chanal, the informants are well aware that for the ladinos and the priest polygyny is "sinful", and this is a difficult subject to touch upon; many will flatly deny its existence. It is customary, in Chanal, to keep the wives living separately, but sometimes they are given living quarters in the same sitio. (It may be that the custom of separating the houses is also a reflection of the villagers' concern to keep the matter secret from ladinos.)

In Sivacá, co-wives share a common sitio and share work also; wash the husband's clothes, while one cooks the other makes tortillas, if one carries water the other sweeps the patio. The only obvious sphere in which they act separately is in regard to their children; each cares

for her own and they never exchange this duty for each other.

In other aspects Sivacá is similar to Chanal: they keep their money separate, own their own chickens, and act, except in relation to their common spouse, as female heads of two separate domestic groups.

There is a case in Sivacá, also, in which a man married a woman and her daughter by a previous marriage, when the daughter became old enough to marry. Both have children by him. This union is not apparently regarded as incestuous.

When a man takes a second wife his first one has to agree, and she preserves the rights of head wife in community affairs: the first wife is the one that "holds" office when her husband has a cargo, and the youngest son of the first wife is the one that inherits the home of the father. If a first wife has no sons it will be the youngest of the second wife who is expected to inherit. If both have sons, the men may build a separate home for the second wife and have her younger male child inherit this home.

The relations between wives seem cordial to the best of our knowledge; both keep separate their cooking, their own money, and their own corn. They help each other only if one is sick.

Adoption, Inheritance, and Succession

The death or separation of the parents puts the ties of kinship to the test. The relative strength of patrilineal ties can be seen in the rearrangement of the household. Responsibility for orphans goes to their elder siblings if they are old enough to take over the role of their deceased parents. The elder brother assumes the headship of the household, the eldest sister plays the

mother to her infant siblings; she may even be called "mother" by them. When there are no elder siblings the children go to their patrilineal kin in the traditional indian towns and in default of any of these they may be adopted by any member of the same name-group (indian or Spanish). In the ladino and bilocal indian communities, they may be adopted by the kin of either their father or mother.

In a traditional indian community, if the parents separate, then the infants and young children remain with their mother, while boys from the age of eight or nine years stay with their father or move to a household of their father's kin. An elder daughter may go with the father to keep house for him. The children seldom join the household of the father if he remarries. The younger children may move to join their father or his kin once they are older. Boys, in particular, return to their paternal kin to claim bride-price or the land to which they have a right by virtue of their patrilineal descent. This they do even if they have been raised by the mother's parents or sibling.

If the mother dies, the children remain with their father and are cared for by their paternal kin. But if the father dies, the structural ties which bind them to their paternal kin come into conflict with the familial ties which bind them to their mother. The infants and young children tend to remain with her until they are grown up, even if she remarries, but this is neither always the rule nor, where it is the rule, always the case. For children are said to belong to their father and his kin and their claim to them reasserts itself as soon as they are old enough to dispense with the mother's care.

We find a rule in traditional communities such as

Bachajón and Tenejapa that the fatherless child should not stay with his mother but go to live with relatives of his father, his father's mother, if possible. In other communities, scarcely less traditional, such as Aguacatenango, and Sivacá, the step-father, the mother's second husband is expected to adopt his wife's children. Of 201 unmarried persons in Aguacatenango, 5.5% had been adopted by their step-fathers, but an equal number by their father's relatives. In Sivacá, in one case (which is said to be the first in the community), the mother's husband refused to accept her children upon marrying her. The children were given to their father's father, but the man was twice taken before the authorities and in the end he decided to accept the children because the gossip and threats had become too much for him.

A child may be adopted even while its parents are alive. If a couple have many children and the husband's brother's wife has none, she may be given a child to raise. This may prevent the break-up of a childless marriage and insure her compañía and support in her old age.

Sometimes a lonely woman will adopt an orphan child with whom she has no kinship connection, not even the bond of an common-name group. Unmarried or widowed women who are economically solvent but childless may even adopt several children and raise them in succession. This has been reported from Tenejapa and the Finca of Chajtajal.

Such adoption depends exclusively on the wish of the adopter. A child of a different pueblo may be adopted this way. A Chamula child has been adopted in Tenejapa. People who have gone to work in the fincas have adopted finca orphans, and brought them back to their village on their return. However, such cases of adoption are unusual.

When a couple is very poor they may be willing to part

⊗ with one or more of their children, if they cannot afford to feed them. In Pinola, this adoption by gift (regalo) is formalized in law by the municipal judge, and is officially registered. The legitimate parents are compensated in cash, and lose any jural rights over the offspring. This also occurs frequently in San Cristóbal, among ladinos who "adopt" indian children.

There is a difference in status between children who are adopted by other indians and those adopted by ladinos. A child adopted by an indian family has by custom the rights and duties of a legitimate "blood" child although biological children have preferential rights of inheritance.

⊗ A child adopted by a ladino family becomes a servant, and will be provided at marriage with some cash or clothes, but does not inherit as blood children, nor has he ever the same social status. Ladinos who practice no such custom themselves are apt to refer to this as the indian custom of "selling their children".

⊗ A temporary and informal system of adoption of children exists in indian communities which is commonly called "borrowing"; a grandmother may borrow a grandchild in this way and indian children are even sometimes loaned to a ladino family in this way.

The indian does not distinguish between the transmission of property in the form of gift or in the form of inheritance, when the person to whom the gift is given is an heir. Children have a claim upon the property of their parents, but this is frequently paid during their lifetime rather than at their death.

Custom lays down no norms for the transmission of property other than land and animals, though a father may be obliged to spend money in order to buy the land or house-

site which a son requires to set up a separate household. The possibilities of inheritance depend, of course, upon the property rights which are recognized in the community. Animals are always privately owned. Land is owned on a permanent basis only in some communities and only certain types of land; irrigable land and temporal where it is scarce. The right of usufruct in a milpa until its exhaustion is always held privately and it is always inheritable.

With certain exceptions which will be discussed later, male children only inherit and in default of them property passes to close agnatic kin. Women may, however, hold land as widows in trust for their small children, or they may receive it when they remain living with their parents in matrilocal marriage. Inheritance through the male line only can be seen to be associated with the strength of the patrilineal principle and with patrilocal marriage, and in this it contrasts with the customs of the ladinos and with Mexican law by which female children have equal rights of inheritance. Thus we find women inheriting land in the southern zone in accordance with the law of the land. We find this also in Amatenango, where they are economically productive thanks to the pottery industry, and marriage is bilateral. But we also find women inheriting in Zinacantan and Chamula where there is private property in land but women are economically unproductive and marriage is patrilocal.

Sons receive their "inheritance" when they separate with their family from the domestic group of the parents. The youngest son is expected to remain and to care for them and he inherits the sitio and the land and property which the father has kept for himself. The variations of this custom have already been discussed under the heading of "Residence".

Inheritance seems to be the most common source of conflict between agnatic kinsmen, especially between brothers. The reason for this is that the rules which govern inheritance and succession to the father's authority are too ambiguous to insure an equitable and peaceful distribution of property and power. They depend upon custom, unsupported by any legal sanctions. The appeal to ladino legal authority is seldom made in most places, since it conflicts with custom, and where we do find it (in the southern zone and in the fincas of the East) the ladinos judicate according to Mexican law and recognize the right of inheritance of daughters.

The youngest son, or whichever has remained with the parents, steps into the father's place as head of his household upon his death. But if he dies before all his sons have married, then it is the eldest son who has not yet separated his domestic group from the parents' who fills this role. The new household head is then expected to pay his brothers' bride-prices and endow them with land and animals when they get married. However, he may also move out of the house on the marriage of his younger brother and relinquish to him the sitio and the care of their mother. In some cases two married brothers will stay in the same sitio and share the responsibility of caring for their mother, thereby forming a joint household. In other cases, the property is sold on the death of the father, and the cash divided among the heirs. In others again, each of the brothers may claim exclusive rights to the inheritance and attempt to get them ratified by the local authorities.

A certain ambiguity clouds the relationship of brothers. The principle of seniority is strong in this society; an older brother has authority over his younger

siblings, but a young man who inherits his father's home and responsibilities may not be willing to accept the authority of his older brother. Again, after the father's death, brothers who have already received their share of the "inheritance" may claim that the younger brother has received a much larger share because the father had kept the best land and animals for himself and they may claim from him a part of what is left. Brothers also fight over their share of the inheritance, on the grounds that they have not been fairly endowed.

The conflicts which develop from this situation are not easily solved since they derive from what is in fact a conflict in the norms themselves: that which asserts the value of seniority and that which prescribes ultimogeniture; the norm of succession conflicts with the custom of inheritance, the authority of the elder with the economic privileges of the younger.

The two norms relate logically to different stages in the development of the domestic cycle. If the father dies when the sons are young the eldest is most capable to take his place, but if he dies as an old man when the sons are all married and separated long ago from his household, the youngest will be already firmly established as his father's heir. In between these two ideal situations the issue are ambiguous, since they depend upon the relative wealth and age of the children, their personalities and the history of their emotional attachments to each other and to their parents.

When these personal conflicts break into the open, brothers may fight each other in public when drunk and be taken to the authorities, who if they are ladinos ignore the customary law of indians. Indian authorities will judge according to the norms of Indian custom. The existence of an Indian authority is therefore primordial in

maintaining custom in this regard. The possibility of one party appealing to a ladino authority introduces a fresh element of uncertainty and tests the solidarity of ~~the~~ ^{the} indian community. In other instances, an elder of the agnatic kin group may intervene and try to redistribute the property in agreement with the parties concerned. In Aguacatenango, one group of siblings divided the inheritance by calling a group of witnesses who were not close kinsmen. In the lack or failure of arbitration one brother may accuse the other of witchcraft, or try to run him out of town, or even threaten to kill him.

Although siblings are expected to love and respect each other, sibling rivalry is one of the eternal domains of conflict in indian society. The child is taken away from his mother at the birth of a second infant, and nothing is done to mitigate the traumatic shock. Until the new sibling is born, he sleeps with his parents, is breast fed, and constantly in physical contact with the mother. When the next baby is born, he is weaned, and given to another female to care for. Indians recognize the symptoms of sibling rivalry, and say that upon occasions a child may die of "jealousy" when the next infant is born (he refuses to eat, has temper tantrums, etc.). Later in life, elder children are made responsible for caring for their younger brothers and sisters, and although they have some authority to punish them if they misbehave, the younger is usually preferred by the parents when they quarrel.

In the oral literature of the area, when a conflict between relatives is mentioned, it is usually between younger and elder brother. In some stories the brothers try to kill each other; sometimes one loves his parents and the other does not; and so forth. The stories all end with the success of the younger child: he kills the

elder brother, he saves his father from death by paying his curing while his elder leaves town; he is rewarded with riches and a beautiful wife while his elder brother dies in distant lands, and so on.¹

¹One is put in mind by these modern stories of a more ancient literary tradition of conflict between brothers which implies that they are not simply the product of the acculturative impact of the West.

The inheritance of women, in the communities in which women are not expected to inherit also gives rise to conflicts. In spite of the norms, in many cases women receive property as gifts, particularly when they have no brother, and on occasions, a father who has fought with his male children may want to leave the property to a female offspring. Also, a widow may refuse to relinquish her husband's animals or landed property to his agnatic kin, claiming that it was earned through her help and that she has a right to it. (This claim is in accordance with Mexican law.)

Cases of conflict between agnatic kinsmen and the wife of a deceased relative have been reported for several communities (Tenejapa, Aguacatenango, etc.), and there are also many cases of conflict between affines which hinge upon inheritance.

In contrast to the domestic structure of traditional indian life, the ladino family is essentially bilateral. Marriage is ideally neolocal, though among the poorer ladinos necessity leads to the formation of compound dwelling-units. In Chiapilla, as has already been mentioned, there is a statistical probability of two to one that these will be formed patrilineally rather than matrilineally. This reflects no stated norm but relates to the obligation

of the husband rather than the wife to find the residential accommodation for the couple. It is also related to the custom of elopement and to the claim of sons to be provided on their marriage with land by their fathers for the subsistence of the new married couple. The composition of the domestic group is highly variable; it is formed from a panel provided by the family whose members have the option of residing together. Solitary males or females attach themselves to any household where they have a parent, sibling or child. When they do so accompanied by a spouse, they form a compound dwelling-unit. The residential units so formed, whether they consist of more than one domestic group, are highly unstable and their membership changes not only in the passage through the domestic cycle but in response to the pattern of personal quarrels and reconciliations. Members move in and out, vacillating between the different households which their familial ties entitle them to join: wives leave their husbands (or are abandoned by them) and return to their parents; parents leave spouses and join their children, children leave parents and join their siblings. Later, they may return.

If the divorce rate appears high in some Indian communities, the household nevertheless possesses a stability which is lacking in Chiapilla and which is connected with the various institutions of bride-price and ritual duties which have been described, and also with its significance as a productive unit.

Chiapilla may be somewhat extreme in its domestic instability. As we move to the middle classes we find church weddings the rule rather than the exception and a stabler pattern of marital and family relations. Divorce becomes rare in the upper class and the compound dwelling-unit, also, is exceptional. The rule of neolocal residence becomes a reality. The serial polygyny and polyandry

which typifies the lower classes gives way to the stable marriage and, frequently, the simultaneous polygyny in which a man carries on a visiting relationship with a "querida"--a relationship which, needless to say, is very far from stable. This is also found among the poor classes where the fact that a woman is able to be economically independent makes it possible for such relationships to exist without obliging the lover to contribute more than occasional gifts to the support of his mistress. While proud of his illegitimate offspring, he does not necessarily, or even usually, support them.

The prestige accruing to paternity is shared by all classes of ladino society and relates to the values which are commonly defined as "machismo", the cult of masculinity. It is a matter of repute rather than self-esteem. A man feels himself to be macho, but he wishes to have it demnstrated. This can be done first of all through the sexual conquest of women who by gifting him children testify to his powerful masculinity in a quite literal sense. It is essential that he dominate women and the value of his conquests resides not simply in the fact that he took advantage of them but that they be recognized as "his" women. This particular concept of honor also requires that he defend the women of his family from the attentions of other males, not only his wife, but those who are prohibited to him by the impediment of incest; his mother, his sister and his daughter. Clearly such a conceptual system brings men into conflict and it is precisely in situations of antagonism that we can see the value of machismo. Its sexual aspect is almost subsidiary to its aspect as power. Its essence, then, is a claim to personal independence, to command over others and to refuse to submit to their will. This aspiration to individual independence carries with it the counterpart of responsibility for oneself. Each man is

responsible for his own defense. The ideal of machismo therefore places limits on the extent of solidarity; it is significant that quarrels and, in particular, fights, are almost always, in ladino as opposed to indian society, individual affairs which oppose two antagonists and in which third parties are loath to intervene.

Machismo is an ideal, a motive for action, not a common practice. How could it be otherwise? It is by definition competitive, since it involves imposing humiliation on others. But since it is an ideal to which all men aspire, it also implies that they must endeavor to avoid humiliation and to do so they must avoid provocation. Hence, the permissiveness which characterizes personal relations and the frailty of the sanctions of public opinion.

The values of the ladinos contrast sharply with those of the indian community for whom personal dominance is not an ideal. On the contrary, humility is a virtue and one which is enforced by the fear of witchcraft. The egalitarian ethos of the indians has drawn the attention of many writers and will be discussed in detail later. It is sufficient to note here that its economic aspect is controlled by spiritual sanctions which do not exist in ladino society and that the order of precedence observed in the indian community relates to age, above all, and to a concept of spiritual strength connected with religious and civil office, that is to say, deriving from the consensus of the community. It is imposed by others not, like the precedence established through machismo, enforced by the individual himself.

KINSHIP

The value of kinship is not great in ladino society. Those families of the upper class who can trace their descent to a prestigious forebear give it some importance, but it establishes no ties between the living, outside the range of the family, which are not validated by other criteria of class, wealth and education. The memory of common descent fades in the third generation, and some of us have been surprised to discover, on occasions, that persons whom we did not suspect were in fact legitimate first cousins.

Kinship is quite a different matter in traditional indian society. To begin with, the naming system is different; whereas the ladinos add the maternal patronym to the paternal in order to form the double surname (which is very often not used except in legal documents), the second surname of an indian is a paternal patronym, but an indian name as opposed to the first which is Spanish. Thus: Manuel Arias (Spanish), Sohom (indian), or Pascual Hernández (Spanish), T'ul (indian). The ladino's two surnames define him as the son of a given father and mother, the indian's define him as a member of two name-groups, both patrilineal, but the first more extensive than the second. The indian pueblo possesses a limited number of Spanish surnames which divide its members into more or less corporate groups which have been called by various names: clan, sib, phratry. Each of these is further divided into rather more explicitly corporate sub-groups, by the addition of the indian surname. As many as thirty-two indian names are grouped behind a single Spanish name and as few as a single one. For the sake of clarity and in order to avoid unnecessary polemics regarding usage it appears wiser to remain at the ethnographical level and refer to these groups as "the Spanish name-group" and the "indian

The first part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the effects of the environment on the development of the brain. It is shown that the environment has a profound influence on the development of the brain, and that this influence is most pronounced during the early years of life. The second part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the effects of the environment on the development of the personality. It is shown that the environment has a profound influence on the development of the personality, and that this influence is most pronounced during the early years of life. The third part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the effects of the environment on the development of the social skills. It is shown that the environment has a profound influence on the development of the social skills, and that this influence is most pronounced during the early years of life. The fourth part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the effects of the environment on the development of the emotional stability. It is shown that the environment has a profound influence on the development of the emotional stability, and that this influence is most pronounced during the early years of life. The fifth part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the effects of the environment on the development of the cognitive abilities. It is shown that the environment has a profound influence on the development of the cognitive abilities, and that this influence is most pronounced during the early years of life. The sixth part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the effects of the environment on the development of the physical health. It is shown that the environment has a profound influence on the development of the physical health, and that this influence is most pronounced during the early years of life. The seventh part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the effects of the environment on the development of the mental health. It is shown that the environment has a profound influence on the development of the mental health, and that this influence is most pronounced during the early years of life. The eighth part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the effects of the environment on the development of the overall well-being. It is shown that the environment has a profound influence on the development of the overall well-being, and that this influence is most pronounced during the early years of life.

name-group". Even so, certain qualifications are necessary. There are instances where some of the names which follow the Spanish name and define the sub-group, that is to say, what we call the indian name, are in fact Spanish. (This is the case in Chamula and in Oxchuc, notably.) However, if it fulfills the function of the indian name, we shall ignore this from the point of view of definition. In certain pueblos, Pinola, Zinacantan, Sivacá, Huistán, and in the paraje of Sisim in Chalchihuitán, there is no indian name, and in these places, the Spanish name-group takes on some but not necessarily all the functions associated elsewhere with the indian name-group. Thus in Sivacá the indianized Spanish surnames define groups which have both the size and function of indian name-groups and the whole pueblo is smaller than some of the Spanish name-groups of neighboring villages. On the other hand, in Pinola the Spanish name has none of the corporate functions of either Spanish or indian name-groups. It is not even the basis of exogamy. The Pinoltecos use two Spanish surnames, the paternal and maternal patronyms, like the ladinos.

The functions attached to the name-groups, indian or Spanish, vary from one pueblo to another, expressing the solidarity and corporateness of each. (The charts show how the individual pueblos are organized in terms of these.) Economic and agricultural cooperation, exogamy, judicial authority vested in an elder (principal) or the duty of collective vengeance, are all found to pertain, in one place or another, to name-groups.

Genealogical knowledge is not extensive in this society, therefore while surnames are transmitted patrilineally it does not follow that those of the same indian name, let alone Spanish name¹, are able to establish genealogical connections.

¹Monolinguals even sometimes ignore their Spanish surname, as

Medina found in Tenejapa (field-note, 6.5.61) and as others have found in the more distant pueblos.

These are known only within the small patrilocal settlement of a handful of households who are able to trace their relationship through an ancestor, not more than three generations removed from the contemporary living. No named ancestors are recorded of greater antiquity. These units of territorially-based and genealogically-related kin we call patriline

This is what Holland calls "patrilineages". He gives their genealogical depth as five generations but it appears he is including living generations in the count, which would give the same depth as ourselves.

and, within them, kinship terminology is used to all members (The discussion of kinship terminology will not be included in this report since it would require more space than we can afford.)

Patriline are therefore segments of indian name-groups which commonly include members dispersed in different geographical locations. On account of its territorial unity the patriline always has economic and juridical significance whether or not such functions are also vested in the name-group or paraje. It is the largest unit of descent which is at the same time a territorial unit, though name-groups, both indian and Spanish, are associated in the folklore with territorial locations. However, patriline are not strictly structured according to descent and where the principal of a patriline has authority, he owes it, not to his genealogical seniority, but to his social eminence which derives from age, past office and the possession of a powerful spirit.

Formal judicial and political authority is held in certain highland pueblos (the most complete example is Oxchuc)

The order
different from
Tzo?

by elders endowed with responsibility for name-groups, but more commonly the authority of the elders applies to parajes.

If this society possesses a shallow genealogical depth, it is not lacking in the notion of common descent and this is reflected in the importance given to the ancestors (me'iltatiles, totilme'iles) who are the perpetual guardians of the community and who are tied to its natural features. They have their abode in the sacred caves. The land belongs to them and where land-rights are vested in collectivities, they are specifically the ancestors of the collectivity, name-group or paraje. Yet the ancestors have no proper names and appear as a quite unstructured group. Moreover, the variety of usages found for the terms me'iltatil, etc., which often apply equally to the spirits of living persons who are supernatural guardians, shows that they represent the notion of the spiritual power vested in antecedence. They are, as it were, the sacredness of tradition personified while they are alive, but once dead, they soon lose their individual identity and merge into the general notion of sacred antiquity. The spirits of the recently dead are dangerous, but in a different way to the living since they no longer have a nagual (see Witchcraft), and no sanctions are exerted by the long-since dead, only by the "ancestors".

The social relations of the traditional pueblos are permeated by the idiom of kin. To begin with, all elderly men may be addressed as "father" (and women as "mother") within the community of the pueblo. The terms for brother--elder brother bankil or younger brother itzin--are used as reciprocals in relationships of respect and utilized as titles within the civil-religious hierarchy to express the notions of seniority and juniority, the essential features of an order of precedence which pervades every aspect of life. Kin-terms are also used specifically to express membership of the same name group, and affinal terms to members of the

wife's name-group. Yet to what extent they express the notion of kinship rather than comradeship appears dubious and variable, for they are not always explicitly significant of a particular relationship and some of them are not kinship terms at all. Thus in Cancuc (Guiteras, 1947) the term chapomal is used between members of the same "clan", a somewhat unique social unit comprising various indian name-groups which divides the whole pueblo into three. On the other hand, in Chalchihuitán (Guiteras, field-notes, Hopkins, 1964) the term ni' which means son-in-law or brother's son-in-law provides a form of address in saluting a comrade or friend. The word "hermano" or "hermano" is also frequently used to express comradeship but it is also explicitly the term used between fellow-members of a name-group. It derives from the Spanish hermano (brother), yet it can hardly be considered a kin-term, at least, when used by monolinguals for whom the first principle of kinship terminology is the distinction between older and younger brother.¹ It seems

¹The ladinos even make this distinction by the mutually-exclusive usage of hermano (older brother) and hermanito (younger brother).

likely that it was introduced originally in the common Spanish sense of fellow member of a sodality or religious community and has never been a kin-term. However, it is not used within the modern sodality which is hierarchised and therefore uses terms which accord precedence, and Guiteras records of monolingual Chalchihuitán (op. cit.) that the husband of a woman addressed as hermana on account of common membership of a Spanish-name-group is called brother-in-law (bol). This term is common elsewhere in the same relationship. In brief, the affinity which exists between members of the same corporate group is expressed by a variety of terms

2.5.6

which may or may not employ the concept of kin.

The distinction within the total system between those who are regarded as more or less closely related is made in terms of "family" or "apart". The patriline is always considered family, the indian name-group is commonly so considered. The distinction appears sometimes, though not always (e.g., Oxchuc) to relate to the exogamous group, as when it is explained that marriage can take place between two groups because they are "aparte". Exogamy varies in fact from one pueblo to another and in certain instances from one generation to another. Thus, in Chamula, the exogamous group in the patriline; in Larráinzar, Chalchihuitán, San Bartolomé today, and formerly Aguacatenango, it is the indian name-group; in Oxchuc, Chenalhó, Sivacé (which has no indian name), San Bartolomé formerly and these days in Aguacatenango, among the young at least, it is the Spanish name-group. (It should be noted that while Aguacatenango is expanding the range of exogamy, San Bartolomé is restricting it.) In Chanal the group of Spanish name-groups is exogamous, and in Cancuc it is the somewhat similar unit of the clan.

The rule of endogamy is scarcely more easily recognized, for it appears to be broken continually wherever it exists, since there are always individuals who are prepared to violate it, but they succeed less often in bringing the illicit spouse into the supposedly endogamous community, be it the barrío or the pueblo. The rule of endogamy is said to apply in Chalchihuitán only to a first marriage. It is significant that while the exogamic group is always a descent-group, endogamy always depends upon a territorial grouping. (The detail of individual pueblos will be found in the charts.)

The corporate descent-groups are cross-cut by territorial groupings. The cluster or settlement corresponds ideally to the patriline, and in most cases it does so in fact,

though there is some interspersión. The paraje commonly corresponds, though less firmly, to an indian name-group in that each name-group tends to belong to a given paraje which it dominates--and in Oxchuc this is made explicit in terms of land rights; alienated members may return to claim land in that which is associated with their name. Yet we have not found an instance of a paraje which was inhabited uniquely by members of a single name-group.¹ As a rule the

¹Though Guiteras (1961, p. 69) gives a single instance in Chenalhó of a Spanish name-group, all of whose members lived in the same paraje.

name-groups are dispersed unevenly throughout the barrio, or more widely.

The barrio is a territorial division of a pueblo, both within the town and also throughout the whole rural area belonging to it. It is called calpul in many places, though in Bachajón the calpul is a subdivision of a barrio, and the word is used as well to apply to the name-group in Chenalhó. However, the calpul also exists in Oxchuc, as a territorial division only within the town itself, and outside it, as a division into what have been called "moieties" which are distinguished by allegiance to separate saints and subjection to separate authorities within the civil-religious hierarchy whose paired officials are responsible, each for his own calpul. Though moiety membership is accorded by descent, it can be changed. (A rather different dichotomy exists in the barrio of San Geronimo in Bachajón though the moieties there are not called calpules.)

A general discussion is completed throughout by the fact that similar types of social unit are called by different names from one pueblo to the next (and not only by the ethnographers); the people themselves use different names for the

same thing and vice versa. Yet one can say, none the less, that the principle of descent and the principle of territoriality provide alternative ways of prescribing political and economic allegiances and marriage restrictions and the strength of each varies in different areas. The value of kinship is greatest in the isolated monolingual communities of the eastern highlands, where it depends upon a balanced concordance with settlement pattern. Where this balance is upset the principle of territoriality takes over. Where land is held individually and can be pawned to any member of the pueblo--above all, when it is inherited by women, its value as a basis for kinship solidarity erodes. The importance of kin decreases as its judicial functions are taken over by purely territorial authorities, that is to say, when the principal has authority over the paraje, not over the name-group, and the more dispersed the name-group the less effectually it is able to serve the system of social control. In Oxchuc and Cancuc it is primordial, in Pinola it is negligible. Yet even in San Bartolomé where the cultural distance between indians and ladinos is, among traditional pueblos, the least, kinship retains a significance, which is quite foreign to ladino society, as a basis for cooperation in agriculture and for political solidarity.

Movement out of the highland community breaks up the traditional social organization and the members of the new colonies in the lowlands leave behind their ancestors and with them their indian names and the complex solidarities based upon descent groups. Yet they take their culture with them. Thus a member of such a community, in the area of Ocosingo, refused to allow his daughter to marry a man from a different and distant colony on the grounds that both families were named Domingue. The poor milper^s of the region of the Ocosingo fincas have many elements in their culture which recall the indians yet they have the status of ladinos and

the structure of the society in which they live is quite different from that of indian society. Expressed in a word, this difference is between corporate groups based upon ascribed status and overtly recognized, and associations based upon personal ties and economic interests and cultural achievements.

SOCIAL CLASS AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Certain differences of wealth are observable not only between indian communities but, despite the sanctions of the egalitarian ethos, between individuals within a single indian community. This appears to be particularly the case in Zinacantan (Cancian, 1963), yet such differences cannot be said to amount to differences of social class in that the concept of a category of persons socially superior to others is missing. Men become more powerful or more wealthy, and even endow their sons with the increased possibility of attaining a similar position. But we do not find that anyone is regarded as being in any way a different kind of person on account of this superiority. It is a superiority of individual prestige only which derives from age, spiritual power, political or religious function and for which a certain wealth is necessary but is never in itself a criterion. Members of the prestigious person's domestic group derive prestige through their association with him, particularly the wife who participates in his ritual functions, but they enjoy it only so long as he is there. Birth creates no basis of differentiation.

Differences of social class always express themselves as cultural differences and within a class society the socially mobile must acquire the culture of those whose ranks they aspire to enter. Differences of culture carry a class connotation among ladinos but not among indians. There are differences of culture within indian communities, even when they give an appearance of homogeneity: some communities are partly "re-dressed", some contain both monolinguals and bilinguals, and their speech varies in indian and in Spanish. In all indian communities there are some individuals who have knowledge of ladino ways

and distant parts, and others who have never been outside their pueblo; some who know the prayers and others who do not. This cultural diversity frequently relates to age, as has been said, and also to residence which determines the frequency of contact with ladinos. However it is significant that in terms of traditional indian values (and excluding therefore the views of some of the young promotores of the National Indian Institute, INI) ladino ways are not necessarily regarded as superior to indian ways and therefore these cultural differences do not establish the kind of social distinctions which are found in a class society.

Their evaluation, in fact, varies. Let us take Tenejapa as an example. Prestige is accorded to individuals on three different bases: prestige through political power within the municipal government which is associated with the promotores and also with the faction of the federal schoolmasters. The politically prestigious are those who have widest knowledge of ladino culture. Yet by the fact of their political power they are excluded from the traditional religious hierarchy, while those who fill cargos (religious offices) are not those who openly wield political power, even though their prestige is greater in the eyes of traditionalists. Their cargos are what people boast about when drunk and since they require a great outlay of wealth they may be taken as an index of economic success, as well as of prestige.

However, the "principales" of the parajes are to be distinguished both from the politically powerful and from the holders of religious office. They who assure the religious rites connected with the land tend to be men who have spent little time outside their local group, have least relations with the cabecera and know least about the ladinos. Their ideals and way of life are opposed to

those of the politically ambitious. Again, those who take religious office are not those who know most about the Catholic religion taught by the priest. On the contrary, the "good Catholics" among the indians are those with aspirations to political power within the faction of the federal schoolmasters. Finally of course prestige is granted to spiritual power, knowledge of curing or possession of a San Miguelito, a talking box, which conform to none of the other criteria.

The instance of San Bartolomé is somewhat different. Here the religious hierarchy no longer functions, and the prestige which derives from activities in the festal cycle is largely confined to the role of carrerante which requires little beyond the ability and willingness to face the necessary disbursements. Prestige is accorded to those who play a dominant role in the political affairs of the community which means in the main the organization of the common lands (bienes comunales) since the indian government has been abolished. In contrast, in Pinola where the indian municipality still exists the holders of political office are not the most prestigious members of the indian community, and though a certain consideration is granted to the leaders of the ejidal organization, spiritual power remains the criterion of prestige.

The paraje of Huistán studied by Miller (1960) provides another instance in which the dominant element of the community is, at the same time, the most traditional culturally and also the most receptive to modern ideas on such matters as hygiene introduced by the ladino schoolmaster and the INI.

We can conclude then that the cultural variations found within the indian community do not serve as a basis for social distinctions of a hierarchical order. The

ability to speak well in public, to sway people with his opinions is a quality which commands respect and augurs the attainment of prestige, but it is to speak well in lengua, not in Spanish, that really counts, for it is a sign of a strong spirit. To speak well in Spanish gives prestige of another kind, that of being "muy castilla" which as we shall see has its political value.

The multiple and dissonant criteria of prestige can be counted among the major factors which prohibit the development of social classes within the numerically restricted and morally self-sufficient orbit of the indian community.

In these ways it contrasts strongly with the ladino community, which both recognizes social distinctions and recognizes them as the basis for a hierarchy valid throughout the area, which rests upon consumption patterns and way of life as well as birth, education and appearance, but is only slightly affected by political power and not at all by any such notion as spiritual strength. The upper class of San Cristóbal is, to begin with, regarded as superior to those of smaller towns, while its members do not regard themselves as in any way inferior to those of Tuxtla. On the contrary, since one of the values which contribute to their idea of social superiority is antiquity, and Tuxtla is a modern city, they are able, while pointing to their descent from the Spanish Conquistadores, to look down on the Tuxtleños as upstarts.

In addition, they look back with longing to the days before the Revolution when they led a life of grandeur based economically upon their cattle-ranches and commerce. They accord Tuxtla no superiority on account of its status as the State Capital since they regard it as unjust that it should be so, while the presence of the government

offices there gives it no prestige in their eyes, since they regard the officials as rascals, dedicated to intrigues to take away their land. Reversing these values, the Tuxtleños despise the upper class of San Cristóbal as backward, snobbish and out of touch with the national life.

Yet while regarding themselves as aristocratic, the upper class does not, and did not, subscribe to all the characteristics associated with aristocracy in Europe. Though the possession of fincas is a symbol of social superiority they do not regard them as ancestral holdings to which they are hereditarily attached but rather as prestigious investments. They buy them and sell them as such. They indulge in commercial activities without in any way attenuating their status. There is therefore no distinction between the land-owning and commercial classes, nor was there before the Revolution. Moreover, one does not find here that manual labor has importance as a basis of class distinction. Members of the upper class are quite prepared to work with their hands. There

✓ Colby and Van der Berghe (1961) are mistaken on this point in their interpretation of the ethic of the upper class of San Cristóbal. It is in marked contrast to that which is found in Spain where physical work attenuates class status.

are no palaces in San Cristóbal, but they live in houses with sparse interiors, distinguished only by their size and the detail of their ornamentation, which testifies to the prosperity of the Porfirian epoch. Some modern houses of which the ground floor is often a shop, have been built by leading citizens of the town. In some ways, therefore, they more nearly resemble a wealthy bourgeoisie 1

than an aristocracy.

The system then is not one of entrenched classes defending their privileges but rather of a graduated scale of social superiority closely linked to economic status. A family which loses this basis for its position sinks to a less costly way of life and disappears from the ranks of the leading families in the next generation. Nevertheless, class is not simply equivalent to wealth but is qualified by other factors which complete the ideal picture of the social hierarchy. "Pauperized members of the upper class may still, as in Teopisca (Hotchkiss 1964) receive recognition of their social status".

The first of these is "culture". The upper classes educate their children in private colleges, and then to Mexico City to the university from which they may graduate as doctors or engineers or to the Law school in San Cristóbal itself. They possess books, and remember that their parents of pre-Revolutionary times went to France to complete their education. (Though the number who did so were in fact limited to a handful.) An amateur dramatic society staged in 1961 a representation of a translation of Molière, in which the parts were taken by members of the leading families.

There are no great fortunes centered on San Cristóbal other than that of the owner of the factory of Pujilic, but the means of the richer families permit them to have an American automobile, to buy their clothes in Mexico City, to drink the more expensive brands of rum and, occasionally, whisky, and to employ several servants in the house.

They go to Mexico City for business, pleasure or health and some families keep a house there. Those of them who take a university degree and enter a profession tend to remain to practice in Mexico City. One of the

consequences of this is a lack of balance between the sexes in the upper class, which has been pointed out by Mann.

Another criterion which defines the ideal image of the upper class is physical^{1/}. The old families of San

^{1/}Moscoso Pastrana, Prudencio: El complejo ladino en los altos de Chiapas in VIII Mesa Redonda-- Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Mexico, 1961.

Cristóbal are much more European in physical type than the lower class ladinos though some of them are darker than others. To be white is a sign of status. For this reason the upper class tends to endogamy, though it is far from being devoid of traces of indian heritage. A number of Europeans, mainly Spaniards, have immigrated and intermarried into the upper class, a fact which helps to maintain their paler color and such matches are all the more easily explained by the shortage of upper-class husbands. As has been mentioned the word "indio" is normally used as an insult and the diminutive "indito" refers to indians. In neither instance is the genetic implication the important one, since an indito ceases effectively to be one once he acquires the culture which enables him to pass for ladino; the upper class frequently refers to a member of the lower class as "really indian" or "half-indian" or "re-dressed indian". Moreover, indians who have become ladinos use the term "indito" to refer to those who have not changed their affiliation. Manuel Arias (Guiteras, 1961) tells of a Bablera whom he first took to San Cristóbal as his mistress and who subsequently, having become a "revestida", referred to him then as an "indito"; Villa Rojas recounts the story in his field notes of two "re-vestidas" who brought their quarrel to the authorities of

Oxchuc complaining each that the other had called her "indita". On the other hand the term indio denotes indian modes of behavior and character and implies shortcomings which relate to cultural deficiency and are thought to derive only very vaguely from ethnic origin. In these senses the supposedly ethnic distinction is above all one of social class, the indians forming a despised or patronized lower class of different culture.

The previous pages have given a picture of the upper class of San Cristóbal and the ideals of the ladinos of the highland area. The upper class of Tuxtla is considerably different in its attitudes. Their wealth derives from commerce, entrepreneurial activities and the professions which all have a much greater importance in the state capital than in San Cristóbal, and it is an importance which has developed above all since the Revolution. The former ownership of landed estates therefore has much less importance. They are a new class even though they incorporate members of old landed families. The ideology of the Revolution is closer to their hearts and the influence of the government is closer to their lives. They belong to the new Mexico. Having little contact with indians, since there are none in the environs, they take a different view of the ethnic problem. They are likely to assert that all true Mexicans have indian blood and the criterion of color, while it is still not without importance as an indication of class, is not normally admitted to be a question of race.

The upper class of San Cristóbal lives more or less in the center of the town. The outlying barrios are occupied by families of lesser wealth and formal education. Among them are many artisans who tend to be grouped by locality giving each barrio a particular character. Thus the barrio of the firework-makers is San Antonio, that of

the weavers is Mexicanos. Custitali is that of the pig-dealers who circulate over the whole area, while the houses of ill-fame are found in San Ramón, and so forth. This is the only town of the region which shows such a specialization by barrio and it relates not only to its size in population but also to the fact that it furnishes services for the whole area, fulfilling the function of a capital.

Its significance in this respect is greater for the upper class of our area who depend more upon its sophisticated services, and require more contact with the center of commerce and "cultivated" upper class "society". Many of the richer families of other towns own a house here and many of them originated here; while the families of San Cristóbal who own fincas, own them not within the poor and restricted territories of the municipality but mainly in the richer zones of lower altitude, where they often have little contact with the local town. The sentiment of superiority through belonging to San Cristóbal rather than to some smaller town extends also to the artisans. A carpenter of San Cristóbal considers himself superior to one from Tenejapa, even though the ladino artisan is a person of more prestige in the smaller town.

The relations between local towns and San Cristóbal depend not only on their distance and communications (the valley of the Grijalva looks today to Chiapa and Tuxtla, rather than to San Cristóbal) but also on the social and economic structure of the community. Thus two of the ladino communities which we have studied are markedly different. Ocosingo is the "cabecera" of the richest cattle-raising municipality where the largest fincas are found and where much coffee is also produced. Its upper class includes persons born in San Cristóbal, and their relations with the capital of the highlands are frequent.

Chiapilla on the other hand, a quarter the distance from San Cristóbal, is a town of small land-owners and ejidatarios who are much more limited to the horizons of the local community and whose communications with San Cristóbal are confined today mainly to the Zinacantecos who come down from "cold country" to make milpa. These indians, though they have close relations with San Cristóbal, provide no channel of communication for the ladinos of Chiapilla with the Capital of the Highlands. ✓ The importance of the local

✓ The anthropologists, however, found that the most efficient method of communication between San Cristóbal and Chiapilla was through the services of a Zinacantecan courier.

social structure in determining the relations with San Cristóbal is well illustrated by the fact that before the Revolution when there were large fincas in Chiapilla they were in many cases owned by people of San Cristóbal who came down to visit them only during certain seasons but who provided a much closer contact than exists today. A further feature was recently reoriented Chiapilla towards Chiapa de Corzo and Tuxtla rather than towards San Cristóbal: the development of truck transport down the Grijalva valley which today takes out all the export of maize and enables people to travel easily to the city. Until the truck transport reached Chiapilla the maize surplus was sold to San Cristóbal.

The parochial aspect of the mentality of the upper class of our area was well illustrated by a scion of a leading family of San Cristóbal, when, asked to speak of the friends of his youth, he replied at once that his friends were from the barrio of the Merced, though he also had friends in other barrios. Yet at the same time relations of friendship, kinship and commerce form the basis

of a community of social equals of upper class which spans the area. This is well exemplified by Ocosingo whose wealthy finqueros have kin ties with their peers of San Cristóbal and Comitán. The community to which they belong extends over the highlands and they have relations with Tuxtla as well; one is building a house there, another has a son married there, another prominent in state politics spends much of the time there. They have, nevertheless, a strong feeling of their separate identity as Ocosingueros.

The class structure of Ocosingo was examined with the aid of a status-rating test by Mann who found a considerable variation in the views which the inhabitants held of it, a variation which nevertheless relates to certain objective criteria. The leading families, as elsewhere, are defined as the "cream". They are composed of the richer finqueros and the professional men. Their knowledge of the lower class of the pueblo is far from complete, though this ignorance is not reciprocated. (The same is true of Teopisca.) The smaller land-owners and artisans differ in their view of the social hierarchy by according pre-eminence to cultural rather than economic criteria and thereby favoring the professional men who are mostly outsiders. The poorer class significantly do not observe a clear division of rank corresponding to the ethnic distinction but may place a person eminent in ejidal affairs who is recognized as indian above the poorest ladinos.

The absence of consensus in the ranking of individuals within the community does not obliterate the distinctions which the anthropologist is entitled to make, but on the contrary since it has a distinguishable pattern, it underscores them by drawing attention to the differences in values from one class to another.

Those who do not qualify as the cream are distinguished by the criteria of education and relationship to the world beyond the pueblo. They do not go to complete their education in San Cristóbal or Mexico. Having more meager economic resources they cannot display the status symbols of the rich. Moreover they do not enjoy the same support from the leaders of society who tend to use their official positions to find jobs on the payroll of the municipality for their own relatives and for the daughters of the cream, whose superior education fits them for employment as secretaries.

The lower class, the poor ladinos and indians and those whose affiliation is open to ambiguity, make up the most numerous element of the population. The ethnic distinction is blurred by the fact not only that there are persons of indian stock who have adopted a ladino way of life particularly girls who have been servants in ladino households but also those who have married or formed a union with ladinos. One schoolmaster has such a wife who has changed her dress, but there is anomalously the wife of a member of the cream who continues to dress as an indian, though she takes part in some of the fiestas of the ladinos.

The class structure of Teopisca varies from that of Ocosingo in a number of ways:

- (1) the greater impact of the Revolution has destroyed the traditional association of the upper class with land;
- (2) cattle fincas have much smaller importance;
- (3) the indians are largely assimilated into ladino culture--they are nevertheless distinguished from poor ladinos, still; (Hotchkiss, 1964)
- (4) In addition the Pan American Highway has greatly

increased the commercial possibilities of the town with the result that commerce has displaced land-owning as the chief basis of riches.

Finally, we move for comparison to the town of Chiapilla whose land has all been divided up and whose finquero class claims only one household, that of an elderly spinster and her mother whose family lost nearly all their land in the Revolution. The remainder of the pueblo is made up of small land-owners and ejidatarios. Though there is no very great economic difference between households the concept of social stratification is used nevertheless in defining them. One household is said to be "of more category" than another and this concept influences their judgments regarding suitable marriages.

This discussion would not be complete without pointing to the situation in the area of the large fincas of Ocosingo where a class of milperos, poor ladinos, is found who are rarely employed by the fincas which possess their own indian community. Indian in many aspects of their culture, they are nevertheless recognized as ladinos. They have lost their indian affiliation without entering the system of ladino social relations and remain marginal men from both points of view.

There is no doubt that the Revolution has had a profound effect upon the mentality of our area and a differential one, as we stated in the introduction. The word Revolution is prestigious and is associated with the values of Mexican patriotism in the idiom of the P.R.I., Partido de la Revolucionario Institucional, a context in which it represents the stability of the present political order. Moreover, it is clear that the semantic space it occupies derived, rather than from considerations of political theory, from the symbols with which it is associated, the Mexican flag to which a day of national fiesta

is dedicated when the schoolchildren parade and recite patriotic poetry and the contests in which it is invoked in the speeches of politicians. Nevertheless it makes certain values explicit. First, the act of rebellion is in itself glorious and for the upper classes of our area the most glorious "revolutionary" of modern times is General Pineda who rose against Carranza and the application of the revolutionary program.¹ But the Revolution

¹Moscoso Pastrana's history of this civil war (1960) written from an upper class point of view makes this point repeatedly. It is also discussed by Pitt-Rivers, 1962.

also endows with the glamor of its name the idea that education is a universal good, and if, in this sense, it reinforces the cultural basis of class distinction, it also prohibits an attitude of social exclusiveness and in validating the superiority of the educated it opens the door to those who acquire education. The approval with which the ladinos greet the "civilized" indian owes more than a little to the ideology of the Revolution.

The attitude of the Revolution towards the land question has already been mentioned and it might be thought that here the patriotism of the finquero class would be jeopardized. However, this appears not to be the case. The principles of the Revolution are not usually impugned by those whose lands are confiscated, only their unjust applications; it is right that the poor should be given land, but not "my" land. Many believe that there are ample resources of national land waiting to be exploited if only the "agraristas" were enterprising enough to go there, and the government prepared to encourage them.

Interpreting the ideological pronouncements of the government in their own fashion, the ladinos of our area nevertheless pay something more than lip-service to its values of Freedom and Equality in the mode of behavior between persons of different social standing, the unexclusive relations between classes in public and the recognition of every man's right to independence.

To sum up, we are faced here with a class structure, defined by criteria of wealth, descent, color and culture which is highly differentiated yet far from rigid and which contains this peculiarity that the lower class is divided by an ethnic distinction.

This is the overall view of the social structure as seen by the anthropologist. The meaning of the ethnic division can only be appreciated by looking, as we have done, at the views of different people, i.e., at the cultural representations of that structure to be found in the different ways it is visualized by individuals according to their place within it. Thus the indian recognizes that he is inferior in power to the ladino, that the latter is able to cheat him and abuse him with impunity and he is inclined to regard this as inevitable and in the natural order of things, indeed, the myths of origin explain that the ladino was created by God as a punishment for the indians. Yet at the same time he does not believe that the ladino is better than he, quite the contrary, and he does not accept him as an example to^{be} imitated or an arbiter of values, since he is by nature different and beyond any bond of community. The ethnic division therefore divides the indian from the values in terms of which the ladino class system functions. In this sense he is outside the class structure altogether.

POLITICS

Mexico is a "modern state". By that we mean that it is a geographically-defined territory possessing a central government which fulfills a number of functions in relation to the communities within its territories; it legislates regarding public order and political structure, taxation, education, commerce, land, prices and wages, health, etc. and it possesses institutions to carry out these responsibilities and a body of professional employees to administer its edicts.

In addition to the organization of the central state-- since Mexico is a federation of states, not a single state-- there is also the local state, in this case, Chiapas, whose capital is Tuxtla Gutiérrez, which possesses a certain degree of autonomy and a certain influence over the application of the national law. Thus, in addition to national there is a state law; there is the state parliament as well as the federal parliament; there are both federal taxes and state taxes, there are federal schools and state schools, the National Indian Institute (I.N.I.) and the state office of Indian Affairs, and so on. There are active in the State of Chiapas institutions which depend upon the state government and others which depend upon the federal government; sometimes these fulfill different functions and sometimes the same function. In any case the powers of the two intermingle since the governor is at the same time the elected head of the state and also the representative of the central government. Thus power is centered in his hands though he is answerable for his use of it in different directions. This fact may explain what might otherwise appear a paradox: that though the governors had very great powers they fre-

quently failed to retain them for the full term of their office. Either they displeased the central government and were displaced or they displeased the locals and resigned,

Finally, power is centered at a lower level again in the figure of the mayor, the president of the municipal council. The constitution of Mexico accords a certain autonomy to municipalities and therefore in addition to the state and federal institutions there are also municipal institutions. The mayor, like the governor, faces both ways: he is elected theoretically by the community yet he receives his instructions and can be dismissed by the governor. In fact his responsibility to the electorate is not deeply sensed for two reasons: first of all the dominating principle of the Mexican constitution is expressed in the slogan "no reelection" which is stamped on every official document in the country. An incumbent who is debarred from reelection at the end of his term is clearly less concerned to propitiate the electorate during it. A more fundamental reason is that elections do not, in any case, depend very far upon the wishes of the electorate since the government candidate is rarely permitted to lose; they are rather rituals of popular consent, a kind of homage to the newly-nominated official--if indeed they take place at all outside the office of the town hall, where the election results are prepared. The concern which is felt for popular consent is considerable but it derives from the discreet mechanisms of social control.

Thus political power is centralized at three levels: the federal government, the state government and the municipality. The potential conflict between the different levels is regulated by the existence of a state parliament whose deputies are elected by popular suffrage but above all by the existence of an organization which takes no direct responsibility but runs through the political system from top to bottom: The P.R.I. Party of the Institutionalized

Revolution. It has its headquarters in the Federal Capital and a subsidiary in the State Capital and local branches in each municipality and, at least according to the statutes of its organization, its sections in each quarter and even subsections in every city block. In fact, in the pueblos of Chiapas, the local branch at the level of the municipality is the smallest effective unit and is composed of the upper class of the town. This political party constitutes the reality of power since its success in elections is usually a foregone conclusion. It is not usual to find any opposition list presented and hence the election is customarily a mere formality. The political struggle between personalities takes place, therefore, not at the polls but within the P.R.I. for its nomination to candidacy. It is within the party conclaves that the realities of politics are debated and the balance is struck between the desires of the local branch of the party and those of the state headquarters. The organization of the party corresponds, as has been shown, to the levels of the political structure and this means that politics are always conducted in terms of individual personalities and submit to the structure of patronage and personal allegiances. The choice of candidate is made by the Governor in conjunction with the President of the State P.R.I. and the representative of P.R.I. from Mexico City. They take account of local feeling in the matter but are not bound by it.

At the municipal level the P.R.I. is organized in three sections: de campesinos (peasants), de obreros (workers), and popular. Before the nomination of the P.R.I. candidate the sections are expected to hold meetings independently of one another and send their representative to the party office in Tuxtla to announce their preference. The party headquarters makes the decision following this, and the local

sections then hold a meeting together at which they elect the chosen candidate unanimously. In fact, the present incumbent has a great say in nominating his successor, since he has the ear of the party and the Governor.

When the time of election comes, there is very often no opposition candidate. However, the P.A.N. (Partido de Acción National) does sometimes exist in the larger towns; it tends to be the party of the Church. Opposition candidates ran for election in San Cristóbal Las Casas and in Tuxtla. Of 111 municipal presidents elected in 1961 for the State of Chiapas only 2 were not P.R.I. candidates. This was said in the party headquarters to be through mismanagement. It appears that this can happen when the P.R.I. candidate is sufficiently unpopular to arouse an opposition willing and able to enforce an election conducted according to the legal provisions. It does not occur in any town of vital importance nor could it occur in the small isolated or indian towns where the theory of democratic elections is not clearly understood. The irregular conduct of elections is not much resented and it is even said by some that it is better that nominations should be made by higher authority since this avoids strife within the community. (Stern: field notes 15/10/61, etc.)

In addition to municipal elections there are also elections of representatives to the State Parliament in Tuxtla and to the Federal Parliament in Mexico City. But the activities of the representatives of our area are not so great as to warrant a detailed account. They are, in fact, only seen by their constituents, if then, just before an election.

The structure of political power is not entirely without variations from one place to another, even the formal structure. There is, to begin with, a distinction between municipi-

palties of different categories which vary as to their offices, their powers and, formerly, the duration of their electoral cycle. In first-class municipalities, of over 5,000 inhabitants, the term of office was of three years, in the remainder of two years. However, a recent law has raised the duration of all to three years.

A municipality is composed of the President, a sindico who is his replacement, and a number of regidores (councillors) varying according to the size and category of the municipality, and a Juez Rural (justice of the peace). The municipality employs certain persons to carry out its injunctions; a secretary of the municipality, the president's chief executive, a treasurer, a body of police with a comandante, its public works officials, and secretaries. In conjunction with the government it employs schoolmasters, a public health officer, an inspector of forestry, a tax inspector--recaudador, responsible for state and federal taxes-- and a chief collector and his men. Different examples of this general structure are to be found in the essays.

The indian municipality has theoretically the same structure though certain concessions are made to indian custom and the functions take on a different significance in the context of the indian pueblo: the secretary is normally a ladino and it is he who handles all the paper-work and in fact represents ladino authority in the pueblo.

Municipalities are grouped into districts for purposes of taxation. They are also grouped into judicial districts. The head of the judicial district is the seat of a judge and secretary of justice, approved by the Ministry of the Interior. It may also be the seat of the agent of the Ministerio Público who is the representative of the public prosecutor and is responsible for examining cases prior to their appearance before the judge. They are also grouped into districts

for purposes of representation in the state and federal parliaments, and these do not correspond to one another. Therefore there is no centralization of power between the level of municipality and state. The predominance of San Cristóbal in local affairs derives from its place as the social and religious capital of the Highlands, not from its administrative supremacy.

Moreover, the status of the smaller municipalities has varied greatly in the past. Communities have been raised to the dignity of municipality in one period only to find themselves degraded to the rank of an agency of a neighboring municipality in another--a fact which greatly complicates historical research, as has been pointed out earlier.

An agency is a dependent part of a municipality which has no separate representation but is governed by the municipal agent appointed by the President of the municipality of which it is a part and to which it must have recourse for the formal functions of government and justice.

There is no firm rule regarding which pueblo is a municipality and which is an Agencia either as regards size or ethnic composition. Thus Amatenango is a municipality while Aguacatenango is an Agencia of the municipality of Venustiano Carranza. Sivacá was once, in the 19th century, a municipality but is now an Agencia of Ocosingo. It can be said only that the larger indian pueblos tend to be municipalities whether or not they have a ladino population. Territorially also they vary very greatly, from Ocosingo whose municipality includes the Lacandon jungle and 12,000 square kilometers to Chiapilla which contains only 52 square kilometers.

In Pinola and San Bartolomé where the indian population lives side by side with a considerable ladino population, there was formerly a dual organization, an indian ayuntamiento as well as the ladino municipality. In the latter

town the indian ayuntamiento was abolished some thirty years ago and the indians were represented instead by an indian regidor upon the Municipal Council. That of Pinola remains.

In the pueblos which are mainly indian, the status of the municipality is less important than might be thought, since the traditional organization is what counts and while its relations with ladino political organization differ according to whether it is a municipality or an agency, power of the ladinos does not penetrate into its internal structure in either case except under certain conditions, as we shall see. The reason for this lies in the fact that they are different cultures and different, if related, social systems.

As has been said, the government recognizes the rights of the local municipality in many matters, while at the same time its political freedom is in fact limited by the control of the P.R.I. Such a system presupposes a certain cultural similarity between different levels. In the case of an indian community, this is missing and in addition there is a difference of social status between indians and ladinos which makes it impossible for the indian community to fit into the Mexican State in the same way as the ladino community; since among other things, the language barrier separates the bulk of the indians from the sources of power, the structure of patronage cannot operate in the same terms. The reasons for the abolition of the indian ayuntamiento of San Bartolomé illustrate this problem: it was used by the ladino president to supply indian corvée labor for his needs. When, however, the indian community possesses effective political hegemony over its territories, its authorities are able to maintain the traditional hierarchy operating in accordance with its traditional values.

Distinguished from the world of the ladinos by different institutions and ideals (and a different language), the

indians inevitably pose a different set of problems to the administration. The state recognizes these problems by according a special status to indian communities and granting special powers to the organizations which it has created to confront them: the I.N.I., a federal agency devoted to the long-term aspects of the development of the indian communities and the (state) department of Indian Affairs which is concerned more with the day-to-day problems of its administration and of the relations between indians and ladinos. Needless to say, the P.R.I. has little meaning for the indian, or where it impinges upon indian politics, as in Tenejapa, a somewhat different meaning. The ability of indians to understand enough of the ladino's culture to mobilize the political support which is available to them in Tuxtla is primordial to the course of political events. Sophisticated indians like the Zinacantecans and Bartolomeños are able to defend their collective interests in a way which is not possible for the monolinguals of the more isolated pueblos to the east. The importance of contact across the ethnic division is above all that it offers indians the possibility of acquiring this understanding. In what ways they are able to take advantage of this possibility depends upon the social structure of the pueblo and the values attaching to this contact.

Spanning the ethnic division, indians have social relations with ladinos in a number of guises: as members of the political administration, as members of the Indian Affairs or I.N.I. organization, within the context of the Catholic religion (with the priest or the missions), trade relations in the role of Marchante (a word used reciprocally between indians and ladinos in the context of trade), as fincoseros employers in casual labor upon the fincas, or in the case of finca indian communities, as permanent employees and patrons, or, in certain instances, within the institution

of the compadrazgo, ritual kinsmen. There are also somewhat exceptional relations between the indian political leader, the cacique who will be discussed later, and the ladinos. In all cases, however, the indian and the ladino recognize in their contacts the existence of the ethnic division. Each knows that he is dealing with a person who belongs to a different social universe, to whom the values of his own community do not apply and whose preoccupations are other than his own. Inevitably, the attempt to endow the indian community with the same political institutions as the ladino comes up against this fact and produces variations of political structure which are different both from ladino and traditional indian government.

Let us look at the internal structure of the indian community. The traditional system of government, modeled on the organization of the Spanish sodality yet containing elements extraneous to it^v, provide a structure of cargos, offices

^vThe majority of the titles of office are Spanish loans in the indian languages, thus Alkalt from the Spanish Alcalde, Martoma from Mayordomo, etc. Yet there are some which are words of Mayan origin (Siverts, 1960).

arranged in hierarchy through which the individual passes during his adult life. Each office is held for one year only and only by passing through the junior offices does a man become eligible for a higher post. Once he has passed through a higher post he retains the title with Pasado added to it. Some posts relate to the organization of the Cabildo, to government, justice and police functions, others to the organization of fiestas for specific saints. In some pueblos a man takes posts alternately in the civil or religious hierarchy, in others he takes all his posts in one or the other. Through this organization the indian community orders

its social relations and demonstrates its solidarity. All cargos are cargos of the pueblo as a whole, are part of the central framework and are aspired to, in theory, by members of all sections among whom a certain balance is maintained. In the case of the vacant centered towns, there tends to be a heavier representation from the parajes close to the center than from the more isolated and distant zones whose inhabitants are often shyer and sometimes poorer. Settlements of indians on fincas and outlying colonies are commonly though not always (e.g., Chamula; Pozas, 1959) excluded from office. They are not full members of the community. The same is sometimes true of the isolated hamlets of the town-dwelling communities who are often of foreign origin. This may be the explanation, but it should be noted that foreign origin does not prevent a man from taking office if he has acquired full membership through residence and marriage. There are few cases of this, however.

The pueblo itself is the major political and social unit. There is no organization which unites different indian pueblos, no "pan-indian" movement, no occasion upon which the leaders of different indian communities come together recognizing their common identity except in the case of reunions at the headquarters of the indian organization or the I.N.I. or more recently religious celebrations organized by the bishopric. The function of integration on a larger scale is entirely in the hands of the ladinos.

The pueblo is a finite community of persons who recognize their common identity, who dress alike in a manner which distinguishes them from members of other pueblos, (except when they have adopted ladino dress) who speak a distinct dialect of Tzeltal or Tzotzil, but who do not feel any close moral unity with those who speak the same language; indeed the linguistic differences are not clearly formulated by the people themselves, they do not think of other pueblos as

Tzeltal or Tzotzil, but only as speaking in a way which is more or less different. Thus San Bartolomé which speaks a dialect of Tzotzil is not clearly recognized as a "Tzotzil" pueblo in opposition to the "Tzeltal" pueblo of Pinola. The indians say they speak idioma and the ladinos who do not speak the indian language in this area are likely to say it is Tzeltal like Pinola. The indian languages refer to themselves simply as "the true speech" without defining the matter any further. Indians can in fact make themselves understood to one another, with greater limitations between Tzeltal and Tzotzil, and they recognize a common identity as indians, yet they seem not usually to distinguish other indians according to the pueblo to which they belong as members of recognizable social units, but merely as indians who are foreigners whose place of origin they may or may not know. The testimony of our perception tests was striking in this regard. Indian non-members of the speaker's own community are commonly lumped together under the heading "Chamulas", a word which ladinos use to refer to all indians indiscriminately and which indians often use when speaking Spanish to refer derogatively to an indian of another pueblo. It is significant that they should adopt what is essentially a ladino point of view in order to view other indians, with whom their relations are quite unstructured. Each pueblo possesses a unique religious organization unrelated to that of its neighbors and a folklore which defines it as the center of the earth. They meet other indians who come for purposes of trade or pilgrimage or to attend fiestas, or they go elsewhere for those purposes, but once they leave the territory of their own pueblo, watched over by their guardians, they are in foreign lands. If therefore between indians of different villages there is no ethnic division comparable to that which separates indians from ladinos, neither is there any basis for moral or political solidarity.

Each pueblo possesses a defined territory which is held according to the systems which have been discussed in the chapter on land. It is subdivided socially in various ways. There is, to begin with, the distinction between the town center and the parajes, except of course in the vacant center pueblos. There is also that between the traditional parajes and the modern settlements. Chamula for example includes a number of these, some of them outside the territory of the municipality of Chamula itself. Such offshoot communities recreate in some cases a replica of the traditional organization of the home community in which they no longer participate. In addition there is the distinction mentioned above between "traditional indians" and "Finca indians" who, on account of their particular relationship to the Finca, stand outside the traditional organization, even though, as in Tenejapa, they continue to dress in the traditional style. On the other hand in the ladino municipalities of the eastern flank, for example Ocosingo, there is no longer any traditional indian organization in which to take part. The traditional finca indian communities possess their own festal organizations. We shall therefore restrict the discussion to those pueblos which have a traditional organization; among those we have studied are Tenejapa, Bachajón, Sivacé, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Oxchuc, Chanal, and (less traditional) Pinola, San Bartolomé, and Teopisca. Detailed accounts exist of Zinacantan, Chenalhó, Chamula, and Larráinzar.

The lands of the municipality are divided into parajes, residential units which have already been mentioned in connection with demographic distribution and with kinship: The paraje has little formal religious or political organization. Certain rites in connection with the land are performed by specialists, for example the Cabildos de Milpa in Tenejapa, who are not members of the central civil-religious

hierarchy, and in its relation to the central authority of the pueblo the paraje is often formally represented through its principales as in Chenalhó (Guiteras, op. cit., p. 65), or through the fiadores (Tenejapa). The identity of the paraje is expressed as a residential group influenced by kinship, as an agricultural area representing rights in common in certain instances and subject to common spiritual influences emanating from sacred natural features (anheles) and as an administrative sub-unit for the purposes of collecting financial contributions to the central political organization or the central religious fiestas.

The persons who dominate the paraje are the principales. These are men of wisdom and spiritual force whom we might call "elders". They are usually persons whose qualities have been proven through their ascent through the offices of the civil-religious hierarchy; pasados (though in Tenejapa, they are on the contrary juxtaposed to the pasados), and whose pre-eminence in spiritual affairs endows them with supreme authority also on the terrestrial level. Since, however, their spirits are thought to be in constant communion it is not always necessary for them to enter into formal council in the flesh. It is through them that the diffuse sanctions of spiritual power are expressed in contrast to the organizational sanctions of overt centralized authority. Within the system of values of the indian pueblo, the supremacy of the former in the traditional setting is manifest in the difference of age between the principales and the holders of political office. Principales are necessarily men of a certain age, while office holders are usually much younger. It follows that, if the principales are pasados, the present holders of office are their juniors, while with the expansion of Spanish education among indians in recent years the young are better fitted to leadership in the modern institutions. For this reason we find a conflict between

generations, which corresponds to a conflict between modern and traditional institutions.

Parajes are grouped within the total territory of the pueblo by sub-division in several zones which are called barrios and in certain instances calpules. A barrio is, in the first place, the territorial sub-division of a town, and in this sense the word has already been introduced, but it can also be used to denote a separate community living within the territory of a pueblo. Here, in vacant centered towns it refers to a group of parajes. Thus Bachajón is divided into the Barrio of San Jeronimo and the Barrio of San Sebastian. In the barrio of San Jeronimo a division is found between those of Acolná and those of Alaná, the upper and the lower town. As a territorial distinction it has been lost except in the town itself. In this way it resembles the division of Oxchuc into calpules. It was based, however, not only upon territory but also upon distinct ethnic origin, for those of Acolná, who are called aborífos, were believed to have come from Comitán, and to have dressed differently and to be descendants of whites. In contrast to the aborífos, those of Alaná are called naturales. All admit that they are indian now, though the aborífos continue to be distinguished by their Spanish surnames which are other than the typical indian ones born by the naturales. The two were supposed not to intermarry though they do so now, and we find examples of men who change from natural to aborífo on marrying a aborífa.

✓ Guiteras (Bachajón), Montagu (Bakilte'el). The word aborífo was formerly used to mean the household servants of the Spanish colonists, and one might surmise that this element descends from a group of such persons who deserted their Spanish masters in order to seek a freer life in Bachajón. They are, in such a case likely to have been partially white by descent. It is more than possible that they may be the descendants of the fifty-nine persons listed in the

census of 1778 as "mestizos" who were resident in Bachajón where they represented one eighth of the total population which was otherwise entirely indian. (Trens, 1957; p. 223.) If this is true, we have an interesting example of a group of people who have moved across the ethnic division in an unusual direction.

The naboríos formerly enjoyed a special privilege in matters of taxation since they ^{paid} ~~payed~~ less than the naturales and they were also distinguished in the matters of the cargos, offices, which they held. Naboríos refused to hold certain offices and appropriated others to themselves. Cabo and Presidente are offices held only by naboríos while regidor, alcalde, and gobernador are offices filled by naturales. Thus, in contrast to Oxchuc where the distinction between calpules produces a double hierarchy, in San Jeronimo it produces a division of labor in the cargo system.

A final basis for social distinction is found in the water-hole. Certain water-holes have sacred and ritual importance in connection with the religious practices concerned with agriculture which are mostly organized on the basis of the paraje. But the question of where water is drawn for household uses divides up some communities who have more than one source of water available. Thus in Sivacé the division into water-hole groups runs across the division into barrios and factions and name-groups. That it has a certain social importance is not only evident in the sense that it is here that the women meet and exchange gossip but it is also demonstrated by the fact that when they move from one part of the village to another they frequently retain membership of the water-hole group to which they originally belonged. It presents the example of an informally-organized grouping in which the ties of family faction and kinship and habitual neighborhood ties combine in order to produce a pattern of relations which can be defined in terms of no single

one of these.

The difficulty of comparison from one pueblo to another derives from the fact that the words do not always carry the same implications; institutions do not always have the same functions. The varied meanings of calpul have been discussed earlier. Even the division into barrios has a variety of connotations according to the ways in which it distinguished the inhabitants. Therefore if we are to reach any general statements which can, by being valid for the whole area, provide the framework within which comparison is possible, we must do so, not in the definition of individual terms but in the establishment of general principles of social organization.

Authority goes with age. Respect is owed by the younger to the older man. The principle of seniority permeates this society, as much in the cargo system as in the structure of deference in personal relations or in the kinship terminology. The reality of power is not expressed in the formal organization at terrestrial level. The office-holders are not the oldest men in the community nor the most powerful, though they possess power of specific kinds. They do not fulfill office with the idea of enjoying power, but of rendering a service which they owe and acquiring through it the prestige which leads to real power. While they hold office they enjoy immunity and a preferential relationship to the spiritual force which protects the pueblo whom it is their duty to invoke through their prayers. They also represent the pueblo. But there are few administrative decisions which they are called upon to make alone in connection with the financing of fiestas, public works, the repairs to church or cabildo, or the crosses which protect the pueblo, the attempts of ladino organizations to introduce innovations in matters of health or education or the administration of justice which

means the settlement of the disputes, mainly domestic quarrels and witchcraft accusations, which are brought before them, or even the succession to their offices (Guiteras, op. cit.; p. 89). In all these they are guided by the opinion of their respected elders¹, for the most potent sanctions are not

¹As Siverts puts it, (1964, p. 364): "The cargo holder is an executive, carrying out decisions made by political leaders",

those which derive from the powers of office and the control of material resources, but from spiritual strength ("heat") and the power to protect, to punish, or to bewitch individuals. Though the office-holders are immune from witchcraft during their term, they may be threatened with reprisals in the future when they have left office; such threats are posted anonymously on the church door at Zinacantan.

The distinction between punishment and witchcraft allows a certain ambiguity since the actions in either case are essentially the same and it relates to the licitness of the occasion--to punish without justification is to bewitch; to bewitch justifiably is to punish. But justification or its absence is not dealt with by any formal legal procedure or oracle, but by the consensus of the community, that is to say, the elders. Strength of spirit increases with age and is demonstrated by attaining age.

Therefore, the powerful are men of years. The essence of this concept, even though its specific content varies from pueblo to pueblo and includes different categories, is expressed in the title principal. The principal is one endowed with knowledge, experience and spiritual power, above all the latter; one who gives spiritual protection or punishment.¹

¹It is interesting to compare the usage of 16th and 17th century Spain where the word principal denoted a person of

high rank. During the same centuries in Chiapas an indian aristocracy still existed.

In accordance with the values of the indians, spiritual power is both the source of other forms of power and is also demonstrated by them. To fulfill an office in the civil-religious hierarchy gives prestige and the incumbent enjoys a spiritual power through his assumption of it and fulfillment of the duties connected with it. His personal power is enhanced through his holding the office since the power remains with him after the office is given up. For this reason the title of principal is frequently given to those who are specifically pasados, i.e., persons who have held high office. Hence the importance of the principales, even though they no longer may hold formal office, and their preponderance over the formal holders.

The idea of office as a duty rather than a privilege, as a proving of value rather than a reward for proven value is congruent with this. Principales are persons whose power has been demonstrated. It is a natural authority, not an accorded position. They are not persons to whom revocable power is entrusted, they are persons who have been shown to be powerful by their success in protecting the pueblo during their tenure. (Hence the necessity to kill witches who are people whose power is also manifest but who abuse it.) At the same time the title may also refer to one who holds a specific post as representative of the paraje or the calpul and it is also applied to persons on account of specific attributes which do not necessarily imply strength of spirit. Guiteras gives 11 categories of male principal in Bachajón (and 1 of female).

Let us examine the system of offices, the cargo system in its general principles.¹ It is a service to the community

¹The specific characteristics of each pueblo will be given

in the charts.

as well as an honor and it usually involves expense on the part of the incumbent. It is never remunerated, though office-holders receive gifts and in certain cases, labor is provided by the community, or by specific persons appointed for the purpose, on the milpa of the office-holder whose duties prevent him from working his land himself. It is not normally repeated since the offices are arranged in a hierarchy and service at one level qualifies a man for service at a higher level next time; nevertheless there are certain offices which, so to speak, stand outside the hierarchy and may be repeated as an act of supererogation (e.g., Paxón in Chenalhó).¹ The requirement of personal expenditure means

¹In the very junior offices which involve no expenditure and accord little prestige a man is sometimes required to serve a second year if he fails to find a replacement.

that a man must usually rest after a year in office and recoup his financial position, pay off his debts and set about saving the money which he will require in order to take office again.

The system of appointment varies from one office to another and from pueblo to pueblo; sometimes a specific principal or senior office-holder is responsible for the choice; sometimes the out-going officer is responsible for finding his replacement (the jelol system); sometimes a list is kept in advance, under the supervision of present officials, upon which the applicant has his name inscribed in the expectation that he will have amassed sufficient fortune to discharge its functions when the time comes. Zinacantan, in particular, has a waiting list which looks ahead as far as twenty years and the expenditure required reaches as much as one thousand

U.S. dollars. (Cancian, Private Communication) Some minor and onerous posts are unpopular and young men are appointed against their will by their seniors, sometimes even as a punishment. There is an element of divine justice in the story of the young man who was punished for dishonesty by being made a policeman. In contrast to the competition for cargos in Zinacantan, in Chamula men attempt sometimes to avoid the duty and even flee to the coffee plantations in order to escape it. (Pozas, 1959; p. 140.) Men are nominated for duty by the principales in order to oblige them to spend their money. In Oxchuc they are also nominated to office in order to curb their deviant tendencies.

The cargo system, while it enhances the personal prestige of a man is also a test of his character and intentions. The sacrifices to which he submits in order "to serve his pueblo" demonstrate his qualities. He does not, through his cargo, enjoy personal power; he does not watch over individuals; he protects the pueblo as a whole. Only afterwards does he become a principal who holds personal power.

The hierarchies of the different pueblos, described in the monographs and in various publications, take various forms. Comparing them we can make the following observations and distinctions: The first distinction is between religious and political organization. In the political structure of the ladinos, the distinction is perfectly clear: the state is lay and even anti-clerical; a priest is barred from any role in politics or administration or even from holding property in his own name. Yet in the traditional indian organization the distinction is less clear. It is, in any case an ethnocentric one, born of a society which separates Church and State and a religious tradition which allows the possibility of distinguishing between Caesar and God. The distinctions which the anthropologist makes in this field must be rather in terms of organization and function, between the concepts,

contexts, and methods of control of spiritual forces and of human agencies. The Spain of the 16th century sought an ultimate justification for political power in the divine order and provided a model, in the religious sodality, for the combination of a religious purpose and a political organization (a model which persists in indian but not in ladino society). The purely lay political functions can all be regarded as innovations of the 20th century: the ejido organization, the committee of education, in theory at any rate, the Ayuntamiento Constitucional, etc. Within the traditional organization one finds that the posts with civil functions also involve religious duties; the authorities of the pueblo are inducted in a religious ceremony and are required to pray in order to ensure the spiritual protection of the community, while one also finds that posts with religious titles also fulfill lay functions. In Tenejapa, the Alkalt, originally judicial officers, are now, with the president, those who appoint to religious offices, while the Alfereces de San Sebastian perform religious functions for the ayuntamiento.

The distinction between political and religious functions is not a useful one. Guiteras (op. cit., p. 74) has suggested a distinction in Chenalhó between offices which serve the community and those which serve the saints and has correlated with this the pagan cult linked with the agricultural cycle as opposed to the images in the Church. Even in Chenalhó this dichotomy faces anomalies and it is not possible to maintain it throughout the area, since it is neither recognized by the people themselves nor corresponds in fact to any clear differentiation of function.

It is possible to distinguish between different offices according to what they do: while some are concerned with the organization of fiestas, others with the daily administration of the pueblo, others with the agricultural cycle, all form part of a single system and if the junior posts carry less

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spiritual responsibility, this is because young men do not have sufficient strength of spirit to protect against dangers.

In many pueblos the ascending ladder of office takes a man from administrative to festal functions and back again, an alternation which is practical since one involves the sacrifice of time and the other of expenditure. Yet this is not always the case.

In Tenejapa, in contrast, a man must specialize early on in his career in either the hierarchy connected with the Church and the organization of fiestas or in those concerned with the Ayuntamiento. This may be connected with the fact that Tenejapa is an ayuntamiento constitucional, which passed into the hands of the Indians only twenty-five years ago.

There is another distinction of importance in Tenejapa where the principales of the parajes are not those men who have played an important part in the religious hierarchy of the pueblo and play no part, either, in the administrative organization of the pueblo.

In Pinola the religious hierarchy has disappeared or rather it has blended into the religious organization under the control of the priest, and has therefore lost its significance within the social organization of the Indian community, yet spiritual sanctions continue to be exercised by the principales (los viejitos) independently of it and at the same time the Indian ayuntamiento continues to function overtly, but without any real power or prestige. The office-holders within it are go-betweens with the ladino authorities but are not the powerful principales (nor are they those who have power within the ejido organization). The overt functions of social control have been appropriated by the ladinos and the Indian community continues to maintain its independent system of control through witchcraft which Hermitte (1964) has devoted her thesis to examining.

In San Bartolomé, on the contrary, the indian ayuntamiento has been abolished and political power resides in the hands of the indian regidor, in the ladino municipality, and in the representatives of the barrios in the common land organization, while the religious offices continue, albeit with diminished importance.

Taking as a model of the traditional civil-religious hierarchy, such as we have described, that of the isolated indian communities in the previous period, it is possible to see the impact of ladino political control and institutions as the cause of a growing differentiation of functions in the ruling body; new posts have been created such as commissary of the ejido or presidnet of the education committee or of Catholic Action, or of the Protestant community. On the other hand where the state has imposed the structure of an ayuntamiento constitucional, it is also possible to see that the indians have incorporated it into the traditional system, endowing the offices with functions which they do not have in law. Thus in Chenalhó and in Tenejapa, the officers of the municipality are required to fast and pray, to observe the customs and taboos associated with the traditional system. The formal structure of the municipality is no measure of the degree to which an indian village has adopted the organization of the ladinos, for the political independence which it may have attained may be used to protect and reinforce its traditional culture.

Where there is no ayuntamiento constitucional but the village is an agency of another municipality, the traditional hierarchy receives less modification at the hands of the law. However, the validity of the political system depends not upon the maintenance of its formal structure but upon the effective adherence to its principles. It is when these break down that the system changes. Thus in Sivacá, the

the traditional civil-religious hierarchy persists and has not been modified by the ordinances of the ladino government (which being an agencia is represented by no more than a municipal agent and secretary), yet it no longer gains the unanimous approval of the pueblo. Many cargos are now filled with difficulty and only from one faction of the pueblo, some are being dropped; the participation in fiestas decreases; the cost also decreases with the amount of alcohol consumed; there is even a question of discontinuing certain fiestas. This is not due to active interference by the government. The I.N.I. has never established itself there. The nearest post of the Indian Agency is in Ocosingo and it cannot be said to be very active. Nor can it be attributed to increased contact with the ladinos, since it seems probable that the contact has been less in the last twenty years than in a previous period when the president of Ocosingo used the indians of Sivacá for corvée labor. It can, however, be correlated with the appearance of a young generation who, in conscious rebellion against the traditions of their elders, have replaced the attitude of intransigent refusal of everything ladino by an attitude of curiosity with regard to certain aspects of ladino culture; a realization of the possibility of gaining the support of the authorities in Tuxtla against the abuses of the ladinos of Ocosingo, and an interest in modern religious teaching, either Protestant or Catholic.

This conscious rejection of tradition occurs in a number of communities and is associated with the growth of factions. "Factionalism" is fact can be taken in this area as a definite social phenomenon. Let us define it as it appears here.

First of all, while the moral universe is limited by the frontiers of the pueblo and the traditional civil-religious hierarchy operates as the unique political system, there

is no room for factions. The office-holders are invested with responsibility for the whole pueblo; they symbolize its unity. Within this unity, the parajes express a separate social identity in their interest in land and in the agricultural rites which assure the fecundity of the land, and also as residential groups, dominated in certain instances but never defined exclusively by kin ties. Certain name-groups, indian or Spanish, are known to hail from certain parajes, but the paraje remains a residential group; persons who move in from another paraje may retain their ties with their former principales, but their children born in the new place of residence do not: the relationship between kin-group and parajes is fortuitous, not de jure. Therefore the oppositions which are found within the traditional pueblo exist in terms of paraje or barrio or calpul or name-group, but they are not formally balanced and integrated within a common political organization. They strive with one another within a framework of accepted norms.

Factionalism appears in the context in which these norms themselves are disputed, and the terms in which they are disputed derive from a specific relationship to an element outside the pueblo. Thus the upholders of traditions themselves become a faction in the face of those who reject it at certain points. The rather curious name for them, "Libres" (the free), is found not only in Sivacá, but in Oxchuc and other pueblos. Their attitude to the modern outside world is negative and the freedom which gives them their name is the freedom from attachment to exterior forces and ideas. The other factions of Sivacá are the partisans of the local (ladino) priest, "Católicos Fervientes" who attempt to reform traditional ritual in conformity with the dogma of the Catholic Church, the Protestants who reject it altogether, refusing to participate in its fiestas and eschewing the alcohol, rockets and candles which provide the common currency of ritual

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expression, and the Católicos Moderados who ally themselves with the Fervientes in their opposition both to the Libres and the Protestants, but who differ from them in their lack of enthusiasm for the religious reforms and their concern with the land question (their leader in Sivacá is the commissary of the Ejido movement), and technological improvement, with "progress" and with learning Spanish. In significant contrast, the leader of the Fervientes whose Spanish is no more than rudimentary, is learning Latin.

We can say, then, that the distinction between religious or political offices and functions is not the sociologically most relevant one, but rather the distinction between the traditional civil-religious hierarchy as opposed to the specialized civil or religious structures. The former looks inwards within the community to an integrated system of sanctions in which political power is wedded to and is the outcome of spiritual power while the latter looks outwards to the sanctions emanating from ladino organizations, civil or religious, but operating within a restricted field of activity and relating to a specialized organization. The divisions and conflicts in the ladino world reproduce themselves as they impinge upon the consciousness of the pueblo, thereby multiplying the factions. In this way we find, not the two faction system, progressives versus conservatives common among North American Indians, but a more complex fragmentation.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the existence of factions altogether disrupts the solidarity of the pueblo. Siverts particularly stresses the concern of both Protestants and Catholics to work together "for the good of the pueblo", while Zabala's account of Sivacá shows the, at first, successful, attempts of the schoolmaster to play one faction off against the others which end with the pueblo uniting in opposition to him and obtaining his removal.

This fundamental solidarity between the factions of the same pueblo, who retain the overriding value of their identity as members of it, must be born in mind in order to distinguish them from the splinter groups (and individuals) who take the road to ladinizaton and renounce their attachment to their pueblo.

The factions do not correspond from one pueblo to another. In some pueblos supporters of I.N.I. form a faction. In others the I.N.I. has hitherto played no part. Where there is a sufficient number of Protestants, the religious division is the chief basis of factionalism. In Tenejapa the Catholic Church and the I.N.I. have both been active and have provided the basis for factions but there are few Protestants. Moreover, in pueblos where there are no factions we are able to encounter individuals who show attitudes reminiscent of those of the faction leaders.

It is significant that in none of the pueblos who live in closest contact with ladinos do we find well-developed factions: Neither in Zinacantan or Chamula (which consist of parajes), nor in Amatenango or Aguacatenango (which are centralized) nor in Pinola, nor in San Bartolomé where the indians share their town with ladinos.

In Oxchuc where the main factional division is between Protestants and Catholics (some more "fervent" and some more "free"), Siverts has demonstrated how the refusal of the Protestants to participate in the traditional hierarchy has resulted in the eclipse of the whole system and its replacement as the effective governing mechanism by the Ayuntamiento Constitucional. (Siverts; 1960.) Tenejapa, closer to San Cristóbal and depending on it largely for trade relations, has a less developed system of factions which appears to leave the authority of the principales intact and the civil-religious hierarchy functioning and which does not pervade every aspect

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of life with the same force as in Oxchuc or Sivacá, yet it nevertheless shows a political opposition between the partisans of the I.N.I. promotores and the federal schoolmasters behind the leadership of the priest. It is significant that it is here that we found a separation between the holders of political office and religious office and between both and the principales of the parajes. While the structure of organization is different we can say that our principles still apply: Tenejapa is more isolated from the ladino world than those pueblos we have mentioned in which factions are not found, but on the other hand less so than the villages where we find extreme factionalism. In Tenejapa the traditional organization has developed a certain specialization of function but factions are found only in competition for the control of the Ayuntamiento Constitucional. Another pueblo which appears to have found an intermediary position rather similar to that of Tenejapa is Chenalhó where the dominant personality of Manuel Arias has held in check the development of a progressist faction whose elements, mentioned by Guiteras in passing, are to be found in the attitudes of the young educated revestidos.

Undoubtedly, a primordial factor in the formation of factions is education. The traditional civil-religious hierarchy is an education in itself; the acquisition of manners, knowledge and experience is built into its structure quite unconsciously. The junior post provides the opportunity for acquiring the training which is necessary for successful performance in the senior post, as well as a testing of the capacities of the individual. Thus Guiteras tells the story of the young man of Chenalhó who were ordered to take office, in a subaltern position which involved their spending the day in waiting upon the town hall in order that they should learn to conduct themselves better from the example of their elders.

This kind of education is entirely different from the learning of the technical skills and social "know-how" which the individual needs in order to operate in the ladino world. In fact, the political hegemony of the ladinos over the indians, as well as the picture the latter have of them, can be attributed to indians' ignorance of ladino ways. The indian, on account of his lack of understanding which his status implies is habitually the victim of the ladinos, in commercial dealings, in the machinations of law and politics, and in the social contacts of daily life. Indians are perfectly well aware of all this and are able to see the advantage of learning Spanish and acquiring ladino "know-how". For this reason the Zinacantecans, for example, consent to leading their children to act as servants in the house of their ladino compadres; for this reason prestige of a kind goes to the indian who knows Spanish, is "muy castellano"; for this reason the indians of San Bartolomé recently gave such an enthusiastic reception to the project of I.M.I. to provide them with a school for the indian children. They replied by demanding four schools, one for each barrio, convinced that if all could read and write then "progress" would automatically follow and "progress" would make them a match for the ladinos. What is also significant is that they were not prepared to sink the distinctions of their traditional barrio organization in the cause of progress.

From the 1930's onwards there has been pressure from the central government to give indians a national education and today there are schools of one sort or another in even the most isolated parajes and colonias. The schoolmaster, however, does not always represent the disinterested devotion pictured by the national ideal, but conforms as often as not to a more ancient principle which indians all recognize: that the ladino only comes among them to seek his own advantage: women or money. Thus there have been cases in which schoolmasters (who

are often also endowed with political posts as municipal agents or secretaries to ayuntamientos, where there are no other ladinos) have used their position to levy private tribute upon their flock, in cash, or the corvée labor of their pupils for the cultivation of their own land¹, to in-

¹It is regarded as legitimate to use the labor of the pupils to aid in requirements of the school and even to raise money for that purpose.

dulge in trading on a lucrative scale and even to corner the sale of illicit liquor. There are also of course those noble and disinterested men who personify the ideal but the fact that they are the exception rather than the rule opens the door to ambivalent feelings in the reactions of the Indians to the attempts to educate them.

In order to overcome this difficulty the I.N.I. has in recent years established its own system of schools for Indians, staffed by indian promotores who have been trained in the central school of I.N.I. in San Cristóbal as schoolmasters and also as technological innovators. However, the reception of the promotores, even though I.N.I. has attempted to send them to their own people, has not been universally warm, since, apart from the customary distrust of the Indians, the mutual hostility between I.N.I. and the Catholic Church has given the priests the opportunity to warn the faithful of the irreligious character of I.N.I. education. Moreover, there has certainly at times been some element of truth in the suggestion that the I.N.I. promotor, backed by the power of the government, has used his backing to build himself up into the position of Cacique, has even behaved like the most abusive of the ladino schoolmasters.

Other than schoolmasters and promotores, there are also these who attempt to impose religious education upon the

indians, the Catholic Missions and the Protestant Missionaries, each with their indian converts. These again are in rivalry with one another.

Each of these institutions which attempt to direct indians in one way or another create their own adherents within the indian pueblo whom they endow with power, but they are all necessarily young or youngish men, since they have required to be educated for the role. Thus, in addition to other aspects of the struggle between factions, there is also a generational split which divides the faction of the libres, the traditionalists, from one of the modern political or religious factions. In Sivacá, it was their successful defiance of the sanctions of witchcraft which started the young men, returned from the army, on the careers which have made them the leaders of the pueblo today and which demonstrated in terms of traditional ideas the precocious strength of their spirits.

So far we have described only the indian pueblo. Something has been said above about the ladino pueblo and the parochial attachment of its inhabitants. Here we contrast the ladino community with the indian. While the ladino pueblo has a feeling of its own uniqueness and exclusiveness and of the personality of its neighbors, expressed sometimes in collective nicknames--e.g., the inhabitants of San Cristóbal are referred to collectively as "los coletos", (from coleta, pig tail) the cultural difference between different pueblos is slight. Inter-marriage is common between ladino pueblos, whereas it is rare among traditional indian pueblos which are all theoretically endogamous. This is related to the fact that there is much movement from one to another. Land-owners may own fincas outside their natal pueblo; artisans may go to live and work in another pueblo;

tradesmen, professional men and administrators are often born elsewhere. An indian, on the other hand, lives in his own village. He may go to work on the fincas and sometimes he establishes himself in the lowlands. He may even rent land in another municipality as the Tenejapanesos in Oxchuc, or he may go there as a pagado. But he rarely goes to live in another traditional indian village, since it would be suspected that he had been driven out of his own village for witchcraft (and it would often be true). A ladino is attached to his natal village by his birth, that is to say, he belongs to a specific social group associated with a place in which he has kin and childhood friends and when he goes elsewhere he is likely to be referred to by a nickname which identifies him according to his place of birth. It is not that his spirit is in any way attached to the place nor that his ancestors "owned the land". Descent has a certain significance in terms of social class, but none in terms of a mystical relationship between a man and the pueblo of his origin. The ladino who has been born in Zinacantan is referred to in San Cristóbal, where he has established himself as "the Zinacanteco". The implications of this are not the same as when it is said of an indian that he is a Zinacantecan. All this can be explained by the fact that the functions which provide the political, economic and social superstructure of the area are all in the hands of ladinos. Indians are members of their pueblos; the rest of the world is exterior to their community of reference and identification. The social and moral horizon of the ladinos is wider. They are Chiapanecos and Mexicans.

The nature of political power is therefore very different in the two communities, even though they may possess a similar structure of government. The sanctions on which power rests are very different, since their effectiveness depends upon the response, that is to say, the culture, of

those to whom they apply. The ladino secretary of an indian municipality necessarily plays a different role to the ladino secretary of a ladino town-hall. The ultimate sanction of organized force is in both cases the same, the power of the state, but its value as a sanction in the local community is not the same.

The state demands that its representatives shall be respected. It is prepared to intervene if they are not by sending troops, but it prefers to intervene as little as possible in the internal affairs of the pueblo. It--and in fact this means the powerful figures in Tuxtla, the governor, the P.R.I., the representatives of federal organizations--retains a control over the representatives in the local community to whom it delegates certain powers, but after that it exercises a minimum of supervision (the reasons for this become clear in Stern's analysis of the bureaucracy). Once its requirements in terms of law and order and administration have been met it demands only peace and quiet. Hence political power means the temporary endowment with control of the sanctions emanating from the higher level of political organization. It is attained through the ability to acquire support at this level and it is, thereafter, a personal attribute to be exploited, within certain limits, as the office-holder sees fit. It endows with a purely terrestrial power and the immunity which the powerful enjoy reposes on no sacred sanctions but simply upon the support given to them for the time being by "higher authority". Therefore, the office-holder in a ladino municipality, the president and his collaborators and the permanent officials aspire to satisfy higher authority on the one hand and to avoid arousing a consensus of antagonism among those they administer on the other, but within these two limits, to do as well as they can for themselves. Since no great prestige is accorded to them on account of their office once

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they cease to hold power, and they are poorly remunerated, this usually means "making something on the side". To do so is in any case regarded as their "right", and it is normally assumed that this is their motive for seeking office or choosing their career. An investment of effort and money has been put into obtaining power which requires to be repaid. Cynical commentators assert that it costs so many thousand pesos to become president of their municipality and joke about the profits they have nonetheless realized. On the other hand, lip-service at least, is always paid to the ideal of community service by its elected representatives and every president pays it eloquently in his annual speech to the community at year's end and likes to leave his name in concrete somewhere upon a public monument or the inaugural tablet of a new installation to commemorate his fidelity to this ideal. One of the results of this is that while new projects are popular since they demonstrate the initiative of the president, his "progressive" ideas and his devotion to his post (and they involve the collection and expenditure of municipal funds which may present the possibility of a certain personal advantage) the maintenance of services inaugurated by a predecessor offer little opportunity for the enhancement of personal prestige and therefore they are frequently allowed to decay.

It is to be noted that in contrast to the ladino system of political office which is acquired through influence outside the community, which gives personal power for the duration of the office and is normally rendered lucrative, office in the indian hierarchy requires personal expenditure, gives little real power (since the office-holders are subject to their elders) and involves onerous duties, but is at the same time an honor which bequeaths prestige and ultimately power. Summing up, we may say that the ladino takes office to enjoy the power and make money, but loses this possibility at the

termination of his term whereas the indian takes office as a step within a hierarchy through which, at financial cost, he builds himself up to a residual position of prestige and power.

The two systems correspond to different ideals of a successful life and imply quite different attitudes to the nature of power itself and the relation of the individual to his community, attitudes which Robert Redfield expressed in terms of secularization and individualization. We cannot see them here as aspects of a cultural continuum, still less one with a cultural dimension, for they do not necessarily go along with other aspects of cultural change. Tenejapa, in many ways a very traditional indian community, provides the example of one whose municipal officers have adopted a "ladino" conception of political power, using their office to enrich themselves.

Within the ladino municipality the president has very great power. To begin with, he has the power to appoint the municipal servants and to command public works; therefore he stands as patron to his supporters who want jobs. In addition, he is the guardian of order, in collaboration with the judge and the agent of the Ministerio Público if there is one. In conjunction with the other two, he decides if people are to be put in jail and under what conditions they are to be released.

In spite of the attractions of formal office, the president is not necessarily the most powerful man in the community. The rule of no re-election prohibits a man from being so for more than three years at a time. In any case the man of real power often prefers to control the presidency without himself holding office, and to put in a man of his choice whom he can rely on to listen to him.

Such a man of power is called a Cacique, which means the political boss. He is normally a person of wealth, a

land-owner of importance who also possesses the ambition and the ability to impose himself. He derives his power in part from his economic position which enables him to attach people to him as an employer or benefactor, in part also from his contacts with the sources of power in the state capital, but above all from his ability to operate a system of patronage and intimidation which makes him able to reward those who cooperate with him and ruin those who oppose him. The word "cacique" in its derogatory sense applies to those who lean too heavily upon the latter function. Díaz de Salas discusses the grounds for applying such an epithet to the leading figure of Venustiano Carranza and, taking perhaps a rather narrow view of the term, considers that he can hardly be called cacique since he does not hold a monopoly of power but rather shares it with a group whom he describes as an oligarchy. Whether or not a single individual succeeds in monopolizing political power is a matter of circumstances and also a matter of degree, and the theme of the "frailty in authority" applies to informal power as well as to formally recognized office. (Hotchkiss, 1964, describes such a person in Teopisca who manages to hold a not unchallenged sway through his careful balancing of the different political forces in the pueblo.) There is no institution of cacique which must necessarily be found in every pueblo and in the greater number there is no individual who qualifies for the title. There are only persons who are more or less successful in concentrating power in their hands. We are concerned with the principles upon which the cacique's power is based and the circumstances under which he is able to appear upon the social scene.

The notion of service to the community as a whole is not, as has been stated, a dominating criterion in the ladino pueblo. On the other hand, the notion of the return of favors is paramount in personal relations. Therefore the

ability to render favors, and its negative counterpart, the ability to inflict vengeance, provide the common currency of a structure of patronage which forms the nervous system of the body politic. "Influence value" is the political worth of a man, but this relates to influence at every level: to have the ear of the governor or a "friend at court" in Mexico City, to swing the decisions in the councils of the P.R.I. in Tuxtla, to be able to arrange an awkward situation for a friend, or the protégée of a friend, or to protect or reward those who have demonstrated their personal allegiance, are all aspects of the same kind of behavior which establishes the political power of an individual--as well as the negative aspects of the same behavior, the ability to frustrate the political ambitions of a rival, to punish an infidelity or the failure to recognize the necessity of his intervention, or to avenge an insult, if necessary with the services of the professional pistolero--above all, whatever he should choose to do, to remain inviolate to the sanctions wielded by others.

Such power requires no constitutional sanctions for it does not depend upon formal delegation in accordance with legal prescriptions but grows out of the network of personal relations, which is why the cacique frequently avoids taking office himself or at least retains as much power when not in office. Moreover, such is the centripetal nature of such power that, once established, it maintains itself even after the inevitable hostility has been aroused among the defeated and the jealous. Since it does not depend upon formal office it cannot be formally lost, it can only be destroyed by the defection of followers or by the loss of influence at a high level of authority. But these two aspects reinforce each other reciprocally. The followers remain true to the man who thanks to his influence in higher quarters can protect them, while the utility of the cacique to the higher powers is precisely that he has sufficient influence in the

local community to get things done, that is to say, he is a man who is followed.

Personal influence has importance in any society. There is probably none in which an exposition of the legal basis suffices to give a picture of the real structure of power. However, this society differs from many in that influence does not supplement the law, it replaces it; it does not mitigate its application and enable the individual to acquire a position of power, it is power itself. Therefore the legal prescription imposes no sense of obligation, it simply provides an idiom into which the realities of power are required to be translated at the points where it is necessary to justify action in the eyes of "higher authority", at the point where things have to be put on paper.¹ Power, there-

¹Medina assures us that it is customary for the tax-collector of Tenejapa to destroy all his papers on giving over his post to his replacement, a custom which emphasizes neatly the distinction to be made between the man (the reality of power) and the post (the legal theory of it).

fore is essentially personal and the fact that it is so is clearly recognized and accepted--not merely formal but normative.

The possibility of using it in order to become supreme and unopposable, to be a cacique, depends upon certain conditions. (1) To begin with, relations must obviously be personal and this means that the effective community is limited in size. (2) His power, to be effective, must be a monopoly. (3) There must be a certain concentration of power in the formal organization of the village in order that the cacique may gain control of its sanctions. One could not become cacique of a quarter or a street. (4) It is essential to his position to control the exterior relations of the community since this is where the sanctions originate. (5) In order to

hold a monopoly of exterior relations there requires to be a concentration of power at the level of the state capital.

(6) Isolation clearly reinforces the effects from which sanctions emanate of the above factors in that the more movement there is between the pueblo and the outside the more difficult it is for the cacique to maintain his monopoly of such relations; the easier it is for members of the community to have effective independent relations with the state capital and the easier it is for the agencies from outside to intervene in the community since in order to do so they must have knowledge of personalities.

Viewing the evolution of these factors in the past it is easy to see why the old-fashioned ladino caciques whose word was law has virtually disappeared. The multiplication of government agencies provides alternative structure of influence in which opposition to the cacique can develop, while improved communications make it easier for the people to circumvent the cacique's monopoly of exterior relations.¹

¹A comparison with the cacique in 19th century Spain appears to bear out this analysis. Cf. Joaquin Coata: El Caciquismo, Madrid, 1900. See also the discussion in Gerald Brennan: The Spanish Labyrinth, Cambridge, 1954.

In view of the differences between the power structure of the indian and the ladino pueblo, and the differences of culture between the two communities, the way in which the indian pueblo relates to the state government must clearly be different. This was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter. Nevertheless, we find what might appear as an anomaly in view of what has been said of traditional indian political values, the indian cacique.

First of all, we must distinguish between the modern cacique and those leaders of the indians who are referred to

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by that title in the early literature. The latter appear to have been officially recognized leaders of the indian pueblo. A word of Carib origin, it was used by the Spaniards to mean any indian leader. However, it later came to be used in Spain (and Mexico also) to mean a political boss, a holder of real power rather than office, and it is in that sense that it is applied with reference to the indian pueblo of today.

The anomaly is this: that in an indian pueblo office has been defined as a matter of service to the community in order to acquire prestige, and power goes to the elders in the form of spiritual power through strength of spirit, and thereby the control of supernatural sanctions. The indian cacique wields power of another order deriving from control of terrestrial sanctions: wealth, physical intimidation, and above all the ability to manipulate the ladinos, all of which imply actions which run counter to the values of indian society.

The indian cacique is, in the first place, then, a man who understands ladino culture; he knows Spanish and knows how to speak to the ladino authorities. Since there are few who can and who dare do so, he has thereby the possibility of establishing himself in an unique position. There are men of greater or less importance in the indian community whose spirits are strong and who are listened to, but the possibility of concentrating spiritual power is limited by the ways in which it can be legitimately used. The demonstration of power, spiritual or material, in order to advance oneself and intimidate others marks a man out as a witch. The cacique therefore braves the dangers of witchcraft, and it is significant that all the famous indian caciques were either murdered as witches or their death was attributed to witchcraft after supposedly repeated attempts. However, a

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position of power is not built up in the indian any more than in the ladino world without gaining support through rendering service and it is precisely the cacique's ability to handle the ladinos which makes him invaluable to his people. He requires their confidence therefore in order to stand as their representative in the relations between the pueblo and the ladinos but he also requires to a certain degree the confidence of the ladinos in order that they may be prepared to deal with him. He must be, not only from the indian point of view, the man who can handle the ladinos. From the ladinos' point of view he is the man who can handle the indians. His capacity in either direction reinforces his value in the other.

But this dual representation bequeaths a certain ambiguity to his position which is reflected by the ambiguity in the usage of the word cacique. It means, initially, a leader, a man of power who can make his people do as he says, but it also means, in a derogatory sense, a man who abuses that power for his own ends, a tyrant. The distinction between the two senses hinges upon a judgment of value, an estimation of the legitimacy of his actions. But the criteria by which this legitimacy is established are not self-evident. Thus Manuel Arias, the subject of Calixta Guiteras' book, appears as an indian leader, fighting resolutely for the cause of his people; nevertheless, at one point he was accused of "selling himself and them to the ladino" (p. 325); at another time he solicited the costliest office in the ceremonial system because he was being accused of receiving and not spending. Another leader, Vazquez Cha'al of San Bartolomé, has gone down in local history as a cacique in the derogatory sense, as one who used his power in the indian ayuntamiento to enable the ladinos to exploit the indians, who sold part of the communal lands to the finqueros for his private gain and whose eventual death was attributed to witch-

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craft. In this sense, cacique means an indian leader who by indian standards has gone wrong.

The ladinos have every advantage in suborning the indian leader, in increasing his power if he is prepared to use it in their favor. They support the indian leader for the same common-sense reason that Tuxtla supports the ladino cacique and if he maintains his position by intimidation rather than popularity they are hardly in a position to know or likely to care until an opposition arises in the local community and gains support in higher quarters. Thus an indian leader of Zinacantan was recently revealed, according to some reports, to have been a fearsome cacique who had had five men murdered because they opposed him. The ambiguity involved in such a situation was illustrated by another report which maintained that he was "framed" for his fidelity to his own people.

The individual instance always remains open to doubt, but we are concerned with the principles which explain all the instances. The indian leader is one who is able to understand the values of the ladinos, and "do business" with them, but he must always retain his identification with the indian pueblo; otherwise his pretension to represent it becomes vain and not only his power in his own pueblo, but his utility to the ladinos vanishes. Therefore he always retains his indian dress. He must be "bi-cultural" to a certain extent but he is not ladinized. Siverts (1964) stresses the ability of the indian caciques to handle ladino values and to speak Spanish well. The hitherto incomplete analysis of the linguistic data appears to show that the bilingual indians of Pinola who play an important role as mediators of ladino power in relation to the indian community tend to speak a Tzeltal which is more traditional and less influenced by Spanish loans than that spoken by others who can barely express themselves at all in Spanish. However, the symbols

of identification are one thing, the values which guide action are another. Hence the temptation which afflicts the indian leader who is not only offered the material possibilities of a ladino life but honored by them as well. Hence also we find cases of indian caciques who have behaved in fact very much like ladino caciques, have appropriated the communal lands, levied tribute and taken advantage of the women they desired, and who packed a pistol under their chamarra.

Making allowances for the differences, the same principles which produce the ladino cacique produce the indian cacique and the same conditions prohibit his existence. It is not claimed that these principles are universally valid for all systems of achieved individual political dominance. The conditions under which an individual succeeds in imposing a monopoly of power, necessarily vary greatly from one culture to another since, in the last resort they depend upon what the population is prepared to submit to without resorting to open rebellion. What is regarded as legitimate or sacrilegious varies. Nevertheless, a certain similarity unites all the examples of such power.¹ While the indian community

¹An interesting comparison with the cacique is to be found in the "boss" of the American labor unions where neither physical or cultural isolation pertains but where the union card provides a definition of the community, and where the community has a clear interest in delegating power to its leader to represent them in relation to their employers. Again, opposition to the boss expresses itself as an appeal to "higher authority", while the methods of control used by the boss include the imposition of arbitrary levies ("the bite") and even on occasions the use of personal violence.

remains free of contact from the ladinos it may be imagined that the power does not yet exist which a cacique might corner and that the traditional organization suffices to order the government of the community. On the other hand (and here we can look to the evidence), with the formation of factions

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the indian cacique is no longer found since he cannot monopolize the sanctions of the ladinos. He cannot be, at the same time, the man of confidence of the ejido chief, the local ladinos, the priest, the I.N.I.--not to mention the Protestant missionaries, once the followers of these have formed a faction.

We have attempted to give an analysis of the principles of government in our area, leaving the illustration of them and the ethnographic detail to the writers of the monographs. The analysis is not complete, however, without a discussion of the law, and its relation to custom. To that we now turn our attention.

Throughout the ethnography we find references to the fact that the law says one thing and what happens is something quite different. This poses a problem concerning the nature of law. Jurisprudents have insisted that law which is not applied is somehow not truly law; an ideal system invented by the minds of legislators which fails to establish itself as a system of social control is not law because it is only in application that it reveals its true nature. What might be called the "ethnographic" reality of law is to be found in the way it makes people behave and what happens if they behave otherwise. This view regards the sanctions which enforce it as a necessary and integral part of the legal system.

The anthropologist is forced, in the first instance, to take such a positivist view of law and to consider it for his purposes as one among other mechanisms of social control. Its effectiveness is what interests him. On the other hand, whether effective or not, the letter of the law still possesses ethnographic reality to the extent to which it is known by the communities studied, and in the sense in which they understand and evaluate it. It cannot nevertheless be expected to possess the same kind of consistency there, to exemplify the same motives, as in the minds of the legislators. In application it becomes something different. This is not on account of anything in the law itself but rather of the way in which it relates to the custom of the community.

If it is not only the positivist school of jurisprudence that maintains that law must be applied in order to exist, it is equally not only the proponents of natural law who maintain that the legislator is bound by ethical considerations. Indeed the whole of Western political philosophy is imbued with the distinction between law and tyranny. Law

ceases to be law if it becomes arbitrary.

Yet the moment ethical values are introduced, the anthropologist is entitled to ask "Whose ethical values?". The values intended by the legislator are not necessarily those which are held by the administrators. The values of the administrators are not necessarily those of the community. If the ethical proviso is to be met, a certain consensus must exist between the values of the legislation and those of the governed, not only logically but also for the practical reason that where it is lacking, where the law is contradicted by custom, its chances of becoming effective, whatever the ethical intentions of those who wrote it, are slight. English law attempts to face up to this problem by the importance it attaches to common law as a source of law, and British colonial administration attempted to meet the requirement of popular consent by the theory of indirect rule. On account of its evangelical mission the Spanish empire was never so concerned with the problem nor has the common law anything like the same status in the tradition of Spanish jurisprudence. Yet law which is unsupported by popular consent lies at the mercy of its administrators and becomes very much what the local community contrives to make of it and this is seen in the way its sanctions are interpreted and the uses to which they are put. For reasons which will already have been observed, this is the case in Chiapas, and the legal process must be studied then in terms of the different persons whom the law endows with sanctions and the meanings they give to it.

We can distinguish, other than the letter of the federal law itself, three main levels of interpretation: (1) That of the bureaucrats and administrators in the state capital. (Federal law is in any case modified by state law.); (2) The custom of the ladino community of the highlands; (3) The

custom of the indian community. By this we mean the traditional indian custom. With increased education indians have a growing preoccupation with ladino law and a growing realization of the possibility of appealing to Tuxtla and even Mexico City (particularly in agrarian matters) in order to defend the interests of the indian community.

In the question of administration we have already seen in the chapter on Politics, how the imposition of the Ayuntamiento Constitucional is adjusted to the cargo system. We should add here an observation concerning the post of juez rural (Justice of the Peace). The juez (wesh) is merely one of the officers of the municipality and his independent function implied in law is not in fact effective.¹ Cases are

¹There are exceptions and qualifications for this statement. It appears that in Amatenango the juez has a certain autonomy. He is nevertheless subject to the consensus of the principales.

brought before "the authorities" who are in reality the senior officers of the municipality and it is the president who presides over the court thus constituted. This fits in with the traditional indian conception of Justice.

It is interesting to find, however, that something of the same happens in the ladino community, e.g., Ocosingo. One finds in ladino towns that judicial matters are taken to the president and are settled sometimes without reference to the judge, even where there is a juzgado de primera instancia. This is understandable since the president holds responsibility for action in matters of public order. Moreover, the judge is an outsider, a professional lawyer who expects to ascend to a more important post and has little interest in the local politics and petty quarrels which constitute the day-to-day round of judicial business. He inter-

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venes only when the matter is not settled informally by the president and when his services are required. He usually accepts the guidance of the president and shares with him the mordidas which arise from judicial business. The indians of San Bartolomé take their cases direct to the ladino president and many matters are settled without reference to the judge. This may in part be due to the fact that the present president is a man of great power and one in whom the indians have confidence.

There are two other characteristics of the judicial system which are common to both indian and ladino municipalities: first, a dislike of outside interference, and above all a fear of it, either by the military or in the form of a visit from a representative of higher authority-- in general, a distrust of the higher levels of power. Therefore many cases which should by law be remitted to a higher court do not in fact go there. Though the powers of justice of the peace are extremely limited, they cannot inflict a sentence of more than two months imprisonment or more than a fine of 500 pesos; in fact, matters of much greater importance in the criminal law are handled in the local municipality, under titles which allow them to appear in the records. We do not have any case of any individual demanding to be sent for trial to a higher court. The known evil is usually judged better than the risks of the unknown. On the other hand, civil cases are often taken to a higher court, and indeed, the success of the indians in land cases involving the communal lands often depends upon their ability to get a hearing on a high enough level. In cases between indians and ladinos the indian often has an interest in reaching a more distant court since the local one, whether indian or ladino, is likely to be prejudiced by the power and influence of his opponent or by the solidarity of ladinos. The indians of Pinola who took their complaint to the court

of Comitán were aware of this.

The president has the right to call for a small detachment of federal troops to be stationed in the village, when they come theoretically under the authority of the agent of the Ministerio Público, though they are at the disposal of the president. Certain towns have a small detachment of troops stationed in them permanently (Villa las Rosas, Venustiano Carranza, Acala), and the municipality contributes to their maintenance. It is then able to dispense with so strong a municipal police force. The detachment appears to have very little influence on the life of the pueblo.

The second characteristic which typifies both indian and ladino municipalities is a dislike of taking the initiative in judicial matters. The authorities do nothing until a complaint is brought to them and even then take little action to discover the unknown author of a crime, or even to pursue him when he is known. The municipal police are concerned to see that the peace is not disturbed and that the municipal ordinances are not flagrantly disobeyed, but beyond that they take little action willingly. This produces the anomaly that while a noisy drunk is easily thrown into jail, little if anything is done to pursue a murderer. The action of the municipal police relates to the direct responsibilities of the president under whose orders they come. It is expected in any case that a murderer will relieve them of the responsibility of action by taking to the bush. These generalizations are well illustrated from Chiapilla on account of its modest size, isolation and lack of importance. Here several recognized murderers, one of them escaped from jail, live peaceably in the village unmolested by the zeal of the representatives of law and order. In the indian village murder occurs either in a drunken brawl in which case his inebriate condition exonerates the murderer from "criminal

responsibility" in the sense that it is treated as manslaughter, or, in response to witchcraft when the murderers always remain anonymous and no attempt is made to identify them. The judicial process described by Nash¹ in Amatenango con-

¹Nash. América Indígena, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1960.

cerns the culpability of, not the anonymous murderers, but the victim, and aims to establish whether he was a witch or not, a fact which led Nash to the conclusion that the assassination of a witch was part of a judicial process which possessed the particularity that the execution initiates it and implies accusation which it is the court's duty to ratify with, if possible, the concurrence of the deceased's kin. It seems likely that in the setting of the traditional village a high degree of consensus is established before the killing is attempted, and when this occurs the authorities are already expecting it, having given their tacit consent. They do not on any account take direct action themselves against witches, and the ambiguity of the role of the witch can explain this. The judicial proceedings might then be analyzed in the following manner: (a) tacit condemnation of the witch by the authorities following the consensus of the populace expressed privately by the principales. This has the effect of giving permission to the injured party or parties to take revenge or defend themselves through murder. (b) This they do, not singly as a rule, but as a band of three to five, that is to say, in joint responsibility, since combined action is regarded as essential in order to overcome the witch's spiritual strength.¹ (c) The judicial proceedings

¹Every member of the band must strike the victim in order

that each may be equally inculpated. It is significant that in Chiapilla the assassins of witches are always several, while in other cases of ~~murder~~ there is a single assassin.

are initiated by the kin of the victim who bring their complaint to the authorities. The action of the authorities on the other hand aims to demonstrate that the victim was in fact a witch and to persuade his kin of this in order that they dissociate themselves from his cause. This in effect brings off a reconciliation between the opposed groups of kin--for though the murderers are anonymous, it is well known who they are likely to be, since the murder of the witch is commonly preceded by accusations and in some communities attempts at persuading him to desist and withdraw his evil.

In the light of this analysis, the assassination of the witch takes on the character of sanctioned reprisal against a tort rather than a crime. The authorities neither pursue the witch, nor the murderers of the witch. Accusations of witchcraft are brought to them, and they remonstrate with the accused, but apply no formal sanctions. Later, when the witch is murdered, they justify the murderers. Their function in each case is conciliatory rather than judicial. We have in fact encountered no cases within traditional indian pueblos of the court upholding the kin of the murdered man, exonerating him of the charge of witchcraft and demanding the punishment of the ^{killers} murderers. It is to be noted here that the partisans of the murdered man expose themselves to similar accusations once the consensus has been established. The man who defends the witch against the opinion of the community marks himself out as a witch himself and thus endangers his own life, so that in fact the close kin of a man killed for witchcraft often leave the community following the trial.

The reaction of the ladino judicial authorities to cases

of theft is not dissimilar. They do not pursue it diligently. It is regarded as the fault of misfortune of the victim who is nevertheless entitled to redress if he can point out the thief. Like murder, though it is considered morally wrong, it is a tort rather than a crime. The action of the authorities is limited to attempts to recover the stolen object or to enforce payment in compensation to the owner. We might cite as an example the case of the ladino of Tenejapa who stole a woman's pig because she refused to sell it to him. The court in this case insisted, not on the return of the pig but on the payment of its value to the owner. This was what the guilty party wished in the first place, so he can hardly be said to have been penalized. Stern's description of thieving in Chiapilla shows the victim of theft quite content if he can identify his property and get it back.

There is little theft among indians, but where it occurs it appears to be taken more seriously than in ladino communities. Punitive sanctions are applied by indian authorities in the form of fining, jailing for not more than a few days, and to the young men and women, whipping. But this is done only at the request of the senior kinsmen of the offender. It must be remembered that the serious moral sanctions which govern conduct operate at the level of the supernatural and therefore render terrestrial sanctions largely redundant. It is hardly necessary to punish a man in other ways if he knows his soul will be eaten as a result of his transgression.

In the indian community the authorities are awarded a sacred value by virtue of their office and are assumed to perform their functions in defense of the community as a whole and in accordance with the opinion of the elders. In contrast, it may be argued that, in the ladino community, in spite of the various codes of law which define very

exactly in accordance with the traditions of western jurisprudence the sanctions and the procedures for applying them, the realm of public law is limited in practice to the defense of the interests and authority of the holders of office. Office covers its incumbent with no aura of sacredness but only with the right to employ the force of law as he sees fit. The possession of sanctions as a personal attribute contrasts with their delegation as a manifestation of sacred authority.

It follows that the immunity of the authorities is of a different nature in the two cases of the indian and ladino pueblo. The indian authority is protected by supernatural sanctions and to offend him is to offend the gods. The ladino president is protected by his preferential call upon the sanctions of government, his own commander of police, his power to fine or commit to jail, ultimately, his appeal to the higher authorities from outside. Thus, in fact, the immunity of office-holders is not always very certain. Stern gives the instance of the judge of Chiapilla who was beaten up by the man whom he had condemned to a fine, while from Ocosingo we have another case which illustrates several points in connection with the sanctions of law. It was the custom of the municipality to employ the Marimba-team to play on Sunday evening in the central square. The marimba-team took to drinking so heavily that, though they are remarkable for being able to play even when very drunk, their performance one Sunday broke down and the president, a keen musician himself, ordered them to jail. After this, the marimba-team gave up playing altogether and devoted their time whole-heartedly to drinking. One night when the president was passing a tavern on his way home he was recognized by them and assaulted physically. The president **this time** took private and subtler revenge: it so happened he had recently received by mail as a gift from the anthropologist some recordings of his own playing and also that of the marimba-

team with the request that he would transmit the latter to them. The president instead took the record to the taverns or lent it to his friends to play for fiestas, but refused to give it to the marimbistas. In this way the pueblo was able to continue to enjoy, over the loudspeaker system, the music of their marimbistas who had gone on strike and the president no doubt enjoyed the thought of the galling humiliation which he was inflicting on them. Thus, for their failure as musicians he put them in jail, but for physically assaulting him he resorted to private revenge.

In view of what has been said, the jail deserves to be treated as a social institution existing in its own right. It is in the first place a municipal institution. A number of indian villages which do not have municipal status have jails while others have none, and appear to manage their affairs well enough without one. Any public building suffices to incarcerate a drunk until he has recovered his senses. The jail is not normally used by indians for anything more than temporary apprehension, though in Tenejapa it serves as a debtor's prison where on the complaint of a ladino creditor the indian president has people put until they can pay. In the hands of ladinos, however, it takes on rather different characteristics.

In the old days every finca had a jail which provided the chief method of coercing the indians over whom the finca owner administered justice in a highly arbitrary fashion. The jail remains a sanction in the hands of the man in power. A common notion is that the jail is the place where the president has people put until they can pay the amount required of them.¹ The coercive value of the jail is exploited in

¹Since the means of acquiring the money to do so vanish when a man loses his liberty, it throws the responsibility for finding the amount for his release onto his wife and kin.

His wife also has the duty of feeding him while he is there, for board is not among the amenities of the jail. (The wealthy ladinos do in fact send food to the jail as an act of charity in Ocosingo.)

some pueblos more than others; prison provides a means of supplying labor and income for the authorities. The prisoners are commonly used for such corvée labor as digging to repair the water system or cleaning up the central square after the fiesta. But since a man can normally be released upon payment of a mordida, it follows that when money is required it is only necessary to jail a certain number of individuals in order for it to be forthcoming. How the money is employed other than in municipal coffers varies from pueblo to pueblo. It is shared between indian president and ladino secretary in Tenejapa, president and judge in other places with perhaps a cut for the agent of the Ministerio Público. The practice of jailing varies also. In Ocosingo, though drunkenness is general and indeed somewhat prestigious, many people are jailed for being drunk and disorderly. Though any drunk who makes himself a nuisance may be jailed for the night, there is what amounts to a custom of jailing drunks, particularly indians at the end of the fiesta, who must pay a "fine" of ten to twenty pesos in order to recover their liberty. It is said humorously by the ladinos that the indians come to the fiesta with the fine tucked into their belts and do not consider that they have had a good time unless they end in jail, a view which has not been verified from any indians. Ladinos, particularly poor ones, are frequently jailed and imposed upon in a like manner, and there is a tendency for them to avoid the central square when inebriated. Members of the upper class are not usually jailed unless they make a nuisance of themselves. It is common for them to pull their pistols and shoot into the air when drunk as a manifestation of personal feeling, and the law has been

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insistent in condemning this custom, so that even socially distinguished persons who indulge in it are liable to be jailed and required to pay a much more considerable fine in order to quash the affair.

In contrast to Ocosingo, where the jail plays a part of importance in the life of the pueblo, and in the economy of the municipality, it is very seldom utilized in Chiapilla and this fact may be related to the lesser importance of the place and the consequent absence of representatives of external authority, but also to the somewhat different class structure. Chiapilla gets its labor by turns of citizen service.

When the normal mechanisms fail to effect the release of a prisoner, it is quite frequent for people to escape from jail. The former judge of Chiapilla who killed a man in self-defense attempted to exonerate himself by the correct procedure, wrote out a report and took it himself to Chiapa de Corzo where he was jailed. But he wearied of the dilatoriness of the authorities there and after six months (during which we assume he failed to arrange the matter in the normal way-- perhaps on account of his legal punctiliousness) he simply broke jail and returned home. In another instance, Díaz de Salas was informed in advance of the projected jail-break which was effected with the help of certain persons in authority and was in any case made necessary, it appears, by the unreasonable determination of the president to keep the man in jail. In no case in our area does any ignominy attach to going to jail.

The other institution which requires detailed treatment here and which has been mentioned hitherto only in passing is the mordida, the "bribe". This is a payment made to a person in return for his goodwill. The term covers a wide range of contexts; which are held together by the notion that sanc-

tions are the personal endowment of the man who exercises them. It is essentially a ladino institution, though indians are found indulging in it at certain points and indeed it merges with an indian concept whose literal meaning is not very far removed from it: the bocado, literally "mouthful". The bocado is a present made to a person whose goodwill is required. Presents are made to the artisan in requesting his services¹; to the parents of a girl whose hand is desired

¹Guiteras, The Perils of the Soul, Chicago, 1961; p. 62.

in marriage (the bride-price); to the authorities in requesting justice, both by the plaintiff and the defendant; it is conceptually similar to the offerings made to the saints or spirits or to God. It is a recognition of the offerer's dependence upon the good will of the recipient.

The mordida is commonly paid to officials as a sum of money and in this sense it is known throughout Mexico. But it is irrelevant whether it is paid to the official to hasten the execution of his duty or whether to persuade him to forego it. It is the payment made to get out of jail, to reduce a tax liability, to obtain permission to cut down trees, or to perform any other activity which is legally controlled, to sway the decision of the agronomic engineer regarding land assessment or measurement. It hinges upon the fact that the official has the power to refuse or to deny his services or to withhold them on one pretext or another to the point which is equivalent to a denial. In every case it is a personal gift to the individual whose favor is required, not to his function, and it is therefore not entered upon the books nor is it transferable if one official is relieved of his functions by another.

The mordida is contrary to Mexican law and is known to be

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so by those interested in the letter of the law, but even by them it is accepted as a necessity. It is in fact a right recognized by custom and this can be seen in the fact that while officials are frequently criticized in regard to the mordida, they are not criticized for accepting or even demanding one, but for demanding an excessive amount. The notion of a fixed price for a given service reigns here, at least as securely if not more so than throughout the rest of the economy. "Don Fulano charges so much", it is said. A man is entitled to get the price he can for the goods he sells and the buyer can go elsewhere if he does not wish to pay it, but the official holds a monopoly on his services and to demand more for his favor to one man than to another implies an act of personal discrimination which is offensive.

Seen in relation to the notion that persons who hold official posts are entitled to charge for their favors, the behavior of those schoolmasters who raise levies for their personal benefit or require the labor of their pupils on their land in return for teaching them becomes, if no more excusable in the eyes of the law, at least more understandable in the eyes of custom. This notion also makes more understandable the reluctance of the authorities to intervene in the life of the pueblo unrequested by any of its members. Though higher authority may press them with injunctions of a general nature, for them to take action in a specific instance they require to be inspired by a demand for their services, for to take initiative unrequested, laudable as it might appear to the few legally-minded persons, would be criticized by the majority as unwarranted interference and would be assumed to be motivated by private and vindictive sentiments or by the desire to extract mordidas in ways which custom does not validate. Therefore, while they bear the legal responsibility for imposing the law upon the community, their actions in fact follow the spirit of private,

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not of public law: they take the initiative only where their own administrative interests are concerned, and where they are called upon to settle disputes, they tend to arbitrate according to custom, rather than judicate according to law.

Therefore, the notion that dysphoria is caused by certain actions offensive to the morality of the community and requires to be atoned by the application of punitive sanctions, appears not to concern the ladino authorities of the pueblos of highland Chiapas. The law thinks in terms of crime and punitive sanctions administered by the force of politically organized society, but custom is inspired by the spirit of tort and restitution and self-help. Above all, the fear of counter-sanctions is responsible for order if not law. In view of this the custom of cattle-slashing becomes understandable. It is a custom which is found throughout the area and it consists in this: that when a man discovers cattle invading his milpa, rather than take any form of legal action against their owner, he simply slashes the animals with his machete, leaving them to wander off wounded and sometimes maimed. In this way he brings sanctions to bear without revealing his identity and thereby invoking counter-sanctions. That Indians should do this to the cattle of the ladinos might be related to their small hope of gaining adequate redress before ladino authorities, but the custom is equally prevalent in egalitarian Chiapilla among ladinos. In Pinola, however, the law successfully judicates cases of trespass by animals which are placed in the jail whence their owners redeem them on payment of a fine. Whether it is the responsibility of their owner to fence them in or of the cultivator to fence them out is not clearly agreed in all places. Cattle-slashing bridges the disagreement. It is significant that in Chiapilla, the cattle of outsiders are impounded and they are fined; the fear of counter-sanctions can be ignored.

If we compare now, in summing up, the processes of law in the indian and ladino communities, we can see that the authorities of the former are bound by the sacredness of their office and thereby enjoy a moral authority as well as a purely judicial one. Yet they do not represent the totality of social control since supernatural power is wielded independently of them as well as through them by the principales. Moreover, the senior members of local groups whether principales offically recognized as such or not, have authority over their younger kinsmen. In disputes, the solidarity of the name-group is frequently important when they concern persons of different groups between whom feuds arise. Domestic disputes are also frequently taken to the authorities. Witchcraft provides a way of pursuing a dispute which, though it impinges upon the legal system when complaints are carried to the principales, also reinforces the belief in spiritual power as the basis of social sanctions. Thus, at every point the diverse roles of power instill the same system of values decreeing what the norms of conduct are, defining for individuals their basic allegiances and the nature of the moral sanctions which set the bounds to conduct. In all these ways the indian community differs from the ladino whose "authorities" enjoy no moral authority and no sacrosanct role (other than in the celebration of the fiestas patrias to which the majority of the population is quite indifferent) Ladino judicial authority is supported, not by supernatural sanctions, but by the reality of power, that is to say the personal desires of the powerful.

Every social group regulates the conduct of its members by custom and maintains custom by the sanctions of public opinion. We might expect to find, then, in ladino Chiapas, in the absence of an effective judicial authority a powerful public opinion such as typifies the Spanish village (Pitt-Rivers, 1954) expressing itself explicitly and castigating the

offenders of its moral norms. Yet this is not so. True, there is no lack of gossip. There are old women who make it their business to know of the peccadillos of their neighbors, but there is little expression of public indignation. The only instance of the threat to run people out of the village occurred where a small Protestant group was so menaced by the Catholic majority, encouraged by the priest. People sometimes exile themselves out of fear of the reprisals of specific individuals. A certain concern is shown for "what people will say", since prestige requires to be ratified by public opinion, but the crucial point is this: we find that people do not modify their relationship on account of moral disapprobation, but only in response to actions directed towards them personally. (What does it matter if X is a thief, while he does not steal from me?) The essential permissiveness of this society has been underlined by Stern who points out that the desire to do something is regarded as an adequate explanation of almost any action and even a justification of it. "Así lo quisó el" (That was how he wanted it), or "Es su carácter" (It is his character) are the habitual comments.

Finally we may take a brief glance at those pueblos where indians live immediately subject to ladino authority, Pinola and San Bartolomé. Here, while the system of supernatural sanctions remains outside the ken of the ladino authorities, and the indian community shows a complete solidarity in the face of them as to crimes like murder, the indians nevertheless take their petty and domestic quarrels to the president who does his best to reconcile the disputants as indeed he does when ladino quarrels come before him. Indeed it is common enough for cases of witchcraft accusation to be brought to the ladino president of San Bartolomé who deals with them, it appears, by summoning and admonishing both parties. The motive for utilizing the ladino authorities in such cases appears to relate in part to the publicity

or scandal value which such a recourse implies, and to the fact that there is no other comparable indian authority to appeal to. In Pinola, witchcraft accusations are not usually brought to the president; on the contrary, the family of an assassinated witch brought a lawsuit and pursued it to the authorities of Comitán where the old man accused of hiring the assassin was then placed in prison. His release cost him fifteen hundred pesos. In other instances indians have also appealed to the higher court at Comitán.

In the more purely indian villages of the highlands such practices are not found, and indeed the two elements of the population live in far less intimate relations and in mutual fear of one another. The two social systems confront one another, they do not intertwine.

Mexican law is founded upon Spanish law and its traditions go back to the days of the empire. Taken in its general characteristics, it aims to deal, within a logical framework, with every eventuality and to lay down procedures which ensure its application in great detail; it takes its power for granted and pays little regard to the facts of application; it is not guided by precedent in application as Anglo-Saxon law is. Yet the greater the detail of legislation and the more complicated the procedures envisaged for its application, the greater the number of potential conflicts¹ (and therefore

¹"On serait théoriquement enclin à penser qu'un système législatif constitue un ensemble harmonieux et cohérent, dont les différents éléments sont reliés entre eux par un lien logique. Cela n'est vrai qu'avec beaucoup de réserves." Levy-Bruhl, "Tensions et conflits au sein d'un même système juridique", in Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, vol. XXX, 1961.

alternative interpretations) to which it is subject, and hence the more arbitrary it may become as a basis for judicial procedure: a clause can always be found to apply which may justify any course of action which the administration or lawyer may choose to adopt for contingent reasons. Consequently, the function of the law in action is often far removed from that which was manifestly intended by the legislators, and law becomes, under conditions such as we have outlined for highland Chiapas, a method by which those entrusted with its administration justify in the application of its sanctions a line of conduct which is determined by considerations which relate to the "spirit of the law" not at all, but to the exigencies of the systems of patronage and caciquismo. The very perfection of Mexican law as a legal system, its concern for equity, the care with which it attempts to foresee every eventuality, the good sense with which it faces reality, combine to throw onto the individual administrator the onus of an appreciation of the facts and the choice of how to interpret them, which leave him in practice in the position of an arbitrary agent.¹

¹In the last resort the law itself envisages that this must be so: "en defecto de una documentación perfecta, las autoridades agrícolas y agrarias se atenderán, sobre todo, al hecho mismo de la posesión". Acuerdo complementario del que estableció las bases para el reconocimiento y protección de la pequeña propiedad. Diario Oficial, 19th Nov. 1943. (published in Código Agrario, p. 130)

An example may be found in the Legislación de Amparo which derives its theory from such ancient and fundamental sources as the Writ of Habeas Corpus and claims as its intention the defense of the rights of the individual, guaranteed by the Constitution, against abuses by the judicial powers. In practice a certificate of amparo may be obtained only by those with a certain familiarity with legal procedure and contact

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with lawyers (and perhaps also influence at the higher level of authority) and it may be employed in order to render the holder invulnerable to the judicial and administrative authorities at a lower level, that is to say, it amounts to a certificate of immunity to the sanctions of the judiciary. The implications of this for a situation such as Chiapas are clear.

The role of custom, though it is not consulted formally by the law, is at every point primordial in its interpretation. The ignorance and indifference to the injunctions of the law among much of the population, added to the freedom of action which it leaves in the hands of the administrator, makes of the law itself a validation of the system whereby its sanctions are a personal endowment of the administrator. Therefore custom alone provides a guide to conduct and a source of sanctions which are not arbitrary, at least in the sense that they relate to recognized expectations. Therefore, at the level of action in the local community, the law does not provide a basis for expectations; custom does.

We are not in a position to attempt to justify the conceptualization which we employed in summing up rights in the ownership of land (and which might equally apply to rights in anything else). We there distinguished "right-in-law", "right-in-custom" and, in all consciousness of the juridical contradiction which it involves, "right-in-might".

The first point to be observed is that "right-in-law" is, within the context of Chiapas, a highly ambiguous concept since law itself possesses no moral supremacy in the eyes of custom and indeed no reality as a guide to behavior independent of the actions of those who administer it. It exists in the first place as an ideal construct deducible from the text of the law but whose practical value is qualified in fact by the power structure. It may be expressed in a legal

document, but the document must be distinguished from the right since on the one hand its validity may be questioned and it may therefore possess no more certainty than the land rights of Tenejapa which have no validity in law whatsoever, while equally it may be obtained on pretexts which it would be hard to justify in law if all the facts were considered. On the other hand, in the positivist view, right-in-law may be taken to mean simply the right which is in fact sanctioned as a legal right, and as such it is liable to be abrogated with a change in the balance of personal power. At this point it merges with right-in-might which seeks to secure itself in the future by legal recognition. The degree to which this is possible depends upon the nature of the community and the response of its inhabitants, whether an indian township or the community of upper-class San Cristóbal, in a word, upon the force of custom, backed by popular assent. Custom is therefore the arbiter of both right-in-law and in the last resort right-in-might. But the last resort, at least in the ladino community, sets only the widest limits within which the contenders for power exert their rights, not because public opinion approves of the arbitrariness of the law and the lack of individual security--these are not the terms in which it thinks--but because it recognizes that a man has the right to struggle for what he loves, money or glory, kin or women or vengeance. Only when he antagonizes his neighbors and infringes their collective interests does custom make its weight felt. In fact, the power of customary sanctions varies very greatly. Thus, within the traditional indian community, custom represents a coherent system of social control depending upon a jural tradition. Right-in-law plays no part, or little, since the community is both ignorant and indifferent to the ladino's law. It demands that its authorities act in conformity with custom, and if they do not, the only recourse is to the supernatural. The law in itself establishes no right, and right-in-law in the sense

of a command over its sanctions is relevant only to situations where the indians are confronted by ladinos, where legal sanctions tend to become the prerogative of the leader or cacique. It might be questioned whether this kind of power which the indian cacique possesses can be considered as right-in-might in the sense in which the ladino cacique may be said to possess rights-in-might, since custom concedes small liberty of action to the powerful and on the contrary recognizes such power as abusive, as soon as it departs from the consensus of the community. Yet, as we have seen, there are indian caciques who, inspite of their traditional trappings, wield power in a quite ladino way.

In contrast, to the power which emanates from ladinos, there is a supernatural right-in-might which is implied by the notion of strength of spirit. Unlike the power of the cacique, the power of the principales is legitimate power, yet it is their "right" to punish as they wish according to their spiritual might, which is subject only to the ambiguous provisions of divine permission. Hence the ambiguity which surrounds the legitimacy of witchcraft, the difficulty of drawing the line between the legitimate castigator and the evil witch, is as hard a line to draw in practice as that between the legitimate monarch and the tyrant. In fact, in the way it is undertaken, witch-killing is reminiscent of tyrannicide. The arbitrary nature of authority which we find among ladinos at the terrestrial level is echoed among indians in the sphere of the supernatural.

At the other extreme we find custom in the ladino community blessing the accumulation of individual power and expecting of the authorities little more than the maintenance of a minimum of public order and services, but expecting them to meet their private obligations towards their friends and supporters, and according them--logically enough, since who wants an in-

solvent patron?--a license to profit from their position while they occupy it. There is no system of supernatural control but right-in-might is recognized as valid in many fields. Thus, the young man (v. Díaz de Salas, Organización Política, p. 25) who attempted to seduce one of the cacique's mistresses was shot and wounded by him and was subsequently blamed for his infringement of the cacique's established rights which the latter was apparently not blamed for defending in this violent manner. The case gave rise to no legal action. Right-in-might, as has been said, is closely connected with control of legal sanctions, those "handles" in higher quarters which give a man immunity from the law where his own actions are concerned and at the same time the ability to manipulate its sanctions in relation to others. There is a great deal of variation from one ladino community to another in the extent to which legal sanctions are effective; in the smaller and more isolated, where there is no educated class, they cannot be expected to have the same importance as in a town like San Cristóbal. There is also a variation from one period to another which is illustrated by Hotchkiss' study of Teopisca which was once dominated by caciques who held sway at the point of their guns, and is governed today by a delicate balance of power which is reached without recourse to illegal violence. As the balance of social relations changes, the forms of political power change also.

In Indian communities, one tends to find an increasing importance attached today to the sanctions of ladino law which takes on a new significance in the pueblos where factions have disrupted the system of traditional custom. This is particularly the case in the matter of land rights.

However, one does not find a regular progression in which ladino law imposes itself first in one sphere and then in another, but rather a variety of adaptations which choose

different paths. We have already referred to the effects of the growth of the ayuntamiento constitucional in the chapter on Politics. In Temejapa, the indian municipality has taken on various ladino characteristics while leaving the traditional religious hierarchy in operation, if separated now from the political hierarchy, and at the same time it has evolved a system of land-tenure on the ladino model which nevertheless has no validity in law. Rights-in-land in Temejapa are purely customary though they wear all the semblance of legality: documents, land-measurement by officials of the townhall, court cases, etc., while the application of legal sanctions follows ladino custom in its use of prison and the mordida. In Oxchuc we find a modern municipality working under the aegis of the law but incorporating traditional features, and the land-rights still largely follow ancient custom. The conflict between ladino and indian custom varies in its resolution from one sphere to another and from one indian village to another, according to the particular adaptation which each has reached with regard to the pressures exerted upon it by the ladinos.

Certain common characteristics are found throughout our area: the public criminal law is frail, if indeed it makes itself felt at all, and the spirit of tort, essentially dyadic, rather than crime which is essentially collective, governs the jural relations of the members of the communities. The notion of payment for favor is common to all. But here the common characteristics end. The bocado and the mordida differ in that the former is only a payment for the goodwill of one who renders service, whereas the mordida may also be a payment to avert the ill will of one who possesses sanctions which he might otherwise exert against the person who ignores the necessity to gain his favor. In this sense it is closer, as a concept, to the bocado paid by indians to the saints and

spirits than to that which they pay to each other.

Once more we can estimate the cultural distance which separates ladinos from indians in one sphere of law or another according to a series of opposed characteristics which typify them:

<u>Indian</u> (traditional community)	<u>ladino</u>
supernatural ...Sanctions...	secular
exercised by ...Sanctions...	in individual
collectivity	hands
on supernatural...Arbitrary authority...	on terrestrial
level	level
right-in-custom...Predominates...	right-in-law,
	right-in-might
force of ...Customary sanctions...	weakness of
solid consensus...Of action...	individual
	freedom
with coh- ...Assassination of	as individual
sensus of witches...	vengeance
community	
no theft	theft
no jail (save for	jail (as source
drunks)	of profit and
	labor)
collectively ...Outside higher	individually
rarely authorities invoked..	more frequently
young adults whipped	no whipping

In addition, these factors give an indication of how the indian community is related structurally to the ladinos. The above chart shows our estimation of the pueblos of our region in this regard.

It is often assumed that once political force is organized by a centralized state with the institutions of legislative and executive bodies, courts of law, and public proceedings, then the rule of law replaces the primitive systems of social control deriving only from custom, such as the unstructured systems of the hunting and gathering bands or the balanced antagonism of lineage segments within the acephalous tribes of Africa. In highland Chiapas, the system of social control employs the sanctions of organized force,

but not in the sense which the law propounds and it is able to do this, as we have shown, in the first place on account of the complexity and sophistication of that law. The cultural distance in the legal sphere between the legislators of Tuxtla or Mexico City and the isolated communities of Chiapas, and on the other hand, the frailty of the ties which link their social structures to the sources of national power, the social distance, combine to make this possible, but above all perhaps, we should look to the priority, at every level of the administrative and legal system, of personal over abstract allegiances, that "personalismo" which appears to be one of the invariant features of Hispanic culture.

The jural condition of the isolated pueblos of ladino Chiapas is nearer to a state of "anarchy" than anything we find in traditional primitive societies where solid rules rest upon custom's coercive power even though the specialized organs which develop in more complex politics are lacking. Indeed it is precisely the fact that the organs of law exist and operate in this "anarchic" fashion which inhibits the formation of a jural system within the communities themselves. Where a strong cacique reigns there is some "law and order" even if it be no more than the expression of his arbitrary will. What Don Luiz Mendoza says in Socoltenango is the law and what he says shows that he is not lacking in a sense of equity¹, but Chiapilla possesses no cacique and knows neither

¹It is significant that in many parts of the world bandits who succeed in dominating an area to the exclusion of the forces of the law take over its function and administer justice, settling disputes and punishing those who transgress peasant mores. In those cases they appear to us as partisans of local custom and rebels against the national government, but the cacique of ladino Chiapas is not a rebel but rules with, if not the support, at least the connivance of the government.

effective legal sanctions, nor spokesmen to lay down the norms of custom, nor appeals to the supernatural powers which in societies lacking a system of organized force are invoked to settle disputes or to punish the violation of divine prohibitions. Here, at last, people are free of abstract constraints. Yet it is significant that when a new and energetic president took over the reins of power there, one of his first acts was to make a whip-round among the wealthier household heads to raise the sum necessary to attract the favor of the general so that a detachment of federal troops might be established there.²

²It is natural that the general's favor should be sought, for troops are in a sense a scaree good, which might be sent elsewhere. Their presence in a town adds materially to its prosperity since they arrest drunks who subsequently pay fines--and this is dangerous work on occasions. Moreover, where there are no troops, the municipality must hire its own police. While in the town, the troops are maintained at the expense of the municipality and the cost of this is not grudged when they have been requested. When they are sent in to suppress insurrectional movements, on the other hand, the fact that they live off the land is very much resented.

In the traditional indian village the power of custom is very great, while the system of ladino law makes little impression. The ladinos have no interest in and do not feel themselves committed to judicating the squabbles of indians and, even in San Bartolomé, the ladinos are prepared to let them settle their own affairs while they will--"as cosas d'ellos" (their business), as the Indian Office representative of another town with a shrug of his shoulders--and this might be taken as general of attitude of ladino authorities towards indians. In a word, the indian community for all its assassinations, presents a system of goals and sanctions in which the pressure of public opinion makes itself

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felt in accordance with recognized norms. It is not anomic.

We can see, then, that the process of ladinization involves moving from a world in which the expected consequences of conduct are clearly defined into the freedom of the ladino world where there is as much to be feared as to be desired and where the man who is not capable of defending himself is likely to be the victim. The coherence of indian custom gives way not to the security of the rule of law but to a simulation of it, which becomes a reality only when one reaches urban centers where there is no indian status, but only the class distinctions such as are found in the Mexican city. This must surely be a powerful factor prohibiting ladinization, since those who live near ladino centers are likely to have more to fear from freedom than to gain in abandoning their indian identity. It must be added to the reasons why indians who change their ethnic affiliation do so more easily if they move away from the pueblos of the highlands. This factor, however, does not operate when the community as a whole moves over to the ladino side of the status distinction. Then the choice is not presented to the individual since the whole community changes its norms. It is said in Pinola of an indian agrarian leader that he is a ladino, disguised as an indian. One has the contrary impression in certain pueblos and colonias which have recently ladinized (of which we have, alas, no community study), that they are indians disguised as ladinos.

As we grapple with the ethnography of status distinctions and cultural distance in Chiapas we are aware of certain universal problems leaning over our shoulder: the structural basis and the implications of community solidarity and the meaning of freedom and anomia. We shall attempt to face up to these in the final chapter. Before leaving the subject of law, however, we feel it is pertinent to note that if the word

"solidarity" has been used somewhat loosely by anthropologists who have expanded it, beyond its original legal usage of rights held in common, to mean the sentiment of common identity as a basis for action, it is not that anthropologists are sometimes slipshod in their handling of the terms they borrow, but that the distinction between what is legal and what is customary or habitual loses its validity in the analysis of collective behavior when one seeks to analyse not only what goes on in court but what people do outside.

Once we take as our domain of inquiry not codified law but systems of social control, we must be prepared to give weight to sanctions which derive from the habitual reactions of individuals who follow principles of behavior which they do not express, like law, in the form of general propositions. In illiterate society it is the ethnographer who elicits and writes down the jural rules and the social anthropologist who argues the jurisprudence. But when the national culture furnishes laws and jurisprudence which run contrary to the jural rules of the community, we are forced to include both, in our frame of reference, and distinguish between them in terms of their operational value which varies according to the position of the individual and the community within the total society. The aspiration of the ideal concept of authority which would endow the law with moral obligation falls short of realization, since moral obligation attaches to the jural rules expressed in custom. Between the jural system of Indian custom and the legal system of Mexican law which reigns in Tuxtla or San Cristóbal there lies a free territory, a no-man's-land in which neither is effective and into which the forces of the law penetrate like skirmishers in hostile country which they can loot but cannot colonize. The custom which would sanction the law and make it effective is missing, and instead a custom reigns which applies a minimum of restraint upon personal conduct and pays an unashamed subservience to the realities of power.

FRIENDSHIP AND THE COMPADRAZGO

In the section on Politics we pointed to the importance of personal relations in ladino society and the way in which they contribute to the formation of a system of patronage and reciprocal favors. This system determines the realities of power within a legal framework which sets only its ultimate limits. In the chapter on Law we examined those ultimate limits and showed how the sanctions of the law are subject to the personal decisions of individuals who become empowered with them. We also showed the importance of custom in determining when, in fact, the sanctions are made effective. Yet just as law aspires only to set limits to conduct not to dictate in every circumstance what should be done, so custom provides only the forms in which social interaction should take place, what is expected and what is acceptable. It defines the rights and duties of the individual at a more realistic level than law since it is bound by no formal code but by the consensus of the community which derives its moral norms from its practical expectations. Yet it bequeaths to the individual the freedom to use it as he may and to defy it where he is able. While custom is often invoked in order to explain an action ("es costumbre"), failure to conform to custom is easily explained in terms of individual freedom ("no quiso"). The ladino who respects the sensibilities of his neighbors can differ from them in his ideological orientations and the principles of conduct which he himself follows. Failure to fulfill customary obligations and even open neglect for the rules of property are easily forgiven by those who have not been directly harmed. The indian community which, as we have shown, provides a more effective framework of sanctions to impose conformity, nevertheless, offers examples of non-conformists. The indian who defies the danger of witchcraft or punishment turns the tables on

the principales, since through his successful defiance of their sanctions he acquires for himself the reputation for a strong spirit. There is perhaps a basic minimum of conformity which is expected in either community, indian or ladino, but the latter expects very much less than the former. This fact may be explained in various ways.

The importance of kinship in the two has already been compared. It offers an insight into the ways the two are integrated. If kinship and the ascribed membership of groups plays much less of a role among ladinos, the duties of cooperation remain unspecified and the way remains open to friendship and the achieved status of patron or client. Moreover, in the ladino community the building up of such a relationship is untrammelled by an egalitarian ethos. We must, therefore, examine the institutions through which personal relations are conducted.

By a happy paradox those who live within a system of ascribed relationships are free to indulge their personal sympathies for the sake of their emotional rewards, while those whose lives depend upon the favor and willingness of others to enter into reciprocity with them are bound to put their personal sympathies to a less disinterested use. This might be evoked to explain not only the differences between indian and ladino friendship observed by Reina in a Guatemalan village (Reina, 1959), but also the world-wide differences in the role of friendship among the young as opposed to the adult. In fact, we have not observed the kind of emotional involvement described by Reina, though young indians often form friendly attachments outside their kin. The groups formed by kinship and office-holding provide the company in which the adult indian spends his leisure hours. This is not so among ladinos (though those who are friends may use that friendship to obtain office).

In the autobiographical material which we have from

indians there is little mention of friendship, and Manuel Arias never mentions his individual friends, but General Pineda whose recollections we recorded would speak of little else. The ideal of personal independence and the values of the heart go hand-in-hand, and while they imply the importance which is given to friendship they also imply its frailty. For if the ability to attract others into intimacy enables a person to obtain favor, the favor which is given requires to be returned, and if the return fails to satisfy the giver, he goes to someone else.

In this connection we find an institution common throughout the Hispanic world, which attempts to endow friendship with a ritual value which guarantees it against the hazards of the quid-pro-quo relationship which goes by the name of friendship. From our argument it follows that this should play a much greater role in ladino than in indian society and this is indeed the case. Let us examine the compadrazgo in ladino society.

Compadrazgo, literally co-parenthood, is the relationship between the physical and spiritual parents of a child, that is to say, between its parents and its godparents. The relationship between padrino, godparent, and ahijado, god-child, is also important, but the fact that the godparent is chosen by the parent establishes the relationship between the two in this society as the more important. The relationship is a reciprocal one, initiating a special form of address and the obligation to maintain friendship. They choose each other according to no fixed rule of precedence, but either through the invitation of the parent or the request of the would-be godparent to establish compadrazgo. Kin, even siblings sometimes choose each other, and this involves the affines in the relationship, but there is no obligation for them to do so. The only criterion is the willingness of both to establish such a bond and the willingness of the godparent to shoulder the financial obligations involved.

If the baptism of a child were the only occasion upon which the tie of compadrazgo could be established, the number of such ties within the community would be limited to the number of births. However, in addition to the couple who receives the infant from the font, "padrinos de pila" (the only ones required by the liturgy at baptism) it is customary to find two, and sometimes more, additional pairs of godparents, named "de evangélio" and "de cerimonia" or "de vela" who equally establish compadrazgo with the parents. They have no religious significance and are, in any case, of lesser importance; their relationship towards the child as godparents is somewhat more tenuous. The persons whom a man recognizes as his padrinos are his padrinos de pila.

Two further occasions for forming compadrazgo are provided by the ceremonies of confirmation and first communion, Confirmation takes place between the ages of one year and six, since the bishop visits each pueblo for this purpose only every five years and first communion is taken around the age of seven. On each of these occasions the child requires an additional pair of padrinos who are compadres of the parents. Of these the Church recognizes only a single godparent of the same sex as the child at confirmation.

The relation of padrino is also formed at marriage when the engaged couple chooses a pair of padrinos who sponsor the marriage, but they do not thereby become compadres of the godparents, On the contrary, it is between the two pairs of physical parents that compadrazgo is formed on the occasion of a marriage.

These are all forms of padrinazgo and compadrazgo which depend upon the rite of the church, even though they may not be recognized by it. Civil marriages also give rise to padrinos and to the compadrazgo between the parents of the couple. Compadrazgo has been described as ritualized friend-

ship. This was defining it in terms of its social function. It is also one of that class of phenomena which are referred to as pseudo-kinship, in that it invites an analogy to kin relations and uses a terminology derived from them. The church from whose dogmas the institution derives, recognized from the beginning the role of sponsor as a pseudo-kin relationship. In the early church it was specifically the function of the parents to sponsor their children at baptism. But, in time, the function of parent and godparent became differentiated and even opposed through the development of the conception of "spiritual affinity" which was contrasted dogmatically with physical affinity. Both, however, established a prohibition of marriage. Though the Church has greatly restricted both the range of relationships which involve spiritual affinity and also the number of godparents whom it recognizes, the incest prohibition persists with regard to the relationship between godparent and godchild. It is moreover implicit in the nature of the *compadrazgo* which is ideally one of intimacy and trust but also of respect. In the relationship between godchild and godparent, the respect is paid by the former to the latter who gives in return assistance and protection, but between *compadres* the respect is mutual. Hence, the usage of the third person as form of address between *compadres*. The obligation to assist, to respect the wishes of, and the right to prior consideration from, the *compadre* are what give *compadrazgo* its practical utility in political and economic life.

The *padrinos* have specific obligations in the ceremonies in which they take part which vary according to the occasion, according to the *pueblo* and according to the social class of the family concerned. In general it may be said that the *padrinos* must provide gifts of clothing, candles, ornaments, pay the church dues and sometimes contribute to the expenses of the *fiesta* which is a necessary sequel to any ritual

2.9.6

occasion. They have, in certain instances, responsibility for the child in the case of the parents' death and they are believed to await their godchild in Heaven. In Chiapilla the godparents are expected to bless the dying godchild and to provide the burial dress and the coffin. Gifts are exchanged between compadres and in the interchange of courtesies the relationship is kept alive such as the gift of food sent round to the house of the compadre who could not attend a fiesta, the graceful inquiries as to health and fortune, etc.

The compadrazgo is not formed automatically by the fulfillment of a ritual role in the church ceremony but by the action of the ritual embrace (abrazo) afterwards. The importance of this distinction between the role in the church ritual and the private ritual gesture is well-illustrated by Stern's account of the sixteen-year-old girl who became madrina to her own madrina's child but refused the ritual abrazo which would have made her comadre of her madrina on the grounds that she felt too much respect for her (to put their relationship, though she did not say this, on a footing of equality, to accept reciprocal respect). She continued to be her godchild. Later it was thought she would be able to give the abrazo and become her comadre. The same principle is seen in the case of those who fulfill the function by proxy, being themselves unable to attend the ceremony: they do not become compadres until they give the ritual embrace at a later date.

With each child a couple acquires, then, the possibility of forming compadrazgo with five or more couples, quite apart from the compadres whom they acquire through becoming padrinos. Yet this is not all. The compadrazgo extends in the line of ascent so that not only is compadrazgo established with one's coparents but also with their parents and grandparents, though not with siblings or descendants. This rule

applies equally to the ascendants of both physical and spiritual parent. This, again, raises the number of compadres whom a man can acquire. The invitation to become compadre is one which cannot be refused without causing mortal offense, and since it involves expense and may not in any case be welcome, the only way to avoid it is to be absent or sick. It is easy enough for those directly concerned to feel out the ground before committing themselves to an invitation, but the parents of compadres are involved without any direct participation in the relationship and there have been cases in which the parents have been unwilling to enter into compadrazgo with those of their children's choice. In such cases they have somehow contrived to avoid the ritual abrazo.

Once the compadrazgo has been established the terms both of reference and address change. Compadres address one another as "compadre" and refer to one another as "my compadre Manuel" or "my comadre Maria" (a habit which does not facilitate the task of the fieldworker, as yet unversed in the network of compadrazgo, in working out who is who). Moreover, these forms are used among people who have already a relationship of kin, even among siblings. In addition, it has been stated, they use the third person, "Usted", in address in place of the familiar "tu". The upper classes do not always respect this usage, nor, of course, is it used by indians who even when speaking Spanish do not commonly use the third person.

In addition to these forms of compadrazgo, there are certain subsidiary and optional forms available to those who wish to establish such a relationship but find no pretext. In themselves less serious, they do not commit to the same extent so that they are often neglected after the occasion which saw their initiation. These are formed among the upper class on the occasion of the graduation of a boy or

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on a girl's fifteenth birthday, quinceañera," when a fiesta may be given.

Every house-shrine requires to be blessed and on this occasion, also, there are padrinos of the saint of the shrine who become compadres of the owners of the house. It is possible to use the same mechanism when blessing anything else. Hotchkiss acquired a fleeting compadrazgo as padrino to a newly-purchased truck.. In addition, in the Christmas season festivities, the enthronement of the Infant Jesus is a ceremony which requires padrinos who are chosen for the occasion and whose compadrazgo with the owner of the image seldom lasts long after the fiesta.

The duties of compadrazgo involve help in moments of stress and make the compadre a person to whom a man may turn in the hour of need and upon whom he can rely, either economically or otherwise. Therefore, the compadrazgo also has the character of a mutual aid association and in a society of great economic inequalities it naturally becomes an institution which serves the structure of patronage. One seeks a wealthy and powerful padrino for one's child and one likes to have such a compadre. It is to be noted that though theoretically the relationship is a reciprocal one between conceptual equals, the padrino is always the equal or social superior of the physical parent. He is, to begin with, the one who pays. But he is also the one to whom the child owes above all respect, a fact which would create a certain anomaly in terms of behavior as the child grows up if he were to belong to a superior social status to his padrino. The rich are much sought-after as compadres and are able to extend the range of their patronage through this institution, just as the ambitions are able to further their interests through powerful compadres. Rich and important people tend, therefore, to have a great many compadres, so many that they can seldom remember who they all are.

Inevitably, the value of such compadrazgo tends to be diminished.

Given the utility of the compadrazgo it is also abused by those who establish it with the simple intention of exploiting their compadre as far as they are able, borrowing money and asking favors which they do not return. But it is not only the rich man who is exploited by his humbler compadre; the poor compadre is often asked for services as a favor since he is compadre rather than paid for. In particular, indian godchildren tend to be used in this way and are sometimes virtually unpaid servants in the house of their madrina.

Compadrazgo is frequently formed between employers and servants and in this context the patronal aspect of the institution is most clearly seen. The employer attaches his employees to him and they in their turn acquire his protection and a preferential claim to his favor. Again, the terminology of the compadrazgo takes precedence over the terms of ordinary respect and it is common to find the finca-owner referred to by his senior employees as "my compadre so-and-so" and addressed as "compadre".

In a small community, persons of a certain age are likely to acquire ties of compadrazgo with a large proportion, if not a majority of their generation, yet they clearly cannot be expected to share in fact the same degree of friendship with all. Thus, though theoretically a sacred and unrenounceable tie, in practice the same mechanisms which make for instability in friendship lead to a certain slaughting-off of compadres and a distinction is set between a purely perfunctory compadrazgo, those which were formed for convenience at a given moment or which could not be avoided, and compadres de corazón (of the heart). These tend to be those who were acquired as padrinos de pila of the children, but even they

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are liable to estrangement and the minor forms tend to be forgotten unless mutual regard and affection remains unaltered by time. Yet the ideal obligation of enduring friendship provides a powerful incentive to loyalty in personal ties since, precisely, the commitment is a personal one in which the participants pledge themselves, not a legal obligation. Hence the importance which compadrazgo plays in the power of structure.

Within the traditional indian community with its very different power structure, the utility of the compadrazgo cannot be the same even if the forms of the institution were observed. In fact we find many indian communities which possess little notion of, and less enthusiasm for, the compadrazgo. For them it remains essentially a ladino institution. The barrio of Kulakti'k in Tenejapa is a case in point where the absence of the custom of baptism rules out the compadrazgo from the start. Compadrazgo is rarely formed between indians, but only with ladinos when, under the influence of the priest, indians have their children baptized. The situation is somewhat different in Sivacé where the institution is given great importance among the fervientes, but the faction of the libres, the traditionalists, also observe it in the case of traditional baptisms and weddings. In Bachajón it appears to be no novelty. In neither pueblo, however, can it be said to resemble the system of ladino compadrazgo either in its general significance nor in the ways it is established.

At the other extreme we find Pinola and San Bartolomé and the Finca indians where the institution is developed in the ladino manner. In these, the forms found among ladinos are found among indians also with the exception of the upper-class custom of the padrinos of graduation and the fifteenth birthday. In Pinola, indians do not have compadres de ceremonia at baptism nor do they form it on the occasion of the

Christmas festivities. There is, however, a rule which is general to the compadrazgo among indians, and only among indians, which illustrates the differences in the significance of the compadrazgo. This requires that the padrino of the first child should be padrino to all the other children of a family. This greatly restricts the extension of the institution and therefore its utility. However, the compadrazgo is not an important factor in the political and economic life and its significance is ritual and religious in the indian community. Indians do not form compadrazgo with those of other indian communities, and a certain tendency is noticeable to restrict it with the kin.

It remains to discuss the cases where compadrazgo is formed between indians and ladinos. In accordance with the generalization made earlier, it is always the inferior, i. e., indian, who is the physical parent. It often appears as an institution which indians are pushed into by ladinos and understand very little about: they are encouraged to baptise and confirm their children by the Church and for this they are told they require padrinos for their children, so they tend to go to ladinos who are more familiar with the institution. When the indians of Sivacá establish compadrazgo with ladinos of Ocosingo it gives rise to a transient relationship undertaken out of Christian duty by the one and necessity by the other. This is understandable since the ties of patronage between the two are neither frequent nor strong. In the communities where compadrazgo is fully developed among indians, it is likely to have more significance and it is to be expected that the indians who have changed to ladino dress should be keener to acquire ladino compadres and to give their children ladino padrinos. It has most significance when it is superimposed upon the relationship of employer and employee, and within the towns where both communities live side by side. It is of no great importance in economic

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interchange between the two ethnic groups and it is rarely found superimposed upon the relationship of caseros as one might have expected.

The compadrazgo has considerable value as an index of both cultural and social interaction. It cannot, however, be suggested that it is necessarily a recent development among indians, considering the importance attached to it by the early missionaries. It may, therefore, well be extremely ancient where it is found among the traditional customs, but its existence there implies a closer contact with Hispanic traditions in the past rather than in the present. On the other hand, it is found resembling ladino compadrazgo only in those towns or fincas where indians live alongside ladinos. The charts display the situation of each pueblo in regard to this institution.

RELIGION

I

The role of the Church was preponderant in the colonization of Mexico, and in our area first the Mercedarians (in 1537) and shortly afterwards the Dominicans were active during the middle of the 16th century, building Churches and convents and teaching the indians the beliefs, crafts and social organization which would make them models of piety, industry and orderliness. They concentrated first upon the conversion of the indian caciques (nobles) and the education of their children for whom schools were set up. For this purpose it was found necessary to gather them in from the parajes to live in one place. The policy of reducción attempted to do this and the indian towns of today were founded in this way, though the indians were apt, if insufficiently controlled, to desert the town and return to their parajes. But the missionary zeal of the 16th century did not survive the routinization of colonial life unchanged. No new churches were built for the indians and the Church became gradually less concerned for their spiritual welfare, though there was a revival of missionary endeavors in the 18th century.

With the reforms of the 19th century the position of the Church changed fundamentally. Its lands were confiscated in the 1860's and bought up by ladinos and the Dominicans fled to Guatemala. The result of these reforms as in Spain at the same period was to throw the Church into dependency upon a new upper class--the very class which had profited from its spoiliations and which had little interest in the spiritual welfare of indians. The secular clergy remained and it was not until the Mexican Revolution that they were attacked. When, with the arrival of Carranza's forces, there was a period when they were banished, the

churches were looted and religion proscribed. This was followed by a decade of calm and then another period of anticlericalism during the reign of Calles which was general throughout Mexico but was particularly violent in Chiapas under the Governor Victorico Grajales, and even more so under Garrido in neighboring Tabasco. During this time the priests fled or went into hiding and carried on their ministrations in secret.

Ever since, the policy of the Mexican Government has been moving slowly back to an acceptance of the Catholic Church, which, though it still contends with heavy legal disabilities, enjoys the support of many of the powerful and of the upper-class population, particularly in San Cristóbal. After a century and more of apathy during which the indian villages received only an occasional visit from the priest if any at all and there were no missionary enterprises, the last decade has seen revival. A Jesuit mission was established in Bachajón and missions of lay orders of women who teach doctrine have settled for varying periods in different pueblos. An energetic priest who speaks fluent Tzeltal and Tzotzil visits many of the monolingual villages and some indian boys have entered the seminary in San Cristóbal. Within the pueblos certain young men have received some elements of religious training and are entrusted with the direction of the Catholic religion in the spheres where the priest intervenes. These are the catequists and their importance varies greatly from one pueblo to another.

The traditional indian community presents a mixture of elements in its religious beliefs and practices some of which recall the ideas implanted by the early missionaries while others appear to stem from an anterior tradition. It is not our purpose here to unravel these, if indeed such

a task is possible, in terms of Christian and pre-Columbian practices or gods, since the tradition as we find it in the present forms a working system of belief and ritual and the indians themselves are quite incapable of making any such distinction. Indeed, they believe themselves to be good Catholics. The two traditions have become by this time "fused"; they are not "compartmentalized" (Spicer, ed. Chicago, 1962). Once such a fusion has taken place, though it may be useful for the purpose of historical reconstruction, the distinction between Christian and pre-Columbian is irrelevant to the understanding of the present reality. The distinction which is highly relevant is that between traditional indian religion and the new teachings which are penetrating the indian community propagated by the Catholic Church on the one hand or by the Protestant missionaries on the other, or which are simply the result of the greater education which indians receive today and which brings them into contact with ladino ideas. The contrast is between indian and ladino religion, as we find them upon the ground. It is not easy to reach solid generalizations regarding the two. The variations in indian religion are great, not only the variations in its social organization, but variations in ritual and belief. Nevertheless, we shall attempt to draw a profile of its essential character from the many variations.

On the other hand, ladino religion is even more difficult to portray. It is not, obviously, identical with the dogma of the Catholic Church, or even at certain points with the common custom of Mexican Catholicism. It varies not so much from place to place as from class to class and particularly the plebeian ladino tradition contains elements reminiscent of indian religion at certain points. Therefore, if the indian tradition is undergoing change at the hands of new influences, the same is true of ladino religion.

Both react not only to the doctrinal influence of the re-
viving church but also to the anticlerical trends of -
Mexican nationalism, the "modern-mindedness" of the new
bureaucracy or the new sects, Presbyterian, Baptist, Ad-
ventist, Jehovah's Witnesses, and the Spiritists.

Something has been said already about the civil-reli-
gious hierarchy and the ways in which political and reli-
gious functions intermingle: political power is subject to
religious sanctions. The functions of offices change (par-
ticularly on the introduction of the Ayuntamiento Consti-
tucional; cf. Siverts on Oxchuc; Medina on Tenejapa;
Zabala on Zinacantan) and their titles no longer serve to
define their responsibilities: the judge (veŕ) prays, the
president judges, and the pasados govern. The anomaly is
so, only from an ethnocentric point of view, since in this
kind of community as in many primitive societies there is
no reason to separate the political, legal and religious
spheres. There is no division of powers and no reason to
divide them conceptually according to our categories or the
categories of the modern Mexican state. Nevertheless, the
different posts can be divided according to their specific
function, according to the dangers with which they contend
and the social group for which they are responsible.

There are many offices within the cargo system which
are specifically devoted to the cult of a certain saint
and the organization of his fiesta, even though they have
functions in relation to the well-being of the pueblo as
a whole. These normally take place in the cabecera in the
church or chapel and the members of the sodality responsible
for them are drawn from all the parajes. There is almost
no specialization of religious function within parajes,
though the cult of the Virgin associated with lakes in Zina-

cantan and Tenejapa may be viewed as understandable exceptions. The religious sodalities represent the pueblos as a whole and their duty is to protect the whole pueblo by invoking the benevolence of the saint to whose cult they are dedicated. In this they are differentiated from the principales of the parajes who commonly hold judicial functions in relation to their fellow paraje-members and fulfill religious functions which ensure the propitiation of the spirits associated with the land, the mountains, and the water-holes of their paraje, and whose responsibilities are in the first place local even though they may be tied in to the central organization ritually and politically (e.g., the Cabildos de Milpa of Tenejapa). This distinction corresponds to the situation of an earlier period when Christianity was taught in the reducción while paganism continued to flourish in the parajes.

Whether or not the hierarchy of office alternates between the political and religious organizations, the latter is composed of a ladder of different grades, those of inferior prestige having to be filled before a man qualifies for a superior post. There are certain exceptions to this rule: the Alcalde Juez of Zinacantan, a purely ritual function associated with Carnival, is filled by an old and poor man who has been unable to ascend the ladder of his hierarchy (Zabala, 1961a, p. 154). Another exception is provided by the case of paxón of Carnival in Chenalhó which may be held without previously serving in the junior religious posts (Guiteras, 1961, p. 75). These exceptions provide a certain flexibility to the system, but the general rule is "They must progress in the established order" (Guiteras, idem.). Certain posts may be repeated which thereby add to a man's prestige without advancing him in the hierarchy.

Within the hierarchy there are distinctions of seniority of three different kinds: there is, to begin with, the distinction in importance between different sodalities which is to be seen in the prestige which they impart and the cost which they involve and not only relates to the importance of the fiesta but also sometimes implies a somewhat different function: thus, the Alfereses de San Sebastián in Tenejapa, the Tatik Martín, have special functions in relation to the Ayuntamiento which are not shared with any of the other alfereses. Within a given sodality there are differences of rank. The senior officers are assisted by the junior and the junior acquire the knowledge of prayers and ritual which will enable them to hold senior office later. Finally, among officers of the same rank within the same sodality, the inevitable "older-brother/younger-brother" distinction appears again and the two officers are distinguished. (v. Vogt, 1963). In the cases where there are more than two, the ranking order is specified by numbers from bankilal onwards; the junior is called in some instances kox, youngest brother.

The holders of office in a sodality devoted to the cult of a saint have, with their wives, specific functions, ritual and material. It is they who insure the welfare of the community, acting on its behalf in its relation with the powers of religion. They must know the prayers and be able to repeat them without error, under pain of supernatural punishment. In some cases they are permitted to have a substitute to say the prayers when their own knowledge is faulty. But they are required personally to fast and observe certain prohibitions, especially sexual abstinence before and during the fiestas. Failure to do so brings rain on the day of the celebration, but if they commit a sin offensive to their saint, the punishment is visited upon them personally. They are responsible for the care of

the banners and of the image of the saint and for its clothing which is ritually washed, as often as three times a year (and sometimes the water in which it is washed must be drunk). They are also responsible for supplying new clothes when they are needed. The clothes which are offered to the Virgin of the Lake in Tenejapa, the Chu'lme'tik, must be woven for the occasion by an unmarried woman. They must provide the accoutrements of the fiestas, candles, rockets, incense, and decoration including the juncia (the pine needles which are strewn on the floor), and the food for the ritual meals and the liquor for ritual offerings. They must organize the procession and they command with regard to the arrangements on this occasion.

They bear the expenses personally but they also make collections from the populace in certain instances. The personal economic burden may be very great, and varies from office to office and from one place to another.

Since the wives are important ritually as well as for the practical functions which they fulfill, the holders of all offices, except the very junior ones passed by adolescents, must be married and must be accompanied by their wives who share not only the duties and sacrifices involved but also the prestige. They speak of their husband's cargos as their own. An unmarried daughter is also required in order to fulfill the special duties of certain offices. In other cases a woman must be beyond the age of child-bearing in order to perform the ritual acts. This prohibition of married women of fecund age applies particularly to ritual acts connected with the forces of nature who (according to Guiteras, op. cit.) are thought not to look kindly upon the reproduction of men. There is nothing surprising in the fact that women who may be pregnant or menstruating should be excluded from agricultural

rites (for this is so in many parts of the world) on account of the ritual pollution of such states and it appears to us to be this rather than reproduction which inspires the danger.

If a man is widowed during his tenure of office he must find among his kin a woman to replace his wife, a daughter of his sister or his brother's wife. Should he die himself, then his widow must continue in office until its term, with, as his replacement, his brother or son. There have been instances in which a man has been permitted to take office with his daughter in the role of his female counterpart.

This is a society in which power, both material and spiritual, is wielded by men, where women walk behind and eat after their menfolk, where their spirits are less effective than men's, where a male child is regarded as of greater value than a female (in San Bartolomé the midwife is paid according to the sex of the child she delivers). Yet there are nevertheless certain posts of power and service for women, other than those which they achieve as spouses of the holder of an office, the Mayordomas or Virgins or Prioras. Under their orders they have the madres of the Church, usually young unmarried girls who sweep and arrange the building. Women never formally have power except over other women, but there is an exception to this referred to above in the case of the wixil 'antz of Tenejapa who plays an important part in the selection for offices.

All offices are held for one year and are handed over at the year's end to the next incumbent. The preparations for office holding, other than the economic outlay, involve a ritual which is required also of holders of traditional political office. In Zinacantan, the office-taker must make three ritual visits to the church with his wife in order to

beg "pardon" for taking office, and at the moment of entering office he must, as in other pueblos, take an oath, the juramento. He must endure that he is, so to speak, in a state of grace, that his heart is pure. Since the adoption of office means the endowment with spiritual power, he must be devoid of personal rancor lest he abuse it. Yet there is another sense to the ceremony: the adoption of office is an overt demonstration of a man's power and prestige and therefore it inspires envy. By asking pardon for assuming office he shields himself against the charge of pride which would bring on the retribution of witchcraft. It is significant in this connection that office-holders cannot be charged with bad witchcraft and on account of the spiritual power which they enjoy it is difficult as well as sacrilegious to bewitch them, but once they have given up the office they become "fair game" again and can be bewitched for the jealousies which they inspired while in office. In Zinacantan, anonymous notes are pinned on the church door warning the incumbents of the fate which awaits them.¹ Like

¹The Katinab of Oxchuc has more than once been killed while in office for witchcraft. (Siverts, 1960)

the ladinos president's, their actions are moderated while in power by the thought of what may happen to them once they lose it.

The actual passage of office requires a ceremony of which the oath and the handing over of the banners of the sodality form the center. The political offices of the Ayuntamiento are handed over at the New Year, but the dates of the others vary. Religious offices commonly change at the end of the fiesta of the saint of the sedality.

There are various systems whereby office is acquired.

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Instances have been given of political offices to which men were invited, in fact appointed, "to serve their people", and the idea of service to the community is still present in the offices of the sodalities. The jelol system whereby a man finds his own replacement and dominates him is found not only among the offices of the ayuntamiento but also of the sodalities, though it is not the method most frequently employed. The religious offices endow with a spiritual power which remains with the individual after the office is given up and there is commonly competition in order to hold them. Indeed when competition to fill a religious office is lacking, it tends to fall into disuse as has happened and is still happening in Sivacá (v. Zabala, Organización Social, p. 10). The common method of attaining an office is to apply for it. The control of appointments rests sometimes with the president and sometimes with a specific authority. When there is much competition for office the cost price tends to rise, as high as seven thousand pesos in Zinacantan (Vogt, 1963; p. 4) where it is the highest in our area and where there is in addition a waiting list for the more important cargos of something like twenty years (Cancian, "Private Communication"). On the other hand, in Chamula, many posts are filled through appointment by the principales and we are told of men escaping to the coffee fincas to avoid serving (Pozas, op. cit.,).

As has been mentioned earlier, a good deal of forethought is necessary in order to plan a career under such conditions. A certain credit system operates, particularly between kin, to enable an office-holder to meet his obligations, yet the funds are always provided by the individual household and a holder of office does not receive help other than in the form of loans which he must repay at a later date, nor does he take office as the overt representative of a group. However, there are pueblos where it is possible

for a father to advance a son early in life by paying the expenses for him to hold a post which he is not old enough to achieve out of his own resources, since economically he is still part of his father's household. Thus among the carrerantes a boy of fourteen may be seen riding with his elders. By the nature of the institution this can happen only in posts of little spiritual significance.

There is one type of office which remains outside the hierarchy and that is the musician. The musicians are nevertheless organized ritually as part of the sodalities and are divided into two sections as a rule--guitar and harp, as opposed to violin and flute, or flute and drum--which have different ritual roles laid down in the fiesta. Musicians are also organized in senior and junior ranks, distinguished by the titles of Bankilal or Itzinal. They continue in their posts (which involve no expense) for years at a time, being reintegrated each successive year by the mayordomos who request their services on account of their skill.

Finally there are certain performers at fiestas who, though they are ordered in a manner which recalls the structure of office, have little spiritual importance and gain prestige rather than spiritual stature through their activities: Carrerantes, Danzantes (formerly Malinches) and the masks of Carnaval. Such roles are their own reward and are fulfilled generally speaking for the enjoyment which they afford. They do not greatly advance a man in the hierarchy of office, though in San Bartolomé where the cost of being a carrerante is high, owing among other things to the need to lease a set of festal clothing, repeated service as a carrerante qualifies a man for other office.

At this point we should pause to consider the meaning of the cargo system. The notion of service is stressed

throughout and is reinforced by the fact that office-holding involves very real sacrifice, not only of an economic nature but in terms of personal deprivation: submission to the prohibitions imposed upon office-holders which have been mentioned. That such posts should be competed for implies also rewards and these are certainly not of a material nature. They are, on the contrary, spiritual rewards and since the realities of power relate first of all to spiritual stature, it is understandable that they should rank higher than material rewards in the normative values of the community. The way in which spiritual and material power are interrelated is discussed in the chapter on Witchcraft.

The holders of office are the custodians of the physical presence of the divine powers. Their immunity stems from this. They stand in a special ritual status which is clearly seen in the situation which arises when a man dies in office. The ceremony of his release must be carried out at his bier, the cross must be pressed to his dead lips to free him from his oath of office (for a description of this ceremony, see Montagu, Authority, Control and Social Sanctions). In addition, the prayers of those with whom he shared the office, his wife and sometimes his daughter, are necessary to complete his release, and he must be replaced until the year's end by a close relative, usually a son.

All the detail of custom stresses the existence of the sacred role which is required to be filled by individuals whom it places in sacrosanct status, yet when a man relinquishes office he does not return to the condition he occupied before. He remains with his spirit fortified, retaining as a personal attribute some of the spiritual power with which the office endowed him. This is the essence of the conception of the pasado: one who has successfully passed through the stage of actively wielding ritual

power in order to become an arbiter of the ultimate values of the society. All pasados of high office are de facto principales on account of the spiritual power which they have accumulated. The principales who are called upon to serve the authorities as their representatives in the parajes are normally chosen from among their number. (To our knowledge this is not so only in Tenejapa.)

The principales of the parajes perform certain religious acts in addition to their judicial functions. They perform the rites connected with agriculture, the propitiation of Holy Earth, the Soul of the Corn and the An'heles, as well as the administrative duties such as collecting taxes for the fiestas on behalf of the ayuntamiento. It is not possible to draw a clear distinction between their political and religious functions. Disputes are brought to them because they are the most respected members of the community; they are respected and listened to because of their spiritual power, which derives, among other things, from the offices they have held. Yet spiritual power itself has a judicial function since it includes the capacity and duty of watching over the actions of their people, protecting them from evil and punishing them for their sins, through the action of the nagual, the animal companion spirit.

The absence of clearly-differentiated responsibilities, added to the fact that all licit power is ratified in the world of the spirits make up the two characteristics which distinguish the traditional indian organization from the ladino. Thus, in the last resort power in the indian pueblo depends upon the consensus of the community in accepting one or other possible interpretation upon the spiritual level of mundane events. Knowledge of spiritual events is provided by dreams and the revelation that the crosses which guard the entrance to the pueblo have lost their power to

protect is commonly made in this way as well as knowledge of personal relations among individuals. The interpretation of a dream uses the criteria of probability which look to public opinion for confirmation. Bricio, an indian of Pinola, was expected by the principales on account of his personality and capacities to have the dreams which would indicate that he was called to become a curer. But a person who was seen in a different light by the community would not have been granted the same interpretation of a similar dream. (Hermitte, 1964) The indian theory of oneiric interpretation contains the possibility of inverting the obvious implications through the conception of the false dream (engaño), implanted by witchcraft, and the notion of the prueba in which a person's spirit is tested by the principales, and these can always be invoked to make the dream fit the reality of daily life, and the preconception of the interpreter. Thus, the framework of thought with regard to the spirit world serves the function of making the consensus of the community explicit. Such consensus cannot but operate in opposition to the dogmatic impositions (whether religious or legal and political) of an external authority. Thus the present impact of the Catholic Church or the Protestant missions not only reforms the beliefs of the traditional indians; it threatens the social function which those beliefs fulfill by providing a frame of reference which relates not to the consensus but, through the catequistas, to the clerical authorities. Public opinion relinquishes to the latter the moral authority of the community in the act of accepting dogmatic guidance.

The division of church and state and the consequent differentiation of religious and political functions leads to the formation of factions where the delegation of ladino power endows different members of the indian community with

specialized responsibilities, but where these are exercised directly by ladinos (just as where they are not imposed at all) they do not impinge upon the consciousness of the indian community in the same way. Where the cofradías have been reorganized by the priest and are for the most part led by ladinos, as in Pinola, the system of supernatural control, cut off from the overt religious organization, only takes on an increased importance in the lives of the indians. One may hypothesize that when the pressure of the missionary endeavor upon the indians relaxed, they were able to reach a fusion of their traditional religion with the Catholicism which they had been taught from which the traditional indian religion of today resulted. Now, with the increasing pressure upon their religious beliefs and practices we witness a "recompartmentalization" which expresses itself as a political division in the factionalism of the pueblos of the eastern highlands, or at another level in Pinola where the indians come under the direct authority of the ladinos, in a division between the religious activities connected with the Church and the spiritual control of the principales; the principales, here, have lost their terrestrial judicial functions and their ceremonial functions also (except in the processions of the 3rd of May). The Me'iltatiles' activities are entirely in the supernatural realm. The disappearance in recent times of the terrestrial organization of the Totilme'iles in Chenalhó and elsewhere may be explained in the same terms. (Guiteras, 1961) In Zinacantan, on the other hand, the Totilme'iles are not the principales at all, but the ancestors (Vogt, op. cit., p. 5). In Tenejapa the Me'tiktatik is a guardian spirit who lives in the caves.

For the traditional indians, the divine order is based upon a concept of God which is both singular and plural, general and particular. The theological niceties of the

last two millenia have no place here. The word for God, Kahualtik Diosh (literally "Our Lord God") is composed from the proto-Mayan root which means "boss" or "owner" and the Spanish loan word for God, Dios. But "Kahual" is used for any divine personage and even in the Fincas for the owner when he is referred to as the owner of the chapel, as opposed to the owner of the land when he is called "patrón". The functions of deity are to protect and to punish, and these functions are shared with the saints who are, in a sense, aspects of the supreme God, and with those divine powers which are not enumerated in Catholic belief, the spirits associated with nature. All divine powers are manifestations of God and there are particular associations between them where their identities tend to merge. Yet the one and the many are not clearly differentiated so that they also have distinct personalities and if they are neglected as such they tend to take offense and punish. The purpose of the fiestas is to propitiate them and thereby to ensure their benevolence and their protective powers for the pueblo.

The religious system may be described as a system of defense against the various spiritual powers which threaten the well-being of the Indian. These are connected in the first place with the divine forces which may punish, or withdraw their protection which amounts to the same thing, and secondly with those who bring disaster, not as punishment, with the authorization (permiso) of the saints and principales, but on their own account because their intentions are evil and they enjoy doing so: the powers of witchcraft, like God, are both singular and plural, general and particular. Pukuh, witchcraft, appears as the Prince of darkness, with powers equal to God's in Manuel Arias' interpretation (Guiteras, op. cit.) though it is implied in most contexts that God, if He wishes, commands over Pukuh.

It is also witchcraft in general and any particular witch, and it is even the spiritual punishment resulting in sickness which is visited legitimately upon offenders. This mode of reasoning is better represented in English if we were to translate Pukuh simply as Evil and Dios as Holiness. In this way we can avoid such sterile discussions as whether the indians are really polytheists or not and we can also explain a statement which is sometimes made and which misleads: that the office-holder "becomes the God" or "is the Saint". In fact, consecrated by the juramento he becomes "holy" in his role as the officiate and intermediary between mankind (his pueblo) and the forces of Holiness (Dios); and his immunity while in office results from this just as his accrued spiritual power after leaving office results from his having been consecrated.

The saints are manifestations of Holiness, separate personalities which partake of the divine essence. Their existence is not a matter of historical fact to people who are ignorant of the hagiographical history of Europe, and therefore they are not different from the manifestations of the Blessed Virgin or the other spiritual powers associated with nature. But they have material existence as images guarded in the Church and they intervene in human affairs in certain ways, not only to punish and protect but also to teach people to cure in dreams, and in some cases to control natural phenomena, especially the rain, but they differ from those other spiritual forces which play a role in the lives of men through their association with nature who do not possess images and are unconnected with the Church but who also punish like the saints if they are offended and to a certain extent protect. We have, then, three kinds of spiritual force: those who are ethically positive, who are thought to be benevolent if properly treated, who are concerned with the social and moral behavior of men, who are

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associated with the festal cycle and the Church and who protect the community as a whole in response to the festivities offered to them; those, associated with nature and agriculture who are ethically more nearly neutral in that they are less interested in the social behavior of men (though Holy Earth punishes incest, perhaps on account of her special interest in reproduction as part of nature) who are associated with the parajes rather than with the pueblo; who require to be propitiated with rites rather than with fiestas. All the above are appealed to in prayer by individuals. Finally, there are the forces of Evil: the Pukuh and his manifestations, Tentación to begin with (who has no particular connection with the idea of temptation but is a manifestation of the Pukuh who causes terror) and those other evil spirits at his command including the animal counterparts of the witches.

These distinctions are only approximate and admit of anomalies; the Saints are sometimes invoked in agricultural rites, some of them have connections with nature of various sorts and appear in the guise of the nature spirits. (cf. Holland, op. cit., p. 93). Thus Santa Cruz is associated with springs and possesses the power to make rain. On the other hand, the Holy Earth and the An'heles also protect against envy which is a manifestation of Pukuh. Many prayers are addressed to all the protecting divinities together, a precaution which avoids offending one who may be left out.

The most prominent saint is the patron saint of the pueblo; he is credited with a particular interest in and responsibility for its welfare as a whole community. The ancient names of pueblos always included that of their patron saint and provided in many cases, as they still do, the collective designation of the inhabitants: the Pableros of San

Pablo Chalchihuitán, the Andreseros of San Andrés Chamula (today Larráinzar), etc.--but those of San Juan Chamula are "Chamulas". The fiesta of the patron saint is the most important of the year and the sodality devoted to him the most prestigious. A problem is posed in Zinacantan where the patron saint was changed from Santo Domingo to San Lorenzo. In fact, today the two fiestas are celebrated together and the offices fit into the same organization.

The patron saint is commonly regarded as identical with Kahualtik Diosh, the Supreme God, and the possession by each pueblo of a different patron saint serves the function of separating them structurally. There is no basis for a wider solidarity than that which embraces the pueblo which in many cases dresses its sons and their patron in the same style. The point is made in other aspects of social life; here we are content to underline its conceptual basis in religion.

There are other saints whose images stand in the church and whose feast day is celebrated. There are some to whom small importance is attached and who do not have their own cult and organization but are allied to the cult of another in which they are honored in a subsidiary role.

The saints' images in churches such as Tenejapa are divided into the Indians' saints and the ladinos' saints whose names the Indians do not even know, and whose rites they ignore. In other places (e.g., Larráinzar, Holland, op. cit.; p. 81) there are Indians' saints, ladinos' saints, and those who are worshipped by both. In San Bartolomé the distinction is not clearly made; the saints are common to both Indians and ladinos though, as we shall see, their conceptualizations of them differ.

One saint deserves special mention since he presents something of an anomaly in comparison with the Catholic

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hagiography: Santa Cruz. This is the bare cross itself without the crucifixion. It stands in every church and is treated as a saint, is dressed up for the fiesta as a member of the pueblo like the other saints and is taken out in procession. Santa Cruz, in addition to his powers in relation to rain, is especially important as a protector against the Pukuh and his image, the plain wooden cross, is planted in strategic positions throughout the territory of the pueblo: in the central square opposite the church, at the entrance of the town or territory and at water-holes. The cross is sometimes erected in pairs, thereby reproducing the common pattern of office-holders who are frequently paired, a measure which guarantees against the individual failing of a single one which, should it be defiled, might become ineffective, and is renewed from time to time when it is feared that it may have lost its power to protect the community. The dream of an adolescent boy was interpreted to mean that the cross which defended the pueblo had lost its efficacy and it was therefore changed with the appropriate ritual of installation. In such cases the older cross is left in place and a new one or a new pair is added. The cross is also used in house-shrines, both within the house, and before the door of the house. It is decorated with pine-needles, flowers, and boughs. It is also placed upon the summit of the house in Chamula. In all contexts it appears as a doorkeeper, marking the frontier against the Evil from outside.

Santa Cruz therefore belongs simultaneously to the first group of saints and the second group of nature spirits; he is connected both with the Church and with natural features, both with the community as a whole and with the household, both with the festal cycle and with the agricultural cycle. He appears at times in dreams in human form and in male form. (Guiterras-Holmes op.cit. p.257). He is the most powerful

protector against the Pukuh and the most beneficent of saints and his competence is the widest.

The second group of spiritual forces, the nature spirits, is not represented by images and is not celebrated with fiestas in the pueblo, and is not connected with social differentiations through the hierarchy of the sodalities; they are everywhere. First of all the Holy Earth is ever present, since she is the lien between man and place, as opposed to the saints who watch over man as a member of society. She is universal as the whole earth encompassed by man's physical environment and also particular to each paraje and each milpa and house site. She requires to be propitiated by the community in its relation to its territory, by the paraje also and by the individual householder in his relation to his milpa and his house, and she must be informed of a marriage which brings a new member into the house. It is Holy Earth who visits with misfortune her tenants of whom she disapproves whether as farmers or house-holders, and to whom prayers and offerings must be addressed in order to ensure her benevolence. Her permission must be asked in prayer to dwell and cultivate upon a given spot. At the same time the Holy Earth also protects against dangers, the envy of others, manifestations of the Pukuh.

The Holy Earth is also called Chu'lme'tik, Holy Mother, which is a name applied to the Virgin and also to all female saints.

In opposition to the Holy Earth we find also the An'hel (a Spanish loan: "angel")¹ who is connected, not with the

¹The reason he is not found in Pinola is perhaps because the patron saint is San Miguel Arcangel. An'hel and patron saint have elided.

earth used by man but with wild nature, the mountains and

their caves, and with certain natural phenomena such as rain and thunder which live in the caves. Essentially masculine, he is the protector of mankind. His daughter is the soul of the maize (who is also referred to as Chu'ime'tik). She is the most important of the Me' who are souls of cultivated plants. She is not among those invoked with regularity.

All spiritual forces necessary to man's survival and prosperity are allied as aspects of Holiness. Yet they are also individual agencies with separate personalities and particular functions and they tend to remain indifferent unless invoked specifically. Their functions, however, overlap and their identity is multiple, appearing in various forms, now in an orthodox Catholic form, now in a form of Mayan antecedence. The Kox, youngest brother, who is also Jesus Christ, appears in some myths as a character with some of the qualities of the Trickster and whose behavior towards his brothers recalls the Popol Vuh. An'hel is both singular and plural, one and many, and is responsible for the weather. He is the rain god and so is Santa Cruz (and St. Michael also has a hand in the matter of rain in San Bartolomé). St. Michael is the thunderbolt (Cha'uk) in Pinola and he has the common attributes of the An'hel in that he lives in the sacred cave and is lord of the animal companion spirits of which the most powerful are "thunderbolt" like St. Michael. They normally belong, as a part of nature, to the An'hel, who is commonly said to be "thunderbolt" also.

There is a variation from one place to another in the division of divine responsibility which does not materially affect the system since in terms of action there is necessarily a high degree of doubt in the diagnosis of misfortune. Is it a punishment of the Holy Earth or of San Pedro? Since Fukuh is on all sides, which of his protectors has been offended and let the victim down? All misfortunes are ul-

timately the punishment of God, but more specifically, is it the An'hel or San Pedro or punishment, wrought legitimately by the principales, or undeserved punishment, Pukuh, by a witch. There is little means of knowing and the theoretical division of spiritual responsibility fades before this doubt. The victim examines his past actions and reviews whether he has fulfilled his obligations in every direction. He prays for forgiveness to all the aspects of Holiness, addressing them all by name and protesting his faultlessness and beseeching them for justice. He may also pray to them for the punishment of others.

The notions of delict or sin (delito, Tzeltal=Mulil, offense) and punishment dominate behavior. The offense of any of the spiritual forces produces punishment, that is to say, misfortune. Therefore, misfortune of any kind implies offense--except in the case of witchcraft which is groundless punishment inspired by envy. Hence, in cases of illness it must be established whether the patient is suffering the effects of his own, or his parents' misdemeanors with regard to one of the deities, or whether he is the victim of his own emotional state such as fright or anger which may produce soul-loss, or whether he is the victim of envy, that is to say, witchcraft--Pukuh. And it is only through the withdrawal of protection that a person becomes vulnerable in any case. The forces of Holiness are constantly throwing to the lions those who have offended them, even when they are not punishing them directly. Yet it remains true that to be thrown to the lions is one thing and to be devoured by them is another. At this point the individual's spiritual strength is relevant and if he has to contend with human witchcraft only, he may prevail. Here we come to understand perhaps the apparent anomaly caused by the fact that on the one hand, no witchcraft can be done without permission, and on the other, a witch is someone who bewitches others without permission. It would be a mistake to interpret this to mean

that the indians' religion is dualistic for the question does not arise. It is rather that the divine forces are not necessarily interested all the time in mortal fate unless they are successfully invoked in the correct manifestation. Hence the necessity to enumerate them all in the prayers. Hence also the delegation, as it were, of the authority to the terrestrial spirits of men. As the termination of a prayer from Pinola puts it, "con permiso de los me'iltotiles y en nombre de Dios".

The sins, or offenses as we have preferred to call them, translating literally in order to escape the particular connotations of sin in relation to our moral code, are not only clearly recognizable departures from ethical norms, but any departure from custom which may be thought to entail offense to the spiritual forces. Thus, for example, there are three kinds of hunger, black, white, and red, which are caused respectively by women, men, and children. The offense which causes these is carelessness in the handling of maize which offends the soul of the corn.¹

¹It is worth noting that such an impious attitude towards the staple foodstuff is shared with the peasantry of Southern Europe who observe a number of taboos in the handling of bread. In place of the belief in the soul of the corn we find there a rationale which equates the bread to the eucharist. The example furnishes an instance in which a common value, i.e., offhand treatment of staple food, is given a very different complexion by the conceptual system through which it is rationalized, on the one hand the notion of a separate deity connected with the corn and on the other a sacred significance of bread in relation to the central figure of the religion. By comparing the two we see the value of the individual personalities of the spirit world of Chiapas.

It has been suggested by Evans-Pritchard that witchcraft and religion are alternative functions in the sense that while the Zande have much witchcraft and small concern

with religion, the contrary is true of the Nuer. Both represent ways of accounting for facts which outstrip man's scientific understanding of reality. In Chiapas, it is difficult to distinguish between witchcraft and religion since the two form part of a single conceptual system--and both parts are of the greatest importance. There is an order to be seen in the procedures of diagnosis which gives priority to the saints and the moral guilt of the sufferer, and then only after this explanation is rejected is the misfortune attributed to witchcraft. When supernatural means have failed to combat the witch, the indian takes to more practical steps with the aid of his close kinsmen and their machetes. Thus, if witchcraft is a residual category of explanation it leads in the last resort to pragmatic political action.

If we compare the religion of the indians with that of the ladinos we can see that the former for all its logical incongruities composes a coherent system of thought at the level of action; ethics form a single system with religion and witchcraft. Spiritual events are reflected in terrestrial ones; the material world is a demonstration of the spiritual world. Fraught by dangers and protected by the benevolence of the forces of Holiness, he gets his desserts immediately. Hence his immense ethical preoccupation and the very vague interest he has in the after life and the virtual absence of an eschatology.

II

The Christian year relates symbolically to the agricultural year in the northern hemisphere; the birth of Christ at the still point of the vegetational cycle, Resurrection at the opening of spring, St. John at midsummer and All Souls Day in the dank smells of approaching winter. But Chiapas,

though it is in the northern hemisphere, is in the tropics, and the climate and agricultural cycle is quite dissimilar. Easter falls in the hot season and when the rains come in May it cools down. St. John falls in the early part of the rainy season, which they call winter, and All Souls toward its end. Christmas comes in the first part of the dry season which they call summer. Their view of the seasons is conditioned by wet or dry weather rather than by hot or cold, since the differences in temperature are not great or entirely regular.

A dogmatic authority maintains the Christian calendar outside the northern hemisphere, but in default of this no natural logic makes the function of the festal cycle explicit. The agricultural cycle varies according to altitude in any case.

The western calendar fixes the days and months, though in certain pueblos, predominantly Tzotzil, the Maya calendar remains to name different festal occasions, and to denote the time for certain agricultural duties and celebrations. The absence of an indian dogmatic authority able to calculate the days has stripped the Mayan calendar of its function as a time-keeper and left it as a detail of folklore, a way of sustaining an attachment to a decayed tradition.

Feast days are always celebrated on the Sunday nearest to the date (in the Western calendar) but they normally start a given number of days in advance and by the time the festal day arrives the celebrants are for the most part drunk. In addition there is a tradition called the octava when the celebration continues, attenuated, a week later.

The festal cycle varies from pueblo to pueblo and the importance of the specific fiestas varies from one place to another. The patron-saint's fiesta in one village may be ignored in the next, or may draw a certain gathering from the

neighbors. Santa Cruz in Oxchuc draws pilgrims from far away while Santiago in Tenejapa is attended by people from all the neighboring pueblos. Santa Cruz in San Bartolomé is attended even by the Principales Tojolabales, who believe that their rainfall depends upon the supernatural control of the hill behind the town.

The feast days are not always celebrated at the same time everywhere and in some places this is connected with the Maya months. Thus, in Tenejapa All Souls takes place a week early. The date of Carnaval also varies from place to place. It is held on the five Ch'aik'in, the superfluous and unholy days of the Mayan calendar which are calculated in Chenalhó as four weeks after San Sebastián. (Gutierrez, op. cit., p. 32.)

Frowned on by the modern Church, Carnaval yet retains the place of one of the most important fiestas of the year in the indian village and its offices among the most expensive. It has, as in Europe, the character of an inversionary rite, a symbolic return to primeval chaos when women command over men and indians over ladinos. It gives particular importance to the representation of nature, and of the struggle between agriculture and nature.

Except where modern religious influences have made themselves felt, the way of celebrating a religious fiesta are similar throughout: prayers and ceremonies are performed with the aid of ritual accessories, candles and incense, and pine needles are strewn on the floor where ritual takes place. The ceremonies of the fiesta consist of a Catholic Mass if the priest comes and if not the prayers which are called by the same name in the vernacular, the procession of the saint's images round the church and also round the town. There is the ceremony of the juramento and the changing of office in cases where the office changes during the fiesta. There

2.10.28

are the carrerantes riding in their cavalcade and there are the meals and stole offered to the office-holders and the libations offered to the spirits. Musicians play a part in the ritual--the flute and drum, the violin and guitar, and the harp. Other than during the rituals the musicians play throughout the fiesta within the house and outside. In addition to the traditional music, it is sometimes the case that the indians employ a ladino band to provide accompaniment for the procession and to raise the gaiety of the occasion; one can hear the dull strains of the traditional music competing during the fiesta with the more resonant cadences of the mariachi-style trumpets. Outside the ritual contexts, there is dancing to the ladino music by men alone who are usually in an advanced state of inebriation. The phonograph has made its appearance in some villagee.

The idea that noise frightens away the evil spirits is expressed on different occasions and appears to be shared equally by ladinos. In the event of an eclipse pots and pans are beaten to prevent the jaguar (or the ants) from eating the moon. This is also done in San Cristóbal and Teopisca. Rockets are let off as an accompaniment of any procession (save during Carnaval) and the fact that more are let off by day than by night stresses the fact that the aural effect is more important than the visual. Custom decrees the number of fireworks which the office-holders must provide. Set pieces of fireworks, castillos de fuego, are also lighted at nightfall outside the church.

By far the most absorbing personal activity during the fiesta is drinking. Alcohol is employed in the ritual of curing and it is offered as libations to the spiritual forces. It is offered as a ritual gift in many contexts of daily life, at the petition of a girl in marriage, with a petition for justice to the authorities and as an act of supplication in asking for a favor or for forgiveness. It is used very freely

is social intercourse during the fiestas. When offered it must be accepted, though in certain pueblos it is allowed that those already sufficiently drunk may pour the measure into their own bottle instead of drinking it on the spot.

Drunkenness is in no way decried in social and ritual contexts and is even accorded a special indulgence--the soul of the drunken man, and hence his moral responsibility, is absent--but it is regarded nevertheless as bad to fight when drunk and the man who indulges in drink hedonistically instead of working when he should is considered immoral.

The images in the churches are the property of the community, and the priest's attempt to sell an image belonging to Pinola met with spirited opposition from the pueblo. But saints may also be the private property of individuals and they then stand outside the religious hierarchy of office, providing a phenomenon which is something distinct from the traditional indian religion though it is not a modern innovation. These are the "San Miguelitos" or "talking boxes" or "talking saints" or "little saints".

They consist of a box from which the saint, not necessarily San Miguel, speaks with sounds intelligible usually only to the owner. There is not necessarily anything within the box other than the presence of the saint, though some contain a stone or bundle. The oracle can be consulted with a view to curing but it also makes pronouncements and gives commands to its owner. Talking boxes can be bought and sold and the power to interpret the saint passes to the purchaser. Indians do not make the contrast between commercial and affective or disinterested relations and it does not strike them as anomalous that spiritual power can be bought. On the contrary, to acquire it through the cargo systems costs money also, and the spiritual endeavors of the curers are rewarded. Riches are a sign of spiritual strength.

2.10.30

In Tenejapa where there are numerous talking boxes, the family of the owner reproduces some of the ritual of the mayordomías and inaugurates a cult which is celebrated as a fiesta with "Holy Linen" for the saint, incense, etc. Medina suggests that the presence of talking boxes can be correlated with the decreased importance of witchcraft and it is true that there is a certain functional similarity between the power of the owner of the box and that of the witch, a personal power to cure and also to punish which lies outside the control of the principales. However, the owner of the box who is frequently a woman is not apparently re-sected and the sanmiguelitos do not play a conspicuous part in the causing of disease, nor are they identified with the malefic powers of Pukuh but with the saint. They tend to provide a center of interest for a given period and then lose prestige and depart to another paraje. They are sometimes acquired following a dream.

In the incident when a talking saint first attracted attention, during the rising of 1868, it had some similarity to the phenomenon of the "bargo cult" in that it endowed a charismatic leader with a supernatural immunity and prophetic power deriving from his possession, through the box, of the symbols, religious in this case, of ladino predominance. Yet the talking boxes of today have no political importance and do not prophesy. They may be viewed as residual adaptations of what was once an attempt to take over the political control of religion.

Ladino religion conforms in its ritual and structure to the Catholic Church. The bishopric is in San Cristóbal. The local community is often without a priest and is visited, like Chiapilla, only on infrequent and irregular occasions. The priests in recent years have stimulated Catholic Action Committees which form the body of Catholic opinion. They have also formed juntas, societies dedicated to the devotion

of particular saints and have reformed the traditional cofradías (sodalities) in some degree in the pueblos where they are resident. The leadership of ladino religion is taken by the upper class, among whom are nevertheless found persons of anti-clerical and even anti-religious disposition.

No religion is adequately described without considering the meaning of the ritual for those who practice it and the way it relates to society, for it is these which distinguish the religion of the local community from that of the dogmatic authorities to which they submit, and whose pronouncements they interpret, or reject according to their own conceptual capabilities (just as they put to their own uses the law of the state to which they belong).

The ladinos of Highland Chiapas are more attached to the ritual than to the ethical aspects of their Catholicism and their interpretation of doctrine often includes heterodox elements.

For example, their attitude to the images of the saints is reminiscent of that of the indians. Other than the images in the church, images as well as representations of the saints are owned privately and bear a particular relation to the owner on account of his possession of them. One elderly man who possessed a polychrome image in relief which he identified simply as a virgin or saint (it may possibly have been Sta. Barbara) claimed for it the power to control the rain. If this image were taken from the house, it would immediately start to rain. He also maintained that his saint could not be taken into the sun since the heat would damage her and she would resent and punish such behavior: Hence the possibility of employing her as rainmaker was limited to cloudy periods.

The most important images are those of the Holy Child which play a central part in the Christmas celebrations,

which are conducted before house-shrines in a series of fiestas.

These images of the Niño Dios are frequently known for their power to castigate when insufficient honor is paid to them and their castigatory power is a matter of pride to the owner, even though he is the most likely victim. The Child Jesus punishes for reasons of personal offense, inadequate expenditure upon His fiesta (which means an inadequate supply of liquor, as a rule) or uncomplimentary remarks. Therefore though he recalls the thunderbolt of the indians in a sense, nevertheless he does not punish people for their general moral shortcomings. The most powerful images are those which come from Guatemala which are usually ancient, small and blackened. They are much valued on account of their castigatory powers which are indicative also of their power to perform miracles.

A modern innovation which is found only in the hot country to the west, the valley of the Grijalva, is the espiritista or recinta--she is usually a woman--whose house is referred to as the "temple" and who fulfills functions reminiscent of the sanmiguelitos; acting as a medium, she cures and predicts also and is thought to be able to bewitch as well. People go from San Cristóbal to consult recintas in Chiapa de Corzo and Tuxtla, despising the humbler local hieromancers. Such practices are actively combatted by the Church, a fact which may explain their absence from the highlands where the Church is most powerful.

Ladino religion while nominally hispanic and Catholic nevertheless contains elements in common with indian belief and practice. The modes of celebrating the fiesta, the view of the nature of the saints, show some similarity, while ladino belief in witchcraft and rituals connected with death are heavily influenced by indian conceptions. In com-

paring ladino with traditional indian religion we can see that while the latter is the more heterodox from the Catholic point of view and contains elements and interpretations which recall the Mayan past, they fuse into a single coherent system which opposes in its totality the modern influences exerted by the priest and the missionary.

In contrast, the religion of the ladinos faces in a conscious way the dogmatic strictures of the priest, recognizing his authority even where it fails to conform. Alternative systems of thought in relation to divine powers present themselves to the ladino. His customary beliefs and practices face not only Catholic orthodoxy, but the various Protestant sects which have a certain following among the less educated classes particularly in Tuxtla and the atheistic dogmas of the Mexican Revolution.

Another difference to be noted which connects logically with this is that whereas, the indian religion is above all a concern of the community and though individual households celebrate certain rites, they are subsidiary to the collective rites; the ladino religion centers upon the familial rites which are followed by many who give little attention to the celebrations which aspire to represent the community as a whole.

Again, ladino religion is based upon individual belief and faith; it is independent and even opposed to political organization. It stresses atonement, hope of Divine favor, and an important vision of afterlife. In all these ways it differs from traditional indian religion which is based upon a concept of spiritual power which is the crux of the social and political systems.

This distinction connects again with Calixta Guiteras' observation that when indians pray individually to the saints they pray for Justice; when ladinos pray they pray for mira-

cles. While both look to the saints for protection, the indians look to them as the arbiters of conduct in a way in which the ladinos do not.

The two attitudes are illustrated also in the customs which surround the naming of children. Indians always bear the names of saints in the calendar and in some pueblos (Pinola, Chenalhó, etc.), the child is given the name of the saint of the day on which it was born--a custom reminiscent both of the ancient Maya and of Spain, but ladinos frequently bear names which are not those of the saints, but of the heroes of Graeco-Roman antiquity (Don Melquiades, or Doña Bealia) or, in conformity with the ideology of modern Mexico, of Mexican antiquity: Don Cuatémoc or Don Moctezuma. In a more recent generation one finds Carlos Marx and Lenin.

The relations with the priest differentiate them again, for he is a member of the ladino community but to the indians he is a *ladino*. His different role in the two relates to this.

To the indians he is a person of spiritual power whose presence is necessary in certain ritual occasions, e.g., to say Mass on the occasion of the patrons' fiesta. His importance to ladinos is also ritual, but above all it lies in the accomplishment of individual rites, baptism, marriage, etc.

His influence varies very much from one pueblo to another, whether indian or ladino, and depends upon the extent of his habitual contacts with it, among other things.

The fulfillment of the ritual function does not, of itself, imply any political power. Pueblos which demand the presence of the priest to say Mass do not necessarily listen to him in other matters though in some cases they do so. But the ritual value of a priest is still recognized. The

priest is therefore needed for what he is and at the same time resented for what he does and says.

Indeed, the susceptibility of the indian community to outside influence in matters of religion whether Catholic or Protestant appears to depend upon the subtleties of the internal structure, rather than on the degree of contact. It is noticeable that the pueblos which are most resistant are equally so towards Catholicism as well as Protestantism. Among those who have closest contact with ladinos is Zinacantan, whose people are constantly seen in San Cristóbal not only as merchants but as laborers and servants and yet it is among the keenest at preserving its pristine customs and beliefs. The Protestant missionary who worked there without any success complained that its people were too proud to hear the word of God. The same intractibility has been shown towards the Catholic authorities. Yet Zinacantan was the site of one of the first Dominican convents and its easy access to San Cristóbal and the fact that it was on the main road from Chiapa has ensured continual ladino participation in its affairs ever since.

There remains the question of how these two bodies of religious belief and practice which belong nominally to the same religion fit together in terms of social activity, to what extent do indians participate in ladino religion and vice versa.

It is already evident that ladinos participate not at all in the side of the indian religion which relates to the forces of nature, rather than the church and indeed they understand very little about it. In the side of their religion which centers upon the church only the priest and his assistants intervene. Ladinos attend the fiestas as tourists on occasions, side by side with the foreign tourists, but they do not participate. To the Carnaval of Sivacá they

used to come out from Ocosingo to make their own fiesta, drinking beer and dancing in couples in the European manner apart from the indians who drank chicha and cane-liquor and danced singly in the indian fashion.

The degree to which indians participate in ladino religion is not easily expressed since there is great variation between the indian religion of different pueblos which, according to the influences which have formed it in the past, show a greater or lesser degree of concordance with the Catholic Church. The actual proximity in which indians and ladinos live and have traditionally lived also influences their present beliefs. One should distinguish first of all between communities which share the Church with ladinos as opposed to those who do not and one should also distinguish between the mixed participation which is traditional from that which is the result of the modern evangelical movement in the Catholic Church.

At one extreme we can place Tenejapa where the Church is shared with the ladinos, but not the cemetery (indians bury the dead in their houses), where there is a resident priest and considerable missionary activity, yet where the indians do not take communion, do not traditionally use the Church rites of baptism and marriage and do not enter into compadrazgo among themselves. They ignore the names of the saints in the church other than the ones towards whom they direct their own devotions and fiestas, regarding them as the saints of the ladinos and they celebrate simultaneously with the ladinos but without any concern for their activities. They recognize the ritual necessity for the priest to say Mass, and the sanctity of the building which belongs to them as a pueblo, but this is where their participation ends. In contrast the religion of the indians of San Bartolomé is more closely integrated with that of the ladinos, alongside

whom they have lived in the town for centuries. They traditionally use the Church rites, share the cemetery, and take communion and celebrate the fiestas together. Their beliefs contain much more in common with the ladinos than other pueblos, and yet they retain a conceptual religious system which keeps them apart. In particular, their association of the ladinos with the Jews, the enemies of Christ, gives the rites of Holy Week a significance which they could not have for the ladinos. They may be said to share the rituals of the Church without fully sharing their religion, for the mythology of the Barteleño Indians and their household rites contain much that belongs to the Indian tradition. On the other hand, they marry, baptize, and confess in Church.

The Sivaltecos contrast in a different way. Heavily influenced by modern Catholicism and the faction of the católicos fervientes, they run their church themselves with no ladino participation. The prayers of the Mass are said without the celebration by the catequist. The priest says Mass there only occasionally. Yet many of them go into Ocosingo two leagues away to hear Mass on Sundays, a pilgrimage which is not unconnected with commercial activities, and a band of young men goes yearly to the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico City. Many new customs have been recently imposed in the sphere of religion, yet they cannot be said to be entirely fused yet. Thus, beside the traditional forms of the compadrazgo, which they establish among themselves, they also form compadrazgo on other occasions with ladinos in Ocosingo to which they accord none of the same significance and which they subsequently neglect to the point of drawing complaints from their ladina comadre. The fiestas continue to be celebrated in traditional style though with certain modifications due to the fact that the fervientes control the Church. The most remarkable of these is the absence of drunkenness, an innovation of the last

2.10.38

few years which contrasts strongly with ladino Ocosingo. Whether or not the Church faction will succeed in bringing about a synthesis remains to be seen.

The relationship of patronage and clientship which exist between indians and ladinos in Ocosingo and on the Fincas make this the area where the co-participation of the two is more nearly complete. Here the compadrazgo has most significance between the two and here we find indians participating in the sodalities with the ladinos and attending the same religious services together and even on occasions attending the household celebrations of the ladinos. Yet they still retain their own customs in certain religious matters. For example, they use the same cemetery and at All Souls they both retire there but at different times. The indians take musical instruments there and offerings of food whereas the ladinos take only liquor, which they indulge in copiously.

To sum up, each indian pueblo adheres to a certain body of beliefs and practices which constitute what we have called indian religion. These vary from one to the other, and show a greater proportion of Catholic features in those who live in traditional contact with ladinos. Ladino religion is closer to orthodox Catholicism but also shows features of a highly unorthodox character which it shares with indian religion. Such features are found in greatest number in ladino villages which have no resident priest and whose population is of indian origin, such as Chiapilla and Soyatitán. The potentialities of change in religion and the influence of religion upon potential changes in other ways are necessarily bound up with the degrees of diversity between the religions of those who come into contact, but above all with the kind of social relations within which this contact occurs.

Contact is in fact one of the most inadequate words in

the anthropologist's vocabulary. To its inadequacies we can trace the apparent anomalies which are found in the evolution of the indian pueblos: the uneven response to the evangelical efforts of the different religious organizations.

Contact means in the first place physical contact between individuals belonging to different ethnic groups. This in itself does not imply any very clear consequences, but it is the sine qua non of those forms of contact which are sociologically more meaningful. The modes of contact determine its results, what the indians will adopt from their knowledge of the ladinos and vice versa, what knowledge they will in the first place come to acquire.

Thus, to begin with, the contact may involve political authority, missionary zeal, or commercial interchange, or all of these in varying degrees. The economic contact may involve the interchange of goods or the requirement of labor.

The terms of cooperation and conflict determine the interpretations which will result from the contact. In what can they trust one another? In what way do they need one another?

Finally, the social structure of the communities in question, the degrees of isolation of independence from yet other outside influences, as well as the indians' degree of knowledge of the outside agencies are vital in determining their reactions to a particular contact. Yet contact also affects the internal structure of the indian community in various ways; it may provoke conflict between generations and between factions, loosening thereby the integration of the pueblo, and destroying its solidarity in the face of the ladinos.

WITCHCRAFT

2.11.1 In the previous chapter we gave an account of the religion of the indians of Chiapas and pointed to the way in which the concepts of Holyness and Evil are opposed to one another. Pukuh was given as the generic name for evil, disease and death, and also for any particular manifestation of it either as misfortune, as a specific evil spirit or as witchcraft. We find great variety in the conceptualizations of the supernatural and, rather than go in detail into the ethnography, we are obliged to abstract from it the principles of organization.

To understand how witchcraft operates the essential conceptions to examine are the soul^h and spiritual strength, expressed especially by the idea of k'al (meaning heat, but the power to burn rather than simply the high temperature of a substance which is expressed by a different word). The cosmological basis for these beliefs is to be found in the division of everything into two aspects or levels; the material and the spiritual. The former can be apprehended directly and sensorily by anyone, the latter cannot, but is known, less directly and securely, by persons with special aptitudes associated with strength of spirit who can "see how the world is." The material world is a reflection of the spiritual world and events in it reflect events at the spiritual level, which are

2.11.2

revealed in dreams (which require to be interpreted of course--and those "who know how the world is" are most competent in this) and can be deduced from worldly happenings such as sickness and misfortune. The spiritual level can be influenced by actions at the material level such as prayers, rites or the violation of prohibitions but, since the former is conceived to exist in order to explain the latter, not vice versa, the process of causation is deemed to move from the spirit to the flesh and from the esoteric to the revealed.

Everything in the world participates in these two levels, the religious figures and the natural features: divinities: the saints, the Sun, the Moon, the Earth; places: the water-holes, the mountains, the lakes; crops: the corn, the beans, the cotton; the trees, even in Tenango, a pottery-making village, the clay which possesses its "Me'" (spirit, mother) like the others. These are all arranged in hierarchy according to their spiritual strength, and, as stated in the chapter on religion, they also vary with regard to their attitude to mankind which goes from the beneficence of the sun and moon and the saints, to the unfriendly spirit of the earth which has associations with darkness, and to the maleficent hordes of the Fuku which have, with the exception of one or two evil places, no representation at the terrestrial level. Both these qualities of rank and moral intention extend to the spirits of men, as we shall see.

The souls of men are tenuously bound to their bodies and the evils which occur to the latter result from dislocation with the former. The soul is in danger of alienation from the fifth month of pregnancy when it is first claimed from the earth and attached to the body. It may be stolen from the womb and it is particularly vulnerable in the first days of its life. It may be reclaimed by the earth or stolen as a replacement by a witch. Naming and baptism attach it to the body more securely, and if the name is kept secret it is safer, but it remains insecure and weak in spiritual power while the child is weak. It grows in strength with age which is a fundamental measure of spiritual strength, though not the only one. Its locus is in the body (sometimes in specific parts of the body), but it remains attached to the place of birth. It is sometimes said to be absent from the body during drunkenness or sleep. Its alienation from the body (soul loss) is a cause of sickness and, if it remains permanently alienated, death.

It may simultaneously have locus outside the body, in the sacred caves or in the form of a natural phenomenon or animal. In this last manifestation it is usually differentiated by a separate term. Hence, in addition to the basic term for soul (chulel) which covers all its manifestations, but is particularly associated with the soul which is attached to the body, we also find the words, nagual, lab, wayhel, chanul, which refer specific-

ally to the manifestation as an animal or natural phenomenon in contrast to the chulel. In some pueblos (e.g., Chamula), there is no separate word for the nagual, and chulel is used to cover all the forms of soul. The concept of nagual is present in all though it is uniquely the possession of witches in San Bartolomé. Whether or not the distinction is made linguistically, between nagual and chulel, it must be born in mind that all are "co-essences," as Hermitte (1964) puts it, of the individual person, which exist upon the spiritual plane.

The chulel (in the sense in which it is opposes to the nagual) survives the body at death, escapes in the form of a bird, returns to the earth, becomes a ghost, roaming the places where the body lived, and--perhaps this is a separate conceptualization--goes to the underworld, to purgatory or to heaven to receive the reward for the person's actions during his lifetime, or to the sacred caves of the ancestors. In Pinola an informant made a distinction between the "common souls" who go to an afterworld, while the souls of the spiritual elite go to the sacred caves. The degree to which the conceptions of the soul and the afterworld resembles that of church dogma is something of a measure of catholic influence in the past. In Tenejapa where this appears to have been least, the soul, goes to a part of the Katimbak, the underworld to await reincarnation to another human body after spending there a time equivalent to that which it spent on earth.

In contrast to the immortal soul or souls, the nagual is mortal. It resides in the caves, or inside a sacred hill, "the house of the souls," from which it comes out at night, regularly in some places to patrol the skies of the community as guardians, or exceptionally, as witches, in others. ✓ The nagual is owned by the person,

✓ The distinction corresponds to one noted later between pueblos where the souls of living men are guardians and those where they are not.

but more exactly, it is the person, for the two have a common consciousness. To take an analogy from ancient European belief, it is nearer to the notion of the transformed witch than to the witch's familiar. Stories of transformation of witches are told in Pinola. But a man does not normally encounter his own nagual, nor does he know in many places what form it has unless it is revealed to him in a dream or by one who "can see the world as it is." In other places it is identified by divination at birth.

The nagual is an animal, either wild or domestic: chicks, hens, birds, especially birds of prey, raccoons, deer, pigs, dogs, leopards, bulls, sheep, horses, monkeys, etc. (there are no insects or fish or reptiles). But they may also be whirlwind, lightning or thunderbolt, which come in several colors each with a specific quality (though the colors and their significance are not always

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 from Oaxaca
 also a dwarf
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the same from one place to another). These natural phenomena are also owned by, or are, deities; the Anhel and sometimes the patron saint are thunderbolt. In some places the naguals of mortal men are restricted to animals, and only those of deities are natural phenomena.

The identity of man and nagual is demonstrated in the following ways:

1) Life-span. The human body and the nagual are born and die at the same time. This statement requires a great deal of qualification since in some traditional highland pueblos a rite exists for the identification of the nagual of a newly born child by searching for the footprint of the animal in ash, which presupposes that the animal is already adult, while in other cases the nagual becomes, as it were, confounded with the chulel and goes after the person's death to reside in the caves. This is especially the case with those which are natural phenomena. The norm that man and his nagual have co-terminous lives, is constantly repeated in the ethnography but it must not be expected that as a conceptual system the spiritual plane of highland Chiapas will submit to the simple logic of the material world. Nagual and chulel are constantly confounded since they are co-essences, or co-identities, of the same person. They can move from one guise to another according to the situation, as people do in dreams, and it has been said already that knowledge of spiritual events is supplied,

above all, through dreams. Therefore the stated norm is not invalidated even by the fact that the natural phenomena, lightning, thunderbolt, etc. have no life-span. What is significant is that not only are such naguals the property (using the word in the logical sense), of individuals of exceptional spiritual strength but they do not reappear after the person is dead. In this sense, they have a common life-span.

2) Health. If the nagual is wounded, the human body is marked by the blow. An ache in the foot is caused by damage to the foot of the nagual. If it is killed, the person dies. Symptoms of disease are frequently explained in terms of a causality upon the spiritual plane.

3) Strength. There is a correlation between the physical strength, and also the strong health, of the individual and his nagual. This is reflected in the notion that a child possesses a nagual of corresponding development and there is a correspondence between the strength of the man and the strength of the natural genus which is his nagual.

4) Personal characteristics. A person resembles his nagual in appearance and also in moral qualities and in personality. A hairy person may be a monkey, but a cunning person may be a coyote. Gentleness indicates a deer, harmlessness a raccoon. The stereotypes for witches differ from place to place but

carnivorous animals, especially the "tiger" as the leopard family is called, are commonly the naguals of witches. There are certain indications of natural phenomena naguals: a bald man is thought to be a whirlwind, or a man with an uncontrollable lock of hair. *Trans.*

5) Behavior. A person who imposes himself tends to have a powerful nagual, just as a meek person has a weak one. A man who walks fearlessly at night, who goes near the sacred and dangerous spots heedlessly, lays claim thereby to a strong spirit. A man who shows insensitivity to heat invites an association with thunderbolt. There was even a man of Pinola who chewed live charcoals to prove that he was.

The attribution of a nagual follows somewhat similar principles of identification as the attribution of a nickname in other societies. Yet there is a fundamental difference here in that it serves to indicate his spiritual rank, and thereby to establish consensus with regard to it. Spiritual rank is a question of the amount of strength (K'ial) a person possesses. This is viewed as a life-essence in that it can be accumulated or lost. If lost altogether it produces death. It can be gained in ways, both legitimate and illegitimate: by growing old and thereby outliving others whose k'al passes to the survivors, by passing cargos, or by theft or substitution of the souls of children or by abducting or eating other souls. Children can have strong souls

and this is a reason for witches attempting to steal them. Title to spiritual strength can be acquired by fresh attributions of a nagual (which was supposedly possessed from the beginning, though not hitherto known). Thus, in certain pueblos only, a man may possess a number of naguals, and this is also an indication of his spiritual strength. The maximum number is thirteen both for mortals and also for deities such as St. Michael or the Anhel. (The maximum number in Sivacá is only seven, however). It is also said in some places that men may have up to thirteen chuleles. The death of the person occurs only when the chief nagual dies; the previous deaths of his other naguals produce only sickness.

Spiritual strength is indicated by the rank of the nagual in the spiritual hierarchy; the natural phenomena rank at the top in the order: thunderbolt, lightning, whirlwind. Height is also important at a lower level, since flying is an activity of the guardians, and he who flies higher is the superior, since he sees more. Indeed, the hierarchy of the spiritual strength is expressed in Pinola in the idiom of height, not heat. The moral qualities of the nagual are defined in other ways, the colors of the thunderbolt and the moral characteristics associated with specific animals. Some are good, some are indeterminate and some are, like the tiger, invariably bad. Good men, men with a "big heart," are attributed spiritual strength by their social behavior, but also

by service to the community in civil and religious offices. (Hence, the spiritual strength attributed to the pasados). But witches, men with "small hearts" gain their reputation by ungenerous behavior, hoarding and shirking cargos.

The indians whose manners demand humility on the terrestrial level, who ask forgiveness for accepting office and who strive with one another to raise the pitch of their voice higher as a sign of respect, give themselves over, on the spiritual plane, to cut-throat competition. Quarrels on the terrestrial level end up as often as not with a threat, by the offended party, to take spiritual reprisals. It is as though the life-essence represented by spiritual vitality were a scarce good for which community members compete in a struggle whose results are seen in the prosperity and misfortunes of the material world.

The social sanctions which derive from witchcraft center upon disease. It is true that other misfortunes, such as accidents or crop-failure can also be attributed to witchcraft (though not everywhere; disease alone is caused by witches in Pinola). Sickness is certainly the most preoccupying danger with which the indians have to contend. It is closely related to the condition of the human soul which is in most cases where the cause of serious disease is to be sought. Indian etiology recognizes

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three main categories of disease which are not diagnosed simply by their symptoms, though these usually give some indication, even though ideas on this subject vary from one place to another. There is a general category of minor diseases which can be cured by herbs or drugstore products, which are sometimes characterized as mal bueno (good evil) or enfermedad de Dios (sickness of God). These appear to have what we should call a natural etiology in that they are not caused by events upon the spiritual level. Though they are said to be sent by God, they are not sent as a punishment. They include headaches and colds and such diseases as goiter, and sometimes only, worms, a tropical disease called mal de pinto. There are also diseases caused by mistakes in appropriate foods in accordance with the familiar "hot" and "cold" dichotomy, and evil effects of the cold night air and the cold contact with a corpse, which ^{particularly} affects persons in certain conditions only.

There are also diseases which are attributed to human interaction on the terrestrial level. Anger (cólico) is the cause of various intestinal diseases. Moreover, anger is in itself detrimental to health and may be cured in a curing ceremony without waiting for any symptoms of the disease which it is thought to provoke. Another such disease is shame (keshlal, Tzeltal; vergüenza, Sp.) which is caused by the emotions aroused by an embarrassing situation. These diseases cannot affect children directly,

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though they can be acquired by them through contagion with their parents. They are both attributed to the emotional state of the sufferer. The evil eye affects children, particularly, and is caused by the proximity of persons in various conditions: one who is sweating, a pregnant or a menstruating woman, a person with a strong gaze, etc. It is also caused by a person with a strong spirit who affects the child on account of the weakness of his own.

A common disease is espanto which is the result of fright but is also attributable to a condition of the soul. As a result of the emotion of fright it becomes separated from the body. There are various categories of fright which cause the variations of espanto. Espanto can be contrived by witches.

Disease can also be caused by the evil effects on the soul of living in a house which happens to be placed upon one of the supernatural thoroughfares utilized at night by the guardians, and it can also be caused when the soul of the house becomes angered with its inhabitants. Many diseases are sent as a punishment by spirits and by God.

Finally there is the category of disease which is caused by witchcraft. Witchcraft is the action of a person of strong spirit against the spirit of another. It is normally the nagual of the witch which attacks the chulel of the victim, capturing it, sequestering it or

eating its flesh. This is done by both "authorized" witchcraft which is administered as punishment and also as illicit witchcraft. However, the test of spiritual strength is not only confined to the combat between souls. Not only the disease but the symptoms may have a supernatural etiology, for sorcery is also believed to take place at the same time when the witch introduces "sickness" or "pukuh" into the victim's body either through his food, through contact by leaving a twig impregnated with it outside his house where he will tread on it, or by introducing magically a foreign body or animal into the victim's body. Toads are especially favored for this purpose (one of the more gratifying surprises was offered by our photo-test for cultural perception when several respondents identified the same rather obese figure as a victim of this misfortune). However, objects of all sorts can be introduced and where this method is used, the object commonly corresponds to the action of the victim which has given offense. A man thought guilty of hoarding money had a banknote inserted into his throat. In the same spirit, gossiping is punished by rotten teeth, walking ^{in the}ladino ^(part) of Pinola was punished by a swollen foot, and so forth. See Photo

Certain roles attach to those with a strong spirit: guardians, (bad) witches and curers.

Guardians are the souls who are responsible for protection and punishment. They protect against the Pukuh and they punish offenders against the moral code of the pueblo. They are called me'tik tatik, me'iltatil (Tzeltal) or totil me'il (Tzotzil) which means: "Mother-father (or father-mother) or all, hence creator, or ancestor." The guardians may be the saints, or spirits, an ancestral deity associated with the humming-bird, that general category of nameless ancestors, or they may be living men, in addition, those elders of the pueblo who are given the title of principal, whether they hold a terrestrial post as principal or not. In Oxchuc they are the recognized elders of patriline, name-groups or calpul whose terrestrial sanctions are thereby reinforced by spiritual sanctions. In Pinola it is uncertain who these guardians are, for though they are believed to meet weekly in council (with their secretary who keeps the minutes), this meeting occurs only at the spiritual level and they never get together in the flesh. In San Bartolomé guardians are never living men.

Their numbers vary. Sometimes they are said to be thirteen. In Sivacá there is only one, the patron saint. They protect both the community and the individual. They protect the souls of the corn and of the material resources. They have collective responsibility for the pueblo, but they also have individual responsibility for their patriline, name-group, paraje or barrio, whichever the unit of social significance happens to be. Those whom they protect they

can also punish and this they do in the first place by withdrawing their protection, but they also punish actively themselves through witchcraft, making the offender sick, ruining his crops or causing him misfortune. Any moral shortcoming can invoke their anger. This is expressed by the conception of mulil, which is translated as delito in Spanish. It is any offense which they choose to regard as such and it is also the state of sin into which this brings an individual or the whole community. This is recognized by the misfortune which is its retribution, an individual sickness or an epidemic or a crop-failure, caused by climatic conditions.

The guardians can never be seen, since they are souls, but they can be heard when they fly over the town and the territory at night, while men sleep and the Pukuh is active. They fly along fixed but unidentified thoroughfares, and they have meeting places in the caves of the ancestors, in the sacred hills surrounding the town and in the sky. Thursday and Friday nights are when they meet in council and they are organized, like the cabildo, with their staff and their policemen, but they are not the souls of the terrestrial cabildo members, who are too young, but the elders. Only in Oxchuc do we find a terrestrial officer of the hierarchy, the dzunubil, who is explicitly a guardian, but he is, in any case, an older man. Guardians are exclusively or mainly men, for women can never have spirits as strong as men and if they serve as guardians at all they do so only in a subordinate capacity.

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The witch is inspired, as everywhere in the world, by envy. To envy implies to bewitch, that is, to cast sickness (daño echado), to eat souls. Sickness is also cast in exactly the same form by the guardians as punishment for mulil (offense to them). Hence the difference between the witch and the guardian is that the former punishes groundlessly out of envy of a man who has no mulil. For a punishment to be licit it must be approved by the council of the guardians and permission must be obtained. Therefore the definition of an evil witch, ak'chamel, is one who bewitches without permission. Yet there is another difference also which is that guardians aim to correct rather than to kill, since they act in the name of the community.

Witches, like the guardians have their meetings and it is said in Pinola that they must be three in order to operate, but the implications of this statement do not extend far. In fact a single witch is held responsible. A witch owes his power in the first place to his spiritual strength, but he is also thought to be initiated by breathing the last breath of a dying witch or by contact with his saliya. Witchcraft like spiritual strength is not hereditary but there is a tendency to believe that it runs in a family.

The witch can only triumph over his victim in spiritual combat if he has the stronger spirit, therefore ordinary men with weak spirits and innocuous naguales are not able to bewitch. However, it is thought they can employ a

Pinola
←
Saliya
of wife
member

a witch for a fee. Conversely, in the fincas of Ocosingo, a witch can influence a person to do witchcraft unknowingly on his behalf (latsac s'kabul). If a witch is unable to get the upper hand over his victim he may turn his attentions to a weaker soul in the man's household and devour his wife or child. Finally, a witch may in some places attack an enemy's milpa or his animals, stealing the soul of the milpa to put into his own, and leaving his animals sterile.

Witchcraft frequently gives rise to complaints to the authorities to judicate at the terrestrial level; it can be fought by counter-witchcraft and the saints can be appealed to for protection, and for reprisals, against the witch.

The key figure in the defense against witchcraft is the curer. Among the curers there are modest practitioners who have the power to "listen to the blood", i.e. take the pulse, and diagnose from that the minor ailments which they are competent to cure. There are also herbalists who can prescribe a medicine and conduct a curing ceremony. Women are frequently curers in this role. But a curer of any stature must have a strong spirit since serious disease is only combated at the spiritual level. If he is to fight witchcraft, he must take on the witch. He must be able to send his soul to the council of the guardians to ask for their protection for his patient. If the witchcraft

and in that case he is likely to become a witch. Once more, the same qualities which entitle a man to spiritual power fail to distinguish whether he will use it for good or evil, for in either case the course of induction will be the same at the terrestrial level. It will depend upon his having the appropriate dreams and receiving the appropriate interpretation of them from the established curers. But the power to cure implies the power to kill, therefore there is no certainty that any curer is not a witch.

All curers have meetings at the spiritual level like the guardians, but in some pueblos they hold meetings in the flesh. In Zinacantan, they march together during certain fiestas in order of seniority, that is, seniority according to the length of time they have been established curers. They form a guild, in fact. In other pueblos they are less formally organized.

The guardian elder, the witch and the curer are all three persons of spiritual strength. In some pueblos the elders and the curers are clearly distinguished; in others they are roles which frequently overlap, being exercised by the same person. Either can be a witch anywhere since punishment and witchcraft are the same thing and the power to cure implies the power to kill. In Tenejapa, the terrestrial guardians are the curers who command the greatest respect and are said to have the obligation to watch over the people (Metzger and Williams, 1963).

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The process of diagnosis and curing conforms to a distinguishable pattern. Diagnosis aims to discover first of all whether the illness is natural (mal de Dios), psychological, or whether it involves a condition of the soul. If it responds to herbal or pharmaceutical treatment, the process goes no further. If it is caused by an emotional condition such as shame, anger or fright, it is likely to be suspected from the first and a cure can be conducted without delay. Sometimes indeed, the curing ceremony is performed before the symptoms appear. This is also done when the coming of disease is announced in a dream. The curer in these cases need not be one of high spiritual status and tends to be chosen from among the kin or the immediate proximity of the household. The techniques of pulsing, (confirmed sometimes in Tenejapa by an appeal to a talking-box), interpretation of dreams and divination are used to discover the nature of the illness. Treatment at this stage deals both with the body and the soul if it is merely alienated: for the body, medicines, bleeding, dieting, unguents are used. The body is rubbed with substances whose intrinsic heat or cold is thought to be beneficial or because they may absorb the sickness. The curing ceremony involves brushing with leaves, blowing (soplar: a technique whereby the practitioner blows cane-liquor from his mouth over the patient's body), spraying with Holy Water or rubbing with an egg (which can thereafter be used to divine the sickness

which its contents indicate). The appropriate invocations are made. Except in Pinola, praying is one of the curer's important activities. If the soul is alienated, it can be recovered through the ceremony of calling it to return (la llamada) in the place where it is thought to have been lost. It can also be ransomed from the place whose owner has stolen it by a ceremony called "barter", (el trueque) in which gifts of incense, candles, alcohol, etc. are left behind as an offering. There is also (in Pinola and San Bartolomé) a ceremony called "levantar el espíritu" (to raise the spirit) which aims to assure the protection of the soul of a child. There are other techniques for their protection, as well.

If treatment in these ways is unsuccessful, it becomes evident that the cause is witchcraft, and further treatment demands curers of higher status who must be called from further away and may require more considerable gifts. The kin are gathered round and assist with prayers at the curing ceremony which may take the whole night. The requirement of alcohol increases and of food, also, for a special meal must be served. The cost of curing rises sharply.

During the process of divination especially, but also throughout the course of the illness, the spiritual condition of the sufferer is probed and this involves questioning as to social relations and especially quarrels,

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so that a dossier accumulates, as it were, on the social background of the case. This is important if the cause is an emotional disease, or witchcraft. Moral responsibilities come to the fore. In the case of emotional sickness which originated in a fight, the antagonist must be present for the cure to be effective, and both parties get a lecture on their bad behavior. In the case of witchcraft, the moral aspects are even more important, since in the first instance it must be discovered what offense the patient has committed in order to arouse the anger of the guardians. Therefore confession is commonly an integral part of the curing ceremony, and those who are punished by witchcraft often have themselves whipped, or whip themselves. It is only when he has cleared his conscience and satisfied the curers of his innocence or atonement that the implication of illicit witchcraft becomes patent.

Therefore, the process of divination leads from minor ailments to major, from interior causes to exterior, from God, via the guardians, to the Devil. Thus witchcraft is the ordinary diagnosis which is reached by the failure of treatment for less grave ills. In the case of witchcraft, the history of the social relations of the household is also important in determining the persons whose envy and enmity may have been provoked. It enables the curers who in an important case are usually three, and in

Oxchuc they may be as many as eight, to work towards a consensus as to the diagnosis and even to reach agreement as to the identity of the witch. But there is an important distinction to be made as to whether they reveal his identity or not. In the pueblos of Pinola and San Bartolomé, where indians are less independent politically of ladinos and there are no judicial mechanisms for dealing with witches, they never do so, since, as they point out, this gives rise to violence. In the fincas of Ocosingo, the witch is named and the patient is expected to go to him with gifts and beg his pardon. But in Oxchuc, the accusation is made openly and the witch is summoned to the curing. (It may even be one of the curers). The witch usually denies his imputed action but if the consensus crystalizes and he is accused unanimously, he is likely to admit his guilt and confess the motives which inspired his envy. By admitting his mulil and agreeing to retrieve the sickness which he has cast, he opens the way to recovery. He may also be whipped by the curers or by relatives of the patient following his confession. If the sickness continues thereafter, a case may be brought to the Ayuntamiento and the witch may be jailed, fined or told to leave the community. Some indian Ayuntamientos deal with witchcraft accusations in a legal manner, collect evidence and pass judgement. In Aguacatenango in a recent case, the accused denied the accusation and a curer from Amatenango

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was called in "to read the patient's blood". The visiting specialist denied that he could read witchcraft and the case was dismissed.

In default of a satisfactory legal solution to the charges of witchcraft, there remains always the possibility of private actions. After repeated accusations consensus establishes itself in a community that a certain man is a witch and his life is then in danger. Assassinations of witches are a common occurrence throughout the area. The instance of a court case in Amatenango was mentioned in the section on law. It appears to be somewhat typical, for even in the pueblos where the indian authorities judicate cases of witchcraft, the murderers of a witch are rarely prosecuted. The reason for this can be seen in the flexibility of the conceptual system. Just as the guardians can either punish themselves or withdraw their protection from the offender so that he falls victim to private vengeance, so, at the terrestrial level, they can either punish the witch directly or connive at his assassination.

Certain physical attributes supposedly indicate a witch: obesity or a strong glance, but it is not by observing such things that accusations of witchcraft are formulated (though they may be brought up as supplementary testimony). It is, rather, in the conduct of personal relations that a man establishes his public image which

will be expressed in the attribution of a nagual--for, even where the nagual is identified at birth this does not prevent additional naguales being attributed to him later. His character is known from his actions. His ability to speak well, to show judgement and resolution, to work hard and be successful, to remain healthy, these are the real proofs of strength of spirit which the attribution of an appropriate nagual does no more than validate. His willingness to show respect when it is due, to serve his people, to spend his wealth in cargos, to help his needy neighbour, to give presents of food to others, to beware of provoking jealousy and to avoid quarreling which incites witchcraft, these are the qualities which establish his ethical worth, for they are the imperatives of the moral code of the community. Failure to conform to this defines mulil which brings castigation by witchcraft, and if no misfortune befalls the offender then it predisposes him to receive accusations of witchcraft which is also mulil. If witchcraft, then, is the residual category in the process of diagnosis, it is also the residual solution to the divergence between the conceptual requirements of the moral code and the reality of disease: the immoral man should be punished by the guardians' witchcraft or by witchcraft done with their permission; if this does not occur then it is explained by the fact that he is himself a witch, and this is the greatest immorality of all. The same conduct

on Ego's part which provokes the explanation of his own disease as due to the witchcraft of others, alternatively explains the disease of others as due to his witchcraft. The structural equivalence of bewitching and witchcraft accusation provides the clause which ensures the coherence of the moral code in action. If he is not killed by witchcraft, the bad man is killed as a witch.

Yet failure to conform to custom and the moral norm does not initiate automatically either the reprisals of disease nor witchcraft accusation. If the man and his family remain healthy and prosperous, the witchcraft accusation awaits the moment when sickness strikes a person whom he may be thought to envy, that is to say, with whom he has a relationship of conflict. Therefore accusations give us a guide to the habitual conflicts in a society; they tell us who envies whom and why and therefore at what points in the social structure the fear of witchcraft brings its weight to bear. Hermitte's analysis of witchcraft in Pinola tabulates a sample of fifty-two cases where the attributions of motive and the status relationship between the witch and his victim can be seen. We have less specific data for other communities, but enough is recorded in the ethnography to entitle us to attempt some generalizations.

We find accusations of witchcraft, to begin with, among members of the family and close kin. Brothers often quarrel and accuse each other. We have discussed the reasons for this in an earlier section: the conflict between

the norm of seniority in succession and ultimogeniture in inheritance. Quarrels which have their origin within the family can be extended to more distant kin and the accusation levelled at a man once can more easily be repeated on a subsequent situation. A case of Hunt's from Aguacatenango deserves to be cited: a man named Miguel gave his younger brother, Juan, a part of his father's inheritance. Juan divided it among his own sons without consulting Miguel. After a while, one of Juan's sons died and people blamed Miguel, saying that he was angry not to have been consulted about the distribution of property which he considered his own and had bewitched his nephew in revenge. Later there was an epidemic in the village and an accusation was made against Miguel, supported by the precedent of the previous accusation, that he was "eating the children". He was thrown out of town and his house was burned. Several of his relatives fled with him. The nature of his death, years later, was said to confirm that he had indeed been a witch.

A quarrel within the family leads to an accusation which gains the consensus of the community and leads to collective action at the terrestrial level. The reputation established in particular cases builds up the status of the witch to the point where he may be held responsible for a collective misfortune.

Conflict with affines commonly leads to accusations of witchcraft. Twelve out of seventy-one cases in Oxchuc occurred between parents- and children-in-law and eighteen in disputes regarding the arrangements for a marriage or a broken marriage. A large inheritance can lead to the accusation of killing by witchcraft the relatives from whom the inheritance comes.

The range within which accusations are made varies. Quarrels tend always to take place between those who have close contact and therefore neighbors are frequently the target. In some places, for example Pinola, the belief exists that, just as guardians guard only their own section of town, so witches cannot bewitch persons of another section. But a second belief exists which makes this nonetheless possible: witches must be three in order to bewitch and therefore a man from another section can find a collaborator within the victim's neighborhood with whose assistance he is able to prosecute his enterprise.

Most indians believe that they can only be bewitched by other indians. In Ocosingo and San Bartolomé where indians live among ladinos they believe that ladinos can bewitch them (the only concrete instance of such an accusation was found in Ocosingo). Yet in Pinola indians living under similar conditions believe that a man can only be bewitched by his own people and not even by the half ladinized "medio-Comitecos", nor the colony of immigrant

indians from another pueblo who have retained a separate identity (as "Paraiseros", from the name of the colony). Indian immigrants from other pueblos are frequently accused elsewhere. In Pinola indians explain that they cannot bewitch ladinos since the naguales will not eat their flesh on account of the disagreeable perfumes which they use; in Oxchuc, they don't like their smell. Traditional indians never in fact believe that a ladino can be bewitched by an indian since ladinos have no place in the spiritual world, though ladinos are frequently fearful of indian witchcraft. The range of witchcraft accusation is therefore an index of the value community of those who are subject to an obligation to adhere to common norms.

Accusations against immigrant indians whose assimilation to the community is not complete are frequent. They fall into the category of deviants and are often found dwelling on the outskirts of the populated towns where others are found whose deviant tendencies have urged them to seek isolation and who are also commonly accused of witchcraft. The witch is the person who threatens the moral code of the community by his failure to conform to it, but he can only do so if he is someone who "belongs" to the value community. Otherwise, his status as an outsider would liberate him from the expectation that he should conform.

If deviance is the reason that a man acquires the reputation of a witch, it is also, as we have shown, the

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reason. for inspiring the castigation of the guardians and the envy of witches. A glance at the motives for bewitching reveals the types of behavior which are sanctioned by the fear of witchcraft. Whether witchcraft is legitimate (and therefore punishment for mulil) or not is a distinction which cannot be made by the indians with any certainty anywhere, least of all in those pueblos where the curer never reveals the name of the witch. The patient may assert his innocence and the curers may concur, but since human guardians can act illegitimately, on occasions, the consensus of the community crystallizes only in a minority of cases. Ego may think he has been made sick by a witch, but his neighbors may suspect that the guardians are giving him his just deserts. This is one of the points where the conceptual system shows most flexibility, and where only the shared conviction of the community passes judgement. Moreover, the same acts which inspire the envy of witches are liable to offend the guardians by challenging their spiritual supremacy and by demonstrating, like Icarus, a lack of proper mortal humility. The nebulousness which surrounds the concept of permiso, the permission without which it is said witchcraft cannot be done, relates to this point, since it is never firmly agreed who is empowered to give that permission. It is God, the saints, the guardians, divine and mortal, but it is also the Fuku.

The offenses which bring spiritual reprisals are:

- 1/ Offenses against individual which are avenged through witchcraft: quarrels with family or neighbors, lack of respect to an elder, failure to pay a debt or to fulfil an engagement, and so on.
- 2/ Moral infringements punished by the guardians: adultery, fornication, wife-beating, arrogance, quarrelsomeness, improper drunkenness, idleness, disobedience, theft.
- 3/ Ritual shortcomings which offend the saints or spirits, or violation of specific religious observances, or inadvertent offenses.
- 4/ Offenses connected with community service and fidelity: refusing a cargo, refusing to spend enough money in festal obligations, becoming a protestant, associating with ladinos or imitating them, abandoning indian dress (though, obviously, not everywhere), taking employment with ladinos other than as agricultural laborers.
- 5/ One of the most important causes (much the most important in Pinola) is economic success, and above all miserliness. Getting rich by itself is enough to provoke envy and must be expiated by a costly show of fidelity to custom. Expenditure which is not made in ways which reinforce the solidarity of the community is particularly liable to spiritual sanctions: building too large a house, buying luxury goods (which are necessarily ladino goods), investing money in ladino fashion, owning too many animals, etc.

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Every man wishes to have something to fall back on in this economically insecure society, but this must be kept secret lest it call down spiritual sanctions. Therefore it is impossible to know who is, in fact, a rich miser, and this can be supposed of anyone who is not in obvious straits. What is regarded as legitimate in this respect varies from place to place and from one period to another, but it is always dangerous to take the initiative in economic innovations.

6/ Finally, the claim to spiritual strength invites reprisals, for it challenges the established order, and amounts to arrogance. A man must wait to have greatness thrust upon him if he wishes to avoid trouble, for any attempt to "get ahead" may provoke punishment from a witch, attempting to learn how to pulse in Tenejapa or even in Amatenango taking the post of Alferes. Although it is a religious post, it does not form part of the Ayuntamiento or of the sodalities, nor is it part of the hierarchy of office; a man can become alferes without previous service in the government provided he can afford the burden of the fiesta. "However, in undertaking, the post, he is subject to witchcraft exercised by neighbors envious of the wealth he displays in fulfilling his obligation" (Nash, J., 1960, p. 94). Three of Nash's informants believed that they had been bewitched as a result of taking the post. It appears to have come to be regarded as a superfluous

luxury and to fill it is no longer a service to the community but an act of pride. For the same reason, perhaps, it has not been filled in Aguacatenango for twenty-five years.

If we view the treatment of disease from its appearance to the conclusion of the case history we can see that, regardless of any question of its medical efficacy, it is a procedure for the readjustment of social relations and the reestablishment of harmony. Moral norms are made explicit, guilt is recognized, pardon is demanded, atonement is attained and reconciliations are effected. Since, in the indian view, serious disease is a reflection of events upon the spiritual level where fears and aggressions are represented in the embodiment of nagueles, it is inevitable that sickness should be a matter of ethics and that treatment, in consequence, should be a question of moral rehabilitation. Curing is the means whereby the tensions within the community are made known and resolved. In this society, obsessed with the notion of precedence, it provides a ground for testing the realities of spiritual power and moral worth, (the size, one might say, of the heart). Upon individual aspirations and motives, it stamps the verdict of the community, which in the last resort condemns to exile or assassination those who fail to validate their attachment to its norms. Its value as a system of social sanctions resides in this.

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As a conceptual charter for this system the complex which relates witchcraft, disease and the claims to spiritual status is able to function only thanks to certain inconsistencies which allow alternative interpretations. This is what we have referred to as "flexibility". The doubt as to the "correct" interpretation is resolved by reference to factors extraneous to the logic of the system, the consideration of individual personalities and motives. (If in no more than this, it resembles ladino law). Thus, according to its estimation of the quality of a man, success in agriculture may be attributed to his "suerte" or his witchcraft. Or to take another example, the principal who is a recognized guardian may be revealed to be really misusing his power in order to steal souls and eat them. He may even be responsible for bewitching the whole community.. Epidemics may be caused by collective mulil which brings down the wrath of divine guardians, but they may also be caused by a human agent of malevolent power, such a person as the Katinab of Oxchuc, the highest officer in the hierarchy who has been murdered while in office as a witch on more than one recent occasion. The ambivalence towards human power is built into the system of supernatural belief, yet if ambiguities pervade the application of the system in concrete instances, the values which govern its interpretation are unambiguous. Wherever consensus is reached, they reinforce the integration

of the community, punishing the deviant, the trouble-maker, the man attracted to ladinos, and maintaining custom, terrestrial equality and spiritual inequality: the membership and the leadership of the community.

In the pueblos where the indians are governed directly by ladinos and live beside them judicial measures are no longer taken against witchcraft, but it is clear from the example of Pinola that such a system does not require its terrestrial controls in order to persist. Leadership of the indians becomes more amorphous, but the failure of law to provide a jural system compatible with indian values leaves the spiritual domain, not merely intact but impregnable, since there is no point at which the ladinos can bring pressure to bear upon it. So far from eroding the spiritual sanctions of the indian community contact with ladinos, in the form in which we find it today in Chiapas appears only to strengthen them.

Many of the beliefs of the indians relating to witchcraft and magic find an echo among ladinos. We have already shown how this is so in ladino religion which contains interpretations reminiscent of indian conceptualizations: the Infant Jesus behaves like Thunderbolt (who is also, in one manifestation, a small child). In the same way ladinos entertain notions regarding witches, in particular, which resemble those we have discussed above.

2.11.35

The ladino beliefs we shall outline are held by uneducated and unsophisticated persons whose world view is very different from that of the professional man with a university degree, is indeed much closer to that of the indians in terms of its modes of reasoning.

It is easy to see a cause of this in that the poor ladinos are frequently of not very distant indian origin and it is natural that they should have inherited elements of indian belief which they retain in their new status. However, it should also be pointed out that this world view, and many of the beliefs themselves were once held by the Spanish rulers. Alvarado believed himself to have been attacked by the nagual of the king of the Quiché in the form of an eagle (Fuentes y Guzman, 1882, II, I, 50) and nearly two centuries later, the bishop of Chiapas, Nuñez de la Vega, wrote upon the problem of indian witches, giving them full credence, it seems. (Quoted by Foster, 1944). So when we discuss ladino beliefs in magic and witchcraft we are dealing with elements of what was once Spanish belief, fused now with what was once indian belief, to produce the contemporary folk tradition of the ladinos. This society is divided therefore, in regard to the culture of its different segments, not only into indians and ladinos but into traditional ladinos and modern Mexicans. Where to draw the line between the last two is not easy to decide, for we have found ladinos of a certain education--schoolmasters and finqueros--who, though they do not

readily admit it to the anthropologist, believe in witchcraft, conduct the ceremony for the placation of the house spirit and have, at one time or another, been "pulsed", brushed with branches, sprayed with spewed cane-liquor, or rubbed with eggs.

Ladinos, like indians, believe in emotional diseases such as fright, anger, shame, soul-loss and the dangers of the cold associated with a corpse. They believe in the attributes of "hot" and "cold" foods, in evil eyes and aires (sickness-bearing winds). They employ local indians to cure them on occasions and in Pinola they are also employed by indians as curers of such complaints.

Their conception of the soul is less complex and has a different significance, and they have no idea of spiritual strength. They believe in an immortal soul which accords with Catholic dogma, in ghosts and evil spirits (tentaciones), goblins and poltergeists, and in persons who are able to take on the semblance of a headless being or animal in order to frighten others, (espantos). They also believe that certain persons are witches who possess an arte or gracia (animal familiar) which they can send out to work evil (the jaguar) or good (the humming-bird). Witches have a special relationship with the species of their gracia to which they are linked by a magical affinity so that it will not harm them and they must not harm it; if a man kills an animal of that species, he dies. Yet we also find a notion much closer to the indian nagual:

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for example, a ladino of Bachajón whose wife died accused his neighbor of murdering her because he happened to shoot a racoon in his milpa while she was dying. The racoon, he thought, was his wife. Montagu collected a number of instances of such a belief among ladinos.

Witches can transform themselves into the shape of their arte for the purpose of doing harm. They can cause sickness and they are also believed to practice sorcery through rites and incantations. Books of magic are offered for sale in the chief bookshop of Tuxtla Gutierrez, though we do not know whether they have been bought by those accused of witchcraft in our area. Such magic may, of course, be used by anyone and the books are often innocent enough, giving no more than some simple techniques and incantations for attracting good fortune, especially in money matters and love. But the witch is none the less something more than and different from, an amateur of self-taught sorcery, for he has an inherent propensity, predestined at birth. He is believed to belong to a nefarious guild which is organized under the orders of the Devil. Permission must be given by the chief witch before any witchcraft can be done. The resemblance to the indian concept of permission is striking but the significance is very different, since in ladino conceptualization there is no mulil and there are no comparable guardians.

2.11.38

2.

The recognized practitioners in curing and magic are:

- 1/ Curers, who are frequently women--the male supremacy in curing in the indian community is here reversed. They are often thought to be witches, though in fact witchcraft accusations are most commonly directed against men. Curers do not enjoy a high social status as such, and they are usually persons of little consequence (though we found one instance of a lady of the local upper-class who was one).
- 2/ Chieromancers, who do a little divining and a little love magic. They locate lost articles, identify a thief, discover the state of health of an absent person, and so forth.
- 3/ In the lowland towns there are "temples" of spiritualists (espiritistas) whose activities have become elevated to the status of a religious cult. They diagnose and cure, offer advice on personal matters and are reputed to indulge in love magic and witchcraft.

Witchcraft is an individual affair in the ladino community. It is said that witches have been run out of modern colonies of semi-ladinized indians in the jungle. But this does not happen in our area; in Chiapilla, when a man has been murdered for witchcraft or a family has fled for fear of murder, it is not the community which is responsible but a single enemy who believes that his

2.11.39

misfortunes derive from witchcraft and is prepared to revenge himself through violence. The community establishes no consensus with regard to the witch. No public concern is aroused by the accusation; it is not a community affair, but a private one. No judicial responsibilities are invoked; no collective action is taken. No sanctions are activated by the event to maintain the integration of the pueblo, for no ethical code is at stake. Therefore, so far from reinforcing the norms of the community and defending its integration, ladino witchcraft tends to fragment the community by making its conflicts insoluble.

He who triumphs in the material world should fear the supernatural and therefore, while the indian fears only the terrestrial action of ladinos, ladinos are frequently frightened of indian witchcraft which they believe to be more powerful than their own. They are especially concerned with the possibility that indians may introduce sickness into their food or may use sorcery against them in other ways. Witchcraft is never the castigation of an offense to a more powerful person, but the underhand revenge of one who is less so in terms of the values which establish power.

If we compare indian and ladino witchcraft, we find many common cultural elements, but their structural meaning is quite different. In the indian community the system of social control leans upon the sanctions of witchcraft;

in the ladino community the sanctions do not "work" in that sense at all. Beliefs, held by indians as part of a conceptual system which is the idiom of, and charter for, the allocation of authority and wealth, are held by ladinos as folk superstitions which provide no basis for social control and may be held or not without seriously affecting the pattern of social relations.

Provisional Conclusions: The Processes of Change

In the course of the previous chapters we have given brief summaries of the features which distinguish indians from ladinos and the variations which we find along the axes thus established. The sum of these differences is what we mean by "cultural distance", yet this is not reducible to a single measurable scale since there is no way that distance in one aspect of culture can be evaluated in relation to another save by an arbitrary decision of the investigators. Is distance represented by religious behavior to be given more or less value than that represented by political behavior? and how would one measure either? Is cultural distance even in the sphere of religion to be established by reference to the existence of the anheles (which are not found in Pinola), the importance of the Thunderbolt (which is great in Pinola), or by participation in the religious activities organized by the priest? (Pinoltecos do participate, but half-heartedly). That there are likely to be some connections between one activity and another is clear, and anthropologists are always pleased to be able to establish them; it makes sense to us that the compadrazgo should have great importance for the indians of San Bartolomé who are close to the ladinos in other ways and very little for those of Tenejapa who do not customarily baptize their children,

and therefore cannot acquire compadres, but why should the wild and monolingual Chanaleros set such store by it? The anomalies grow when we consider the different spheres and when we come to consider the pueblos which are divided between factions of traditionalists, Protestants, Catholics or Agraristas, it becomes evident that even so small a community as Sivacá is not easily stereotyped. There are few necessary connections between the different aspects of culture, at the level of the trait-list, and this will be seen from a perusal of our charts (vol. II) where we have plotted the generalizations we are able to make both about the culture and the social structure of those pueblos of which we have most information. We have prepared these as a convenient way of tabulating information, but we are conscious of the fact that in many instances, and perhaps the most theoretically significant, we have put down what is no more than an informed guess. They do, however, suffice to demonstrate that within only the broadest limits acculturation in one way does not entail acculturation in other ways nor is there a prescribed sequence in which changes take place. The point is important since many authors have attempted to establish such a continuum. The investigators of the Chicago "Man-in-Nature" project managed to demonstrate a correlation between certain social, cultural, and linguistic features in the five towns it studied. (Report, I, 3. pp 2-3).

Yet, if we extend the transect of the MAN-IN-NATURE project down the far side of the mountain and increase the number of features, we find that the number of anomalies increases; we can speak only very roughly of pueblos being more or less indian or hispanic. So far from being able to plot a single road of acculturation, we must be content with some ~~astonishing~~ astounding propositions as that indians who speak Spanish are likely to know more about the customs of the ladinos and are therefore in a better position to emulate them, if they choose to do so, or that indians who live close to ladinos are more subject to social controls, exercised by them.

In addition, the estimation of cultural distance, valuable as it is in the description of individual pueblos, involves a further variable when we attempt to apply it on a wider scale, for the ladinos are not culturally homogeneous, either. There is, in fact, a cultural distance to be discerned between the poor ladinos whose culture recalls the indians' in ways which they do not recognize and the rich families who send their children to be educated in Mexico City. (Pitt-Rivers, 1962). It seems reasonable to take it to mean the distance which separates the indian group from those ladinos with whom they habitually interact, but this is not always easy to determine. The Finca indians of Ocosingo interact chiefly with the ladinos of the finca, but they also have relations with the ladino

milperos (whose ladino status is far from being universally recognized) and even intermarry with them, occasionally. On the other hand the Sivaltecos' relations with ladinos are chiefly with the finqueros whose land they work and with the middle classes of Ocosingo with whom they trade; they have little to do with the poor ladinos who interact with the indians of the town and from whom their cultural distance is not so great. Moreover, Hermitte's study of the revestidos of Pinola (Hermitte, 1962) showed us persons who rejected their indian affiliation as far as they were able, not in order to integrate with the "medio comitecos", the barely ladinized poor immigrants, but despising these, to associate themselves with the socially superior ladinos of the town. The cultural distance which their aspirations urged them to span was from indian to upper-class ladino. The same kind of depreciation for the barely ladinized (reminiscent of U.S. Negro attitudes toward "po' white trash"), appears to inspire the finca indians' attitude toward the milperos, yet such an attitude is not found in Ocosingo, because, we would surmise, the indians, there, no longer form in any sense an integrated group. Ethnic status no longer implies membership of a separate moral community.

The different aspects of acculturation can be seen as the product of the indians or indian community's reaction to the pressures exerted by the social structure in varying

situations, and it depends therefore upon the conditions of interaction between indians and ladinos.

The distinction of status between the two holds throughout the area but it is not, as we have shown, always the same. In different settings different values are attached to it. In this regard, it is the ladino who makes the indian and vice versa; they must be in contact for the status distinction to exist. When the indian goes outside Chiapas there is no indian status for him to occupy; he becomes a poor Mexican hampered to the extent that he is culturally ill-equipped to conduct his affairs.

Within the highlands of Chiapas, his status will depend upon the particular area. Where indians live isolated as in the parajes of Oxchuc where Villa Rojas first went more than twenty years ago, and resent the intrusion of ladinos, the status distinction corresponds, in the first territorial place, to a /frontier. The only ladino who ventures into such territory is the pig-drover from Cuxtitali who camps on the main track. The Oxchuquero goes out from his paraje to meet ladinos in the town center during fiestas or while he serves in office, or when he goes to buy or to market produce further afield. The same would be true for the parajes of Cancuc, Magdalenas, Chalchihuitán, much of Tenejapa, and in the eastern zone, much of Bachajón. The dispossession of fincas has reduced the contact of many of these people in the last generation.

2.12.6

On the fincas, particularly in the east and north, though there remain some on the Plateau Summit, the indian has a very different relationship with the ladinos who are the owner, his employees, the visiting trader and occasional traveler. Here the status distinction is occupational and functional. The community is as small as a paraje, but it is part of no larger unit, and, even in those territories where there are traditional pueblos, finca indians belonging to them are usually regarded as something apart and, though they may dress in the same way, they do not enter the civil-religious hierarchy. They live under the command of the finquero who plays a large part in their lives as patrón, the boss of the material world. In the former fincas of the Dominicans to the East of Ocosingo, he is also referred to as Kahual, the owner of the chapel, responsible for the religious fiestas. We describe the extreme case, for there are also indians who work on fincas on a less permanent basis and do not derive their identity as a community from the finca.

The picture is very different again in the communities in the proximity of San Cristóbal or the pan american highway who have frequent, even daily contact with ladinos through their trading activities, who pose for the tourists' cameras (the Zinacantecos have succeeded in establishing a tariff of five pesos a photo, though they will not

allow photography in their church in Zinacantan), who manage to defend themselves in bargaining, who take occasional employment in the towns and who understand enough about ladino culture to take advantage of what it offers economically.

Finally there are those who live in towns alongside poor ladinos, in San Bartolomé and Pinola and Chiapilla. Here the status distinction does not correspond to a distinction of role; it is a matter of what you are, rather than what you do, of identity rather than function.

In fact, the status barrier is never entirely impassible or we would not find ladinized indians at all in the communities of the plateau summit, (though it affects the practicability of ladinization, its advantages and its costs). On the other hand, the frontiers of community defined by status maintain themselves even where the indian has no distinctive role, and where the cultural distance with regard to the practical aspects of life is negligible, that is to say, where he knows Spanish and understands well enough how to get along in ladino society to ladinize if he wishes. We must conclude then, that in such cases it is his attachment to his identity as an indian--and this means an indian of a particular community--which moves him to prefer the goals and risks of indian life to those offered by the status of ladino.

The concept which we have evolved in order to explain

this attachment is that of integration. By this we mean the quality of a social system in which the roles and statuses are organized in accordance with rigorous norms of conduct which offer goals and exert sanctions to ensure conformity, in a word, one which possesses a solid custom. In this regard we have contrasted the custom of the indian community with that of the ladino world in the sections on law and witchcraft.

To ladinize, an individual must reject these goals and escape these sanctions. Hence, in the case of the integrated communities, he (or she) usually goes away if he is to become a ladino, and indeed, those who are forced to leave do frequently end up as ladinos.

On the other hand, a group which ladinizes as a collectivity, ceases to offer the same goals and to exert such sanctions. By abandoning its indian identity it becomes part of a community which is far wider: the Mexican nation. "Redimir al indio es integrar la patria" (to redeem the indian is to integrate the motherland) says a huge notice board at the entrance to the I.N.I. Headquarters in San Cristóbal, making the point succinctly, though whether it is possible to integrate the Mexican motherland in this instance without disintegrating--in our sense of the work, that is to say, destroying the moral integration of--the indian community is a problem which indigenismo, to judge by its literature, seems never to

have squarely faced.

In ladinizing, a community does not necessarily lose all integration to the extent of becoming totally anomic, but it ceases to owe its cohesion to the social controls which typify the indian community. It acquires a new moral basis of which the first principle is "no me toca" (It's none of my business) and which ascribes to the individual no permanent solidarities between the elementary family and the nation. The cohesion of the ladino community, no matter how small and isolated, is circumstantial, a network of dyadic ties (Foster, 1961), not a moral solidarity, such as the indian community exhibits in its overt hierarchy and clearly defined allegiances, and its unique and collective relationship to the supernatural.

It is this moral solidarity which disappears when a community ladinizes. It ceases to be a closed social system and becomes part of the open society. A ladino can move anywhere, and though he remains attached to his home town, just as he feels attached to the state of Chiapas, he is bound by no sacred ties, no bond of kinship, no sentiment of essential identity with fellow-members of his community. He will not go away to work in order to gain the money to raise his status in his home community, as the indians of our area go to the coffee fincas, or as the indians of the highlands of central Peru go to work in the mines or as the Basque villagers go to herd sheep in Nevada.

Let us examine the integration of the traditional indian pueblo more closely: the rewards which it has to offer to the integrated and the sanctions with which it visits deviation from its custom and which therefore provide the basis of that resistance to latinization which operates quite independently of acculturation.

(A) The rewards. We attempted to show that, in spite of ambivalences which attach to the notion of spiritual power at the level of interpretation, the conceptual system is an extremely consistent one: the cosmology validates the concepts which define the roles of individuals, so that, dangerous as it is, the struggle for spiritual strength provides all-absorbing goals; it is the struggle for life. If the perils of the soul are great, so are the satisfactions of belief in the powers of one's spirit which offer to the successful me'iltatil the approbation of his society for his megalomaniac dreams. The Pinolteco who ate live coals to prove that he was thunderbolt was risking, on the spiritual level, more than a burned tongue by doing so, but he thereby acquired powers which the terrestrial level grants no man. The ladino's right to do as he pleases on earth is as nothing to the indian's right to do as he pleases in the world of the spirit. Yet in the traditional pueblo spiritual power is harnessed to the social hierarchy, and is gained through devotion to the community. The successful pursuit of the goals which custom decrees accords a respect which is paid formally

on all occasions. Economically egalitarian in its ethos, this society stresses precedence as nowhere in the ladino world. Nor is the enjoyment of respect from within the community in anyway vitiated by the contempt which he receives from ladinos, for this contempt is not likely to be internalized by an indian while he is backed up by the values of his own community and merely serves to widen the moral gulf between the two, not to induce him to conform to the customs of the ladino. It proves that, so far from having the right to dictate the standards of behavior, ladinos do not belong to the same value community, are not "true men" (bats'ilwinik).

Finally, there is the psychological security offered by a solid custom and the satisfaction which derives from the achievement of an ideal. "The future is white as dawn to a man who has served his people," says Manuel Arias. The fact that service to the community is recompensed with respect and provides the ladder to the spiritual hierarchy is the crux on which its integration rests.

These goals must indeed be worth something in the eyes of indians for us to find men like Bartolo Martinez Washtë who, after living successfully in Tuxtla, returned to his native San Bartolomé to become a respected principal. The goals offered by ladino society are rewarding only to the indian who can achieve them by rising above the economic and educational level of a poor ladino. If he rises high

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enough in the society of Mexico, his indian origin may be a source of glamour and pride--he becomes a living embodiment of the principles of the Revolution which glorified the indian race. (Even within our area we find an old revolutionary school-master whose autobiography starts with the proud words: "I am a Zoque"). No such pride in indian origin is taken by the revestido whose ladino status, due to his cultural inadequacy, is in doubt, and who receives no more than a taste of what ladino society has to offer.

Aspirations in the indian community can reach no further than spiritual pre-eminence within it, at the center of the earth, surrounded by the sacred places where the spirits upon whom prosperity depends are propitiated. But the ladino world is boundless, and however much, on occasions, the ladino community resents the interference of outsiders of superior status and authority, its own internal ranking system implies the superiority of the outsiders. Mann's test of social status-rating in Ocosingo demonstrated this clearly; the lower class accorded precedence to the professional men over the indigenous upper class who were, in many cases, persons of greater means, greater political influence and at least equal education. The standards by which social superiority is judged are national standards.

(B) The sanctions of custom. The "egalitarianism" of the indian community is a well-worn theme in the literature of highland Chiapas which as been rightly questioned

by ethnographers who have pointed out that some Indians are richer and more powerful than others. It is a matter of the accepted limits of inequality and the ways in which it is manifest (Pitt-Rivers, 1963)-- Custom demands that an economic surplus be put to the service of the community, and transmuted into moral virtue and spiritual strength in the fulfillment of festal obligations (which it will be remembered are never exclusive private fiestas as in ladino communities). Importance re integration is not that it makes everybody equal exactly--the same might have been said of the potlatch--but makes them unequal spiritually. Such a possibility does not exist in Pinola where the cargo system has fallen under ladino control and disintegrated, yet it is notable that here we find wealthy indians celebrating their Saint in their houses with a fiesta which is public, in fact. However, Hermitte's analysis of witchcraft there (1964) showed economic success and, next to it, imitation of the ladinos as prime causes of witchcraft. It seems certain from the data on other communities that these are common motives for witchcraft in any traditional highland community.

The indian who associates with ladinos, emulates ladinos and employs ladino economic techniques threatens the solidarity of the indian community and is likely to inspire hostility as well as envy. But what is regarded as legitimate varies both in time and place. It is not acculturation as such which matters, but the symbolic value of

individual cultural features in relation to the norm of the community. Thus, the acquisition of ladino culture is not bad per se, and it is often considered desirable to learn Spanish and to have your children learn it^V, but we

^VThe justification given by ladinos for adopting indian children as unpaid servants is that they will teach them Spanish and indians often accept this; the indian who knows Spanish is admired, "es muy castellano".

must distinguish between acculturation which implies rejection of indian custom and bi-culturalism which implies no such rejection, but merely the ability to operate in relation to ladinos and thereby to be in a position to serve the interests of the indian community better. (This distinction was the basis of our analysis of the indian cacique).

When Emilio Solano determined to change his dress (see autobiography), his uncles warned him that he would be bewitched. When the young leaders of Sivacá, on their return from the army, departed from custom, changing their dress, buying cattle, etc., serious attempts were made to bewitch them, but they survived (thanks, it was said to the strength of their spirits), and today all the young men of Sivacá dress like ladinos and keep cattle without being bewitched. Custom has changed, and the integration of Sivacá is expressed in different symbols. (In a community as small as this, dress has in any case perhaps less importance, since it is not essential as a means of recognition). Therefore the roads of acculturation do not

necessarily lead to ladinization.

On the purely practical plane, there is another sanction which reinforces the integration of the community. The ladino world is competitive between individuals and the indian who goes into it finds himself at a disadvantage which will be exploited, all the more readily if his indian origin is apparent, for ladinos pride themselves on being smart and think of indians as simpletons and therefore easy game in economic dealings. Nothing encourages malpractice as much as an attribution of gullibility, and therefore, though his change in status is not resented, he is likely to face the same disadvantageous treatment from the hands of the ladinos as when he was an indian.

Finally, the distrust and dislike which indians feel for ladinos, the belief that they smell nasty and that their flesh tastes nasty to witches, all add weight to the sanctions which reinforce the integration of the indian community.

It is not surprising therefore that the individual born in a traditional indian community who turns ladino is the one who rejects or fails to achieve these goals and wishes to evade these sanctions. Such people are found among those who have been taken up by the I.N.I. or by the Church and given a ladino education, but they are also members of families which have been run out for witchcraft

2.12.16

or scared away by the threat of it or who have quarreled with their kin over inheritance.

Let us try therefore to evaluate the different kinds of contact and the agencies of change in terms of their effect upon the integration of the indian pueblo.

The individual who goes to work upon the coffee fincas of Tapachula learns about the outside world and comes into contact with different kinds of people, but he goes there with a group from his own pueblo organized by the enganchador in many cases, or with close kin and he goes to work on fincas which have a tradition of employing indians from that village. The motive of indians in going away to work is to satisfy their ambitions or their needs in their natal pueblo and, as often as not, they return, like Louis XVIII, having learned nothing and forgotten nothing. They may go once or many times and remain for a few months or several years. A certain number never come back. This appears to be the easiest way out of the highland village and into ladino society, though we have not been able to calculate the percentage who fail to return.

When the individual moves away, he may still return years later, if he has not acquired a ladino attitude towards "inditos", but the movement of a community is a very different phenomenon. The indian world-view is attached to locality. Those who move to a new location leave behind

the center of the earth, the abode of the ancestors and the dwelling-places of the spirits: the physical environment to which the spiritual forces are anchored and in relation to which the rituals of the traditional hierarchy are oriented. It is commonly the case, and it would be nice to be able to argue that it is necessarily the case, then, that those who leave the physical location of their gods, leave behind their world-view and the sanctions which derive from it. But unfortunately this is not necessarily so. Some colonies of Chamula in the northern zone which were founded within the last half century have reproduced the traditional hierarchy of their pueblo of origin and have "relocated" their world-view. (Pozas 1959, p. 27-29).

In contrast to these, other indian communities who have moved have become ladinos; when the indians of Teopisca left for Nicolas Ruiz one hundred years ago (in 1860), they set out on the road to ladinization. It is not easy to evaluate such cases since we do not know what was the state of their integration before they left, but it appears that when indians have moved as a community there is more chance that they retain and transfer their integrated social structure, while colonies formed of mixed origin seem always to have turned ladino, since the absence of a common custom would make it difficult for them to reproduce a single traditional pattern. It is ladino custom then, which provides the lowest common denominator.

2.12.18

Finca indians, when they have acquired their own lands, seem often to have turned ladino, whether they remained in situ or moved to another place. Ixtapa is an instance of the former, Chiapilla, of the latter case. Huistán, where there were many fincas before the land reforms, appears today to be in a period of transition. The Finca San Cayetano near San Lucas was broken up around 1940. Half of its indians moved to found a village at Zacatal near their original location and have remained, although revestidos, largely indian; there are few Spanish speakers among them. The other half moved to become the indian barrio of Chiapilla where they retain their indian identity; though all the men speak Spanish and dress as ladinos, many of the women do neither. There are examples in the eastern and northern zones of former finca indians who have remained indian or whose ethnic affiliation is uncertain. Liberated from the system of social control which looked to the ladino finquero for authority, they have subsequently become isolated communities of subsistence farmers who if they are no longer kept in their place as indians, now lack the inducement to become ladinos, and appear to be evolving slowly under modern conditions toward integration in the Mexican nation.

The uncertainties of such situations relate to the fact that, while ladinos are the agents of acculturation and

provide the image toward which ladinization points--you cannot change your identity to something you don't know-- they are also the means of reinforcing indian status in the mode of their inter-action with indians, and of strengthening thereby the integration of the indian pueblo. Looking once more at the agents of change within this framework we can see that the presence of poor ladinos living side by side with indians provides the latter with all the knowledge necessary for ladinization; the cultural distance is reduced, but this does not suffice to induce indians to abandon their identity when it is supported by a coherent ideology. Acquiring the know-how of ladinos is one thing and accepting their standards is another, and in fact it is their understanding of the ladinos which enables the indians to defend their interests and thereby supply the positive economic advantages and satisfactions to pride which reinforces their integration. Both San Bartolomé and Zinacantan, different though they are in many ways, are examples of this.

Trade relations appear to strengthen the ethnic barrier rather than the contrary. It is possible to bargain with very little language in common, and the atajadoras offer neither an opportunity to learn nor an example to follow. In fact they are, among the ladino population, those who have the most vital vested interest in the status distinction. Integration into the economy of modern Mexico requires no ladinization and provokes no necessary acculturation outside the techniques of trading. Indians do not

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leap at economic opportunities and seek to maximize their profits, since they pursue other goals than those assumed in modern industrial society. Moreover, where indians take over the marketing function, they tend to ladinize and quit the indian community. This has happened in the new barrio of Guadalupe of San Cristóbal where indians settled a generation ago and where they have now become ladinos, as quick as any to swindle an innocent from Tenejapa or intimidate a weakling from Huistán.

The ethnic affiliation has gone with the job. As has been pointed out, the constitutional form of political organization is less significant than the power structure and this hinges upon the way it is articulated in relation to the ethnic division. What is important is not whether an indian village is a municipality or an agency, an ayuntamiento indígena or an ayuntamiento constitucional, but how the sanctions of ladinos operate upon the indians; whether directly in relation to individuals or through mechanisms which allow the indian community to express its consensus through recognized representatives. When Oxchuc first became an ayuntamiento contitucional, it was dominated by a ladino council; today only the secretary is a ladino. In the mountains the Oxchuqueros have begun to adopt ladino forms of political organization. The ayuntamiento indígena was, as in San Bartolomé formerly and in Pinola still, a means whereby the ladinos are able to control the indians; it represents not their autonomy but their subordination.

Amatenango and Aguacatenango, one an independent municipality, the other an agency, are not as different in their power structure as in their formal organization, since in both cases the indian community retains a high degree of control over its internal affairs. Yet how indians use their power varies. In Tenejapa, the indian government operates on ladino lines in separation from the religious hierarchy; in Chenalhó it does not. So we see that the acquisition of autonomy in local politics gives them the opportunity to run their community in conformity with the customs of the ladinos or in conformity with their own customs. Here a possible contradiction presents itself: by bringing indian communities into line with ladino Mexico, removing the disabilities based upon the ethnic distinction, one opens the door to a reinforced integration in opposition to the ladinos. Freed from subservience to the ladinos, the indians may use their freedom in the cause of ancient tradition. Hence the difficulty of generalizing with regard to the destiny of those finca indians who receive their freedom and their lands. The issue is decided by finer distinctions, such as the internal structure of the indian community and the new forms of contact which develop with ladinos.

Religious bodies have had a profound effect in the last twenty years. The formation of factions based upon either protestantism or modern catholicism brings about profound changes in the social organization, and the teachings, themselves, strike at the heart of the system of indian belief.

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What is significant is that the impact of both has been greater in many of the outlying towns than in those which lie close to ladino centers. While protestant missionaries have been expelled from some towns in the more distant regions (Chanal, Cancuc, Chalchihuitán), they have made numerous converts in others. They have also made many converts among the poor ladinos. On the other hand, they have made negligible gains in the well communicated pueblos: a small outcast group of Jehovah's Witnesses in San Bartolomé, but in Pinola, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Zinacantan and Chamula, none. This is not for lack of proselytization. Moreover, if these indians show themselves recalcitrant to religious indoctrination by protestants, they are not easily influenced by orthodox catholicism either, though they welcome and even demand the visit of the priest for their fiestas.

The most powerful influence of change is the I.N.I. Their schools in the parajes, the training of promotores, the technical and medical programs and the hygienic reforms have had profound effects upon the structure of the indian communities, while the informal influence in promoting the interests and protecting the rights of indians has been a powerful moral influence. Yet, Holland (op. cit. p. 248) points out that the less isolate towns like Zinacantan and Chamula have been the most resistant hitherto to the I.N.I. health program, and they have been so to the other activities of I.N.I., much more than the isolated pueblos.

Finally, among the agents of change, the anthropologists must count themselves (and their numbers have not been inconsiderable). Though they attempt to avoid imposing changes for the most part and commonly express admiration for the ancient traditions which they study, their attitudes and their behavior do not conform to what is expected of ladinos and by offering a dissident image of the outsider, they open a horizon on fresh possibilities of relations with him. (It is doubtful however, whether, upon impregnable Zinacantan, even the hordes of Harvard have left much impression). The anthropologist has no direct influence upon the social structure, but we have observed that the transcribing informants whom we taught and employed have in a number of cases returned to their towns to play important roles in their political organization. We trust that we have bred no tyrannous cacique from our ranks.

Today the isolated communities of the eastern highlands are in flux. The pueblos of the southwest stand firm; they adopt innovations on occasions adapting them to their traditional structure.

We are inclined to think that it is thanks to their ladino "know-how", their reduced cultural distance, that they are able to maintain their integration, for the following reasons:

- a) In such communities, the potential rebel "peels off" easily into ladino society, since individual ladinization

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can be achieved without much difficulty.

b) Their ability to defend their own interests both gives them positive economic advantages and allows them the pride of knowing that they are able to do so. Although they may not always do so very successfully, they know that as a community they are not powerless and terrified in the face of the ladino.

Yet how long will this situation last? Our object is to explain the present rather than predict the future, yet we can allow ourselves some brief conjectures on this score. It is possible that the economic techniques which have become acceptable in San Bartolomé will disrupt the traditional structure of indian society. Those rich indians who invest in a truck or in real estate (house-plots) in the town or who exploit land with pagados to make money are likely to become richer still, and the possibilities of inverting wealth into community service through the cargo system are very limited here. Will they lead the community into ladinization? Or will it reject them, attributing their deaths to witchcraft --if not actually murdering them as witches? Either of these two things could happen, but to predict which, one would need to control factors as far outside our ken as the future social and political history of Mexico, or the medical future of the area, where so often before, an epidemic has rung the changes of power.

Or to take another example, will the cargo system of Chamula break down, since cargos are, on Pozas' testimony, so frequently unpopular?

In spite of our observations on the state of integration of the communities of our area at the moment we can see that in the present century the communities which have lad-inized have mostly been on the south westerly flank, that is to say, bordering the region which lad-inized earlier. (According to the census of 1778, there were virtually no communities in Chiapas which did not have a majority of indians). There is no reason to suppose that this will continue to be the case.

On the other hand, will the changing communities of the eastern half of our zone continue to change? Will factionalism lead to lad-inization? We have no confidence that it will. For we see a strong possibility that factionalism will not last. Siverts' observations on the progress of the protestant movement in Oxchuc look back to those which Robert Redfield made in Yucatan. (Chan Kom and Village that chose progress - 93? & 195?). The age of purity and conflict is followed by the age of compromise. We pointed out above how (in the chapter on politics) a village, riven by factions, can nevertheless end by forgetting its conflicts on the basis of a common identity as members of the community, and in opposition to exterior pressures. Moreover, "modernizing" factions introduce innovations which end by gaining universal acceptance in an

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altered structure. Change paves the way for reintegration. The cultural distance diminishes but the structural distance re-establishes itself. This might be called the "shelf theory" of acculturation.

The model of change which we have outlined so far takes only the indian community into account, but the culture of the ladinos is changing, at the same time, in response to the pressures exerted by Mexican national culture. For this reason, while the cultural distance diminishes with the acculturation of the indians, it increases with the acculturation of the ladinos. Hence we find the Spanish archaisms in the indians' speech and in their customs which, in the twentieth century, define them as indian, not Spanish. The processes of change take place in an evolving context.

If at the beginning of this report we hazarded the guess that "the indian problem" will end by being resolved, we do not mean to imply that we predict the end of all social differentiation in Chiapas. The changes in Mexican society in the twentieth century make highland Chiapas look like an antiquated anomaly, one which distresses the political ideologists, fascinates the anthropologists and attracts tourists from abroad. The I.N.I., the Catholic Missions, (several now from the United States), the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and all those others who strive in their conflicting ways to "redeem the Indian", will end by seeing their labors crowned with success, so it would

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seem: the knowledge of Spanish, of modern technology, medicinal and religious conceptualizations, and so forth is likely to increase, and there will come a point at which the indian will be deemed to be redeemed, but what happens to indian identity and the indian community is another matter. There are many rural communities in Mexico which, while proclaiming to the outside world that they are civilized--and so they are, yet retain a firm sense of their indian identity. It may well be that the indians of Chiapas are destined to follow them rather than the lowland villagers who have lost all sense of a separate identity.

The processes of change are extremely complex. They depend upon the interplay of social, cultural and linguistic factors: systems of interaction, systems of symbolic value and systems of communication, and this interplay takes place within a context of changing external conditions. In the next section of this report we shall attempt to tabulate the ethnographic information by communities, and show how, in specific instances, this interplay takes place. We shall then be in a position to draw our final theoretical conclusions.

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