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

by

Arthur J. Rubel

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Master's Paper
Arthur J. Rubel
Feb. 1959
CHANGING PROCESSES OF LEADERSHIP RECRUITMENT IN
SAN BARTOLOME DE LOS LLANOS, CHIAPAS.

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

A small transect which included several Indian groups representing two different Mayan dialects was carved out of the state of Chiapas. This transect included altitudes ranging from seven thousand to two thousand feet above sea level, attended by differing plant coverages. The municipal unit which will be discussed in this paper, San Bartolome de los Llanos, lies between two and two-and-a-half thousand feet above sea level.

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

The lands of the municipio are watered by two great river systems. The Rio Grijalva enters the municipal boundaries from Las Rosas flowing in a westerly direction until it enters the terrain of Acala. While coursing through the municipio it is fed by two smaller streams, the Dorado and the Concordia. The second of the two great systems is that of the Rio Blanco. The Blanco flows south-westerly entering from Teopisca, and emptying its waters into the Grijalva at a place called Pajarito. A number of smaller tributaries, which for the most part carry water only during the rainy season are found in the municipio. The
At least as far back as 1778 the population of the municipio could be classified as heterogeneous, nature. A census reported in that year (Juan Maria Morales) lists 4,333 "Indians", 174 "Whites", and 167 "negroes and mulattos".

In part such a mixed population may be understood by the fact that until the last decade of the eighteenth century the municipio was a cotton-growing and exporting center of prime importance. A resident labor force was attached to several cotton gins in that period (Juan Maria Morales). In fact, Gaut and Avendaño Company's gin continued in operation until the first years of this century.

Contemporary San Bartolomé is divided into two ethnic groups, Tzotzil-speaking Indians and Ladinos, and into two socio-economic classes—peasant and non-peasant. All Indians of San Bartolomé fall under the rubric of peasant (campesinos); and most of these Indian campesinos work lands whose title is vested in the community. Some Indians have joined and participate actively in other types of land-holding groups, ejido, founded during the agrarian reform movement of our century.

These falling into the category of ejidatarios, members of an ejido, are not considered by our informants as part of the Indian community, and for purposes of this paper we must treat them separately.

The life of the Indian community rests on a subsistence economy based upon the cultivation of maíz, beans, squash, chile, and tomatoes. These provide the staples of the diet; small surpluses of these crops provide the meagre cash handled by the populace. The raising of a large surplus for eventual sale is not approved by the moral code, unless it is for the performance of a public ceremony. In such a case the surplus is distributed in the form of food to the rest of the populace. Although the Indians share some religious activities with the Ladino group (e.g., mass is attended by Indians and Ladinos at the same time), the Indian may be characterized by his unique celebration of certain rites of rogation at the near-by peak of Cerro-ltaiBfejr. Furthermore, the commemorated certain saints' days by peculiarly Indian festivities.
Among the Tzotzil only, for example, San Sebastian, and San Pedro Martir. A certain characteristic relationship exist in San Bartolomé between man and nature, as well as between man and the supernatural, which are restricted to the Tzotzil residents. A few.

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

In years past most of the Indian women shared the common art of weaving the locally grown cotton, though today only a relatively few produce this craft. Another of the local arts that were practiced in San Bartolomé was the weaving from palm of the especially heavy sombreros which characterized the municiplio men. This skill also is diminishing with most of the younger and middle-aged men purchasing sombreros made in the stores of Ladino merchants and manufactured outside the region. Economically this has resulted in a further diminishment of trade with the Comitán area, from where most of the palm was imported. Only a very few women know the manufacture of pottery, and none weave baskets. Both of these classes of items are traditionally traded from the Amatenango people for chiles, astoches, squash, and maize.

Thus, in the other direction to the best of my knowledge, no Ladino residents practice any of these home industries in the municiplio in San Bartolomé one is either an Indian or not. Members of each of the ethnic groups are highly visible to one another by means of language they speak or the costume they wear.
The Ladino inhabitants of the municipio may be divided into two socio-economic classes. The less affluent segment shares some social and cultural characteristics with his fellow campesinos of the Indian group. These similarities are due mainly to their shared interest in agriculture, the low level of technological knowledge, and a common poverty. Although Ladino inhabitants of the municipal seat, the cabecera, may be described as living closer to the town plaza than members of the Indian group, the immediate circumstance of the plaza is occupied by the non-peasant segment of that ethnic group. Dying further afield from this central place are the less pretentious houses and huts of the Ladino peasantry.

The subordinate class of the Ladino group is landless. In general, it is dependent upon either lands in tierra baja which are for rent by their owners, or else upon the communal lands which lie mostly in el pedregal. Those renting in tierra baja utilize plows and teams, both of which instruments of tillage are also rented from others. Ladinos cultivating the pedregal lands use techniques similar to their Indian companions. Thus, in the latter case, an iron-tipped digging stick (vareta) and the all-purpose machete are used in pedregal land which presents a relatively open face to cultivation. In these lands of pedregal more broken by formations of volcanic rock, the vareta and luko are used together. The latter's hooked form permits more action in the close quarters surrounding and under these outcroppings of rock. The clothing of this campesino Ladino group is purchased from local merchants and indistinguishable from rural Mexican costumes in general. Representatives of this segment of the population are generally illiterate, and speak only Spanish. The location of their residences is between the outer peripheries of the town (the Indian-occupied barrios) and the finer houses of the non-cultivating Ladinos located close to the plaza portend their socially intermediate position in the municipio.
The segment of Ladinos living closest to the plaza are engaged in commerce, public administration, and the professions—medicine, law, and pedagogy. This group is generally literate and dependent upon the national language for communication. A few are able to bargain with the Indian women in Tzotzil as the latter make their daily rounds with such small items as tortillas, fruits, eggs, etc. for sale. (There is no regular market in San Bartolome as it is known in other parts of the Republic.) Members of the Ladino dominant group make regular visits to such provincial cities as Tuxtla Gutierrez and San Cristobal and most of them have some acquaintance with Mexico City, if not through personal experience, then through the newspapers, radio, or even the movies which they attend. The social circle of the more affluent in this municipio extends into like circles which are found in other near-by cabeceras, as well as sustaining convivial relationships with many persons of the state capital and San Cristobal.

Although they are few in number, those Ladinos who live on ranches and raise cattle on privately-owned lands are of great importance to the inter-group relations in San Bartolome. The increasing need of these stock raisers for more land to sustain larger herds of cattle has been indirectly heightened by the completion of the Pan American Highway, with a feeder-road into San Bartolome. These new communication facilities leading to such population centers as Tapachula, Puebla, and Mexico City have increased the sales value of cattle far beyond anything previously known. The open-range technology of grazing, and the prohibitive cost of most of the cultivators of the soil and barbed wire (considered the only adequate fencing against transmigrating cattle, horses, and mules) have pitted cattle-raisers against the peasants. The fact that members of the town-dwelling Ladino dominants have investments in private lands in the municipio, as well as the fact that the peasants with the wealthy cattle-raising families pits these two segments of Ladino life against the cultivators of the soil—Indian and Ladino campesinos.
The erosion of many of the facets of Indian culture through so many years of close contact with Ladino life, and there is the common dependence upon subsistence agriculture, and a shared absence of private land- Holdings, general illiteracy, and an orientation to local rather than national problems, has led to some general likeness between Ladino and Indian campesinos. Then one adds that members of these groups either share neighborhoods or live close to one another, and it would be surprising to find them more unlike one another (cf. Tax, 1941; Redfield, 1939). A current policy by which Indian and Ladino cultivators may work adjoining milpas, cooperate in building enclosures for their fields, and at times the inclusion of Ladinos and Indians in the same structured field groups (grupitos) further lessens the importance of differentiation based on cultural criteria. The declining importance of cultural differentiation and the increasing importance of the common threat to the lands have helped make about the evolution of San Bartolomé as a unique type of municipio in the highlands of Chiapas (de la Fuente, Relaciones Étnicas en los Altos de Chiapas.) In view of the comparative materials relating to inter-group relations in this region (ibid), and the comments expressed by the Bartolomeños themselves, it seems highly likely that previous inter-group relations were such that each of the ethnic groups in San Bartolomé previously existed as parallel, functioning entities. The nature of changes found here raises the question as to whether the role of leadership has also changed in this municipio.

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

The Indian community was characterized by a number of structured groups, each of which had a leadership position. Rising from smallest to largest, the groups were: the nuclear family, the grupito, the barrio, and the entire community. And now to the question of leadership, and what is found in San Bartolomé. Homans (1950) provides a convenient framework with which to begin the discussion.
he says—

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

Traditional social life in San Bartolomé was highly "position-conscious regarding the delegation of leadership roles." In this paper, we shall use in such a way as to be interchangeable with Linton's "status" *(Linton, 1936; p. 113).* "A status, in the abstract, is a position in a particular pattern. A status, as distinct from the person who may occupy it, is simply a collection of rights and duties." In this paper we have chosen to use position for status simply because of its clearer suggestion of location in a system. In later sections of this discussion it will be seen that certain social positions remain the same, although the forces of changing circumstance do not permit them the "rights and duties" they were earlier assigned.

"When he (individual) puts the rights and duties which constitute the status [read position] into effect, he is performing a role. Roles and status are quite inseparable, and the distinction between them is of only academic interest." *(ibid)* We shall see how in the course of time certain positions of leadership have received as vestiges of a former way of life, whereas the roles they played associatively are now beset by challenges of every turn.
Most of the daily activities pursued by members of the Indian group of San Bartolome are accomplished in the company of, or in cooperation with, others of his bilateral kin-group. A household always includes a set of parents and their unmarried children. In many instances it will also include either a married daughter and her family, or a married son with his family. In a few instances more than two nuclear families may be found living in the same household; that is to say, several married children with their offspring, and spouses, or several siblings with their own nuclear families. In Barrios Convento and San Pedro Martir, the residence patterns were as follows:

1. Parents with unmarried children
   - With married son: 55
   - With married daughter: 22
   - With married daughter and spouse: 14

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

1 A total of 130 households were canvassed. Of this number only 91 provided data which reasonably clearly showed who lived where.
from other nuclear families, especially son-in-law. A son continues under the authority of his father until he is married. Ideally, at that point in his life cycle he becomes independent of his father, socially, economically, and otherwise. He now should begin to cultivate his own milpa, the crop to be used by himself for the sustenance of his own wife and children. In such cases wherein married sons or sons-in-law, life with a parent or parent-in-law, each labors in his own milpa and maintains his own nuclear family with the harvest of his labor. In actuality, all of those cases observed by the anthropologist wherein strenuous chores were undertaken, e.g., the roofing of a home, the cultivating of a milpa, the task was almost always accomplished alone or with one's unmarried sons. In those cases where more than one adult, married man was engaged in a task, their relationship was of employer-employee type, payment in species or kind.

Material from the genealogies presents relative age as a major rule for the ordering of relationships in Indian society. Male, whether male or female, addresses persons older than self in terms of respect, which overrides formal generational differences. Thus, a male ego addresses his father's and mother's sister brothers, as well as his own brothers older than self in terms of respect, using the general term bankil. He addresses in similar manner his father's and mother's sisters as well as his own female siblings older than self as vit. If ego is female the principle remains the same, the term changing to tatem. The kinship terminology of San Bartolomé is characteristically generational. Kinship terms are used for unrelated persons dependent upon their known or inferred age relative to speaker. By this token, a young man will address his male elders as bankil if they are known by him to be, or thought to be, of the same general age as himself. Those of greater age are addressed by the respect term of tata. Children are addressed by the terms nan and totin, and in many cases, informants could not recall the names of youngetters, cousins, and predecessors. The greater concern of persons with ascending generations and their members and the increasing frequency of generational differences suggests a more social importance of the former group. When questioned about kinship relationships, informants showed almost invariably a lack of interest, boredom, and great restiveness. In contrast, these same informants showed bright interest and remarkable memories when questions were asked about their associations in
neighborhood-organized groups, e.g., the grupito. Men who had difficulty responding to questions concerning second cousins, answered to intricate problems posed as to the relative location of milpas of members of their grupito with celebrity. Such impressions suggest that the role of kinship in ordering social relations plays a secondary position to that of neighborhood.

The relation of an older man to a younger in this society is of a respect nature, symbolized by the kin terms in use. An older man, the nature of experience gained through the passage of years is better informed than younger men in matters concerning the planting and care of crops. An orphaned young man, married, and with children, told the anthropologist that he was planting his milpa in a certain location because it was located near an older, unrelated, man of his acquaintance: "He is tata and will show me how," was the explanation. Although there have been great changes in Elizondo and San Bartolome, the technology of field work remains much the same as in earlier phases of the society's history. The land must be cleared and burned, with seasons and prevailing winds duly noted. Following the failure of heavier plant coverage, the area which is to be cultivated is burned over. It is now ready for planting. Using the yareta as a primary tool, a man starts at one boundary of the burned area and walks in a straight line towards the opposite boundary. Pushing aside the materials not fully consumed by the flames, he digs a hole about four inches deep with the digging-stick. Into each hole is dropped about seven seeds of maiz. The hole is then covered with the dirt being pushed into place by the yareta. The earth over the holes is left flat. The next hole is dug about thirty-two inches further down the line, the entire process being repeated. Around July a second planting of maiz may be made. Although some informants state that the second planting was in order to assure green corn for Easter, others suggested it was to fill in those spots in the field that had shown that they would not yield a crop due to poor seed or insect and animal pests. In most milpas maiz is intermixed with four or five classes of beans, two or three types of chile, jicalpestle, and yuca. Planted separately, perhaps on the outskirts of the milpa, are peanut, yuca, aguacate, achiote, mango, two or three classes of camote, and tomatoes.
Although field evidence demonstrates that in actuality there is little cooperation between milperos, whatever their kinship relationship, and that married sons do in fact drop from the family’s economy, nevertheless there remains a close relationship between married sons and their fathers. Although we do not as yet wish to enter upon a discussion of the working of grupitos (Diagram I), it is necessary to introduce a series of diagrams of a geometric nature. Each of these portray the lay-out of an area shared by a single grupito. The diagrams represent clusters of milpas within a large plot of land worked and shared by a group of men, generally from the same barrio. Each of these sketches were drawn by a key member of the grupito, sometimes the head of the grupito, and at other times a highly knowledgeable participant. Using rough outlines, we have chosen to concentrate our attention on those relations existing between milpa-neighbors, which are of a father-son and brother-brother nature. The Roman numerals indicate what are significant clusters, the Arabic numerals identify each of the individuals participating in the grupito by name and relationship to his neighbors.

Restricted amount of time for field-work forbade more detailed accounts of the relationships in these representative grupitos; we submit that with more detail the relationships between neighbors will show themselves to be more, not less, close and meaningful.

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

1. The informant and jefe of the grupito, Bartolome Vazquez Chaal.
2. His brother, Sebastian Martinez Chaal.
3. Brother of the above two, Domingo Martinez Chaal.

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

Cluster II includes:

7. An older man, Bartolome Vazquez Chaal, and (9) his brother, Marcos Vazquez Chaal.
8. A son of Bartolome (7). This last (8) has taken the mother’s surname in ladino fashion, rather than retaining his father’s sobrenombre; thus he is listed as Bartolome Vazquez Velazquez, instead of Bartolome Vazquez Chaal.

We have included cluster III, whose head lists two brothers, Manuel Hidalgo Kotum and Domingo Hidalgo Kotum (14, 15), as well as another (6), whose name we have no record of. It is
12. Noteworthy is the informant volunteered the information that this cluster worked neighboring milpas but "were not really members of the grupito." This is noteworthy, we suggest, because of over twenty-five men listed in the diagram, these two (14 and 15) are the only not members of a barrio other than Convento—their allegiance is to Galvario.

In the case of Diagram II, Cluster I, the enclosed people:

1. The father, Bartolome Vazquez Muniz, and his two sons, Antonio (7) and Bartolo, the younger (8).

Cluster II of the same diagram encloses a father, Francisco Gomez (11), and his married son, Emilio (10). Number 9 is listed as Porfirio Gomez and, although the informant was unable to specify relationships, we tentatively include (9) in this cluster as either a brother to the elder (11) or his son. We would like to speculate further but hold ourselves in reserve.

Cluster III includes two brothers (16, 17), both of whom are listed as Bartolo Silvani. As in the previously described Diagram II, all members of the grupito belong to the same barrio, San Pedro Martir. Only Pedro Mendoza, born (2) claims birth outside of that barrio, but he is married to a barrio native, born and bred. 
The informant in this case was the *jefe del grupito*. In all instances the *milpas*, as drawn originally by him, had boundaries touching their neighbors. For purposes of demonstration we have separated them.
It is worth noting here that during this interview the informant, Iafe of the grupito, was not paying close attention. Quoting from the field journal: "The informant was most anxious to end the interview". We suggest that there are more significant clusters than are included here. Probably.
The informant, attending one of the Centros Alfabetizantes, does not utilize a sobrenombre. The land worked by the grupito lies in an area known as Canté. Of his grupito, he says: "Somos compañeros. Se trata de bankil, totin, tata. Somos vecinos de la milpa."
This grupito contains eight men of Barrio Calvario; the remainder of San Sebastian. Numbers 1 and 3, and 8-13 inclusive, are of the former barrio; the remainder belong to the latter. Trufino Lopez (3) is the sole Ladino member, but his residence in Barrio Calvario adjoins that of the jeffe. The grupito works land in an area named Fajatón.
13. In Diagram III, cluster I are found the following persons and their relationships.

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

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

Cluster III includes two brothers, Domingo (8) and Miguel (9) Calvu. Cluster IV presents the same type of relationship as in III, the Hidalgo brothers, Domingo (10) and Manuel (11), being neighbors.

Cluster V includes two neighboring brothers, and one whose milpa position seems strangely isolated. These are Sebastian, Bartolomé, and Domingo Martinez (13, 19, 19 respectively).

Cluster VI encircles the brothers, Jose and Manuel Gomez (15,16).

Cluster VIII has already been discussed in association with I.

Except for twelve of the listed members, all of these men trace their ancestry to Barrio Convento. It is interesting to see that numbers 8, 9, and 10, as well as 11, from Calvario appear to be on the outskirts of the grupito, as do the other two members from Calvario, 29 and 30. Individuals 26 and 27 (both of the barrio, San Pedro Martir) and 28 (of Barrio Calvario) join with Pedro Espinosa Silp (29) and Sebastian Ramirez Cook (30) to form an outer fringe of the grupito's milpa pattern.
In Diagram IV, cluster I consists of a father, Jose Solano (5), and his two sons, Jose and Bartolo (6 and 7). They cultivate a milpa located next to that of cluster II, with Solano (5), the son-in-law of Sebastian Vazquez (2), and his two sons. The latter cultivates ground neighboring his compadre (1) Chaal, but is separated from his son (4) by the single Ladino (3) in the group.

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

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

All members of the Indian community of San Bartolome possess, or have recently possessed, a double surname. The first surname is of Spanish provenance, e.g., Hidalgo, Velazquez, Espinosa; the second which follows is of non-Spanish provenance, e.g., Kotum, Iim, Sip. Persons in the community are thus named Bartolome Hidalgo Kotum, Manuel Velazquez Iim, and Jose Espinosa Sip. A great number of the second surnames, sobrenombres, are translated by their possessive as "animals, plants, or place names found in the vicinity. Examples of these sobrenombres with translations into Spanish follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mariposa</td>
<td>mariposa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chipilin</td>
<td>chipilin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hormiga</td>
<td>hormiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manchita</td>
<td>manchita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hormiguero</td>
<td>hormiguero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tortilla</td>
<td>tortilla</td>
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<tr>
<td>cabeza de venado</td>
<td>cabeza de venado</td>
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<tr>
<td>gato</td>
<td>gato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garrapata</td>
<td>garrapata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manta para la cabeza</td>
<td>manta para la cabeza</td>
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<tr>
<td>frijol</td>
<td>frijol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tejon</td>
<td>tejon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gavilan</td>
<td>gavilan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arroyo motul</td>
<td>arroyo motul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un pueblo</td>
<td>un pueblo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Any suggestion of a special, familiar relationship between animals or plants and those possessing their names was categorically denied by members of the community. Nor was any evidence of a pattern of avoidance expressed during the investigation in the field, between a person and the object whose name he shared.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surnames</th>
<th>Sobrenombres</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calvu</td>
<td>Soiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De la Torre</td>
<td>Nuxtam</td>
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<tr>
<td>Espinosa</td>
<td>Tuqutan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Espinosa</td>
<td>*Paalam</td>
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<tr>
<td>Garcia</td>
<td>*Paalam</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gomez</td>
<td>Slip</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hernandez</td>
<td>Swaq Chuch</td>
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<td>Jimenez</td>
<td>Geq Copt</td>
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<td>Jimenez</td>
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<td>Martínez</td>
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16.

Mendoza

Moraless

Ramirez

Soñano

Vazquez

Velazquez

Yol
Uus
Botosat
Orén
Bumhol
Posal
Reymuto
Chehuato

Isinak
Ocuti

Tukutan
So ok
Gehet Chajol
Teens

Paalam
Pepen
Usute
Xiimate
Upaimit
Unchikiin

Eche

Yu"u

Chuuch
Usax
Imoita
Chinamit
Votim
Chaafl
Pepen
Lavé
Munay
Munich
Tulay
Jol e chi

Molal
It is at this juncture that the comparisons between these materials and those from the more highland regions of Chalchihuitan and Chenal appear no longer meaningful. Whatever function these names played in the past to unite people into extended kin groups no longer is in operation in San Bartolomé. Groups of people with the same sobrenombre are generally from the same barrio, so that it can be said that the Paalams are to be found in Barrio Convento, and the Alamos in Galvario. But neither the Paalams as such, nor the Barrios as such, perform any activity as a name-group. There are no corporate activities associated with any of the name groups in this municipio. Beyond the nuclear family, no corporate group interposes between the barrio and the individual except for the grupitos. (cf. Guiterrez Holmes, 1940, p.266)

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

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

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

In the light of comparative material from the highland Chiapas region, it seems apparent that the grupitos of San Bartolomé resemble in some forms the parajes of Oxchuc (Villa, 1947) and the cabitos of Chenal (Gumbiner, n.d.) in that they are groups of people farming specific areas of land to which they are tightly linked by traditional bonds. However, the grupitos of San Bartolomé appear to be associated with a
piece of land due to their membership in the specific barrio which holds usufructuary rights to that land-area. A grupito wanders over the land-area associated with its barrio, but does not claim the land for itself. On the other hand, the parajes of Oxchuc and the cabillos of Chapal seem to have more specific allegiance through natural land-marks (e.g., caves, hillocks) to sites of land than do the grupitos. The difference may well be a function of the decreasing amounts of communal lands with access to water supplies available to the Bartolomeños. For almost all of the riverside lands have been lost to Ladino land-holders, or government-administered ejidos.

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

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Manuel Hidalgo Coctum</td>
<td>Head of the grupito.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Manuela Velazquez IIm</td>
<td>Wife of 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Jose Hidalgo Coctum</td>
<td>Nephew of 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Manuel Hidalgo Coctum</td>
<td>Brother of 1, Father of 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Miguel Calvo Ñawin</td>
<td>Wife no data.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Domingo Calvo Ñawin</td>
<td>Brother of 13 and 16. Bachelor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Jose Calvo Ñawin</td>
<td>Brother of 13 and 15.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although each of the five barrios into which the municipio is divided tends to be strongly endogamous, census materials show no significant residential preference (Barrio San Pedro Martir) between the alternative choices presented following marriage, establishment of residence with either of the spouse's parents, or the settlement of a couple in a place apart from either parental set. It is here contended that in a situation such as San Bartolome wherein most of the Indian population resides in the cabecera and where each of the five neighborhoods tend to marry to outsiders, a choice of residence locality is relatively unimportant. For although a young couple may choose to reside near the woman's parents, the husband will be within five minutes walk of his parents' home, and vice versa. It is noteworthy that in the only grupito of which we have had access that has easy access to drinking water, Suchen Grande, associations tend to be more kin-oriented than locality-oriented. This is logically so, for its membership includes six men related in the patri-line who, with their wives, make up well over half the total population of the rancho.

Before moving on, there is one more grupito we should like to note because of the light it throws on changing leadership patterns. Manuel Espinosa Paalam, a young man of Convento barrio, remembers how in the recent past the grupito of which he was a member contained only men related through his father. The grupito was headed by his father, Pascual Espinosa Paalam. Other members were Domingo and Bartolo, both brothers to the leader of the grupito and the seven mature sons of these three older men. The grupito was headed by the informant's father, although the oldest member was father's brother, Domingo. Although Domingo's ascribed rank through age was greater than his brother, Pascual, the latter's relative status was heightened by his membership in the council of Principales. Further, the latter's ability to read Spanish placed him in a position by which he...
he could control more information than the older man, and provided him with a tool—bilingualism—which is a parently one of the currently initial attributes for jefe of grupitos. (The only irm jefe de grupito of whom we have record who do not command a minimum of the national language is the afore-mentioned Principale, Manuel Hidalgo Kuntun. But the latter delegated duties relating to such problem areas as negotiating with Ladino cattlemen, or arranging administrative matters with the State Forestry Service, to his son, Manuel. The latter is bilingual.)

We have seen that members of grupitos who live in the cabaerias tend to be more locality-oriented than kinship-oriented, and that normative values call for the independence of a married son from his father economically and socially. We have speculated that sometime in the past a change in settlement patterns was affected by congregating scat-

tered groups of Indians onto the site which is now the cabaerias. We shall attempt to explain why fathers and their married sons tend to cultivate adjoining milpas in the face of forces bringing new patterns of association into being.

The father, as older man, and wise through experience, guides the activities of his unmarried sons. The social position of respect allotted an older man, supplemented by the weightiness that experience lends his counsel in matters of agriculture, maintain his position of leadership, but continued success of his tactics confirmed the correctness of his position. Homans ably phrases it as follows: "The social rank of the leader helped bring it about that his decision was followed, but a decision, if successful in the eyes of the followers, in turn confirmed his rank." (p. 187). San Bartolomé incurred respect and rank. The traditional technology of horticulture provides older men with wealth accrued experience over the years in the cultivation of the soil than is possessed by younger men. An old man controls more information in this area than a young man. The simple economy and unchanging traditional slash-and-burn method of cultivation help to sustain older men in positions of leadership. The impingement of such foreign, or new, elements as treating with the State Forestry Department have created problems of communication which most of the older men are not
are not equipped to handle. Problems of this nature are managed by heads of grupos to which families belong. To the best of our knowledge, all but two jefes de grupo are bi-lingual. The exceptions are the head of the grupo cultivating in Yuchen Grande, and the Ladino, Jose Cordoba, but more of this later.

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

The fission of leadership exists between the acknowledged jefe of Yuchen Grande and his son (p.23) reflects the growing importance of the
of the rift between younger, bilingual Indians and the older monolingual, traditions-oriented men. On one hot July day in 1957 young Manuel Hidalgo Koottum was encountered on a stream in San Cristóbal on his way to one of the state offices. "There are some things, ...which are too difficult for the Principales to manage. The older men can read or speak Spanish, they are not equipped for such problems," concluded the young delegate that day.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil Offices</th>
<th>Religious Offices</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Principales</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Alcalde</td>
<td>Friates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six Regidores</td>
<td>Barriales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Mayor</td>
<td>Maltomares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty-five Mayorcitos</td>
<td>Primeros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maltomares</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Segundos</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sacristanes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Músicos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As yet the available information does not permit one to say whether the religious and civil offices were linked in an ascending chain of alternating positions, or whether each presented separate, parallel, lines towards respect and authority.

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

As a man moved through the hierarchy, gradually ascending from one level of responsibility, respect, and authority to another, he was also growing older. But in the lower rungs of the socio-political ladder, although a man accrued position and respect in the community the higher he rose, his authority seems to have been restricted to those who served as his immediate subordinates. There is no evidence, for instance, that a Prioste could make a decision which was binding upon another member of the community, e.g., a person not in the hierarchical system, or a mayorcito, because of his position in the ladder. On the other hand, the more responsible positions an individual assumed the more clearly manifest was his concern with the public welfare, the more respect was accorded him by the community, and the more authority the system vested in his decisions. In San Bartolome one of the ultimate and most pervasive social values was the limitation on the accumulation of
individual wealth and the restriction of the utilization of surplus to public ceremonials. Furthermore, the evidence of private ambition for power, which pursued avenues other than that outlined above, was opposed by two devices of social control, 

envidia (envy) which led to illness, and witchcraft.

As in all other societies, San Bartolome had a system of values which helped to order its social universe. The values of this society were not so explicitly outlined as in the process b, which an individual ascended the series of positions leading to community-wide respect, responsibility, and authority, culminating in the exalted role of a Principe.

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

Returning to Romans (p. 188), "is the man who comes closest to realizing the norms the group values highest." San Bartolome provided a clear-cut pattern for advancement to the position and authority of leadership. At this high level of leadership, the society no longer relied simply upon the respect engendered by either advanced age or high office. Authority supported the decisions of the Principales, backed by the sanctions of a supernatural world which was an extension of the Bartolomeño's social universe. Such authority was restricted to the "good" men of the community; the power which came with author-
ity was restricted bestowed upon those whose passage through the manifold obligations of the socio-religious organization had shown them to be persons least likely to abuse it for personal advantage. So awful were these powers that the Principales, intermediaries between man and nature, were literally enabled to move mountains. The story which follows describes the mediating role of these ritual elders, and the powers they controlled.

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

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

In the years following the revolution (1910-1917) against the Porfirio Diaz regime, a determined effort was made by successive national governments of Mexico to bring isolated regions into the web of communications of the nation. Ambitious projects were undertaken by the national government to construct roads, airfields, and schools throughout the country which were designed to link the parrojas chicas of the hinterlands to the national stage. An essential part of the programs of the government was to lift many local administrative decisions from district and municipal authorities, in this manner orienting the localities to the seat of national government, Mexico City. Local politics were to become increasingly dependent upon the nation's official party, Partido Revolucionario Institucional. Special attention was paid by the national governments during the past twenty-five years to the problems raised by enclaves of Indians who were effectively isolated from other groups in the Republic by distinctive cultural
patterns, monolingualism, and poverty. Changes in the manner by which leadership was recruited in San Bartolome cannot be understood except with reference to the social revolutionary programs which have swept Mexico in the past half century, but the special way the changes occurred in that municipio must also take account of the dynamics of its social life. The change which occurred in that municipio was a meeting of the ways between national governmental aspirations and the aspirations of the local Indian group.

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

Gaal, one of the first delegates to go to the national capitol, was the first catalymer of whom we have record in San Bartolome. His tactics within the community were those of a strong man; nevertheless, his previous passage through the traditional system by which authority was legitimized seems definitely to have gained support for his novel use of authority. It is said by the present inhabitants that the Principales' council was split in their support of Gaal's assumption of an extraordinary leadership role in the municipio. His personal strength was a counter to the traditional diffusion of authority; but, on the other hand, his strategy promised a solution to the problem of the disappearing communal lands. Gaal was the
agency through which the national government could secure local support for its programs of directed change, and at the same time this leader was enabled to gain powerful aid in national circles for the solution of local problems.

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

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

One of the first acts of Zamudo in his new post as federal teacher was to open the federal school to Indians as well as Ladinos for the first time. In reference to this act, a middle-aged Indian commented: "I am like a beast, I can not read, and I can not write. Before none of us could speak Spanish. Now we don't speak it perfectly, but it is better than it was before. Look at my son! He, for example,
can recognize his signature from afar." In a further move aimed at enabling the Indians to engage in activities of an inter-group nature, the school-teacher inaugurated a vocational school which taught such subjects as blacksmithing, barbering, and carpentry. Participation by Indian and Ladino young men in these classes permitted young Tzotzil-speaking persons to learn conversational Spanish. The additional opportunities provided young Indian men to learn Spanish as a second language dealt a blow to the traditional pattern of office-holding; for although an older man who had passed through the formal ladder of religious and secular duties was accorded due respect and authority, those roles requiring the usage of Spanish in dealing with the Ladino world were passed to Spanish speakers who tended to be the younger men. Today, for example, Barrio Convento is represented by a total of seven Principales. This group of seven is sometimes described as being divided into the young "principales and the old Principales. Among the latter, we count such exemplarily figures as Miguel Mendoza Jovel, Felix Vazquez Tulan, and Miguel Mendoza Martinez. All are monolingual, respected men, who have passed through the hierarchy traditionally leading to positions of authority. The younger foursome consists of Bartolome Martinez Wekte, Juan Vazquez Uin, Francisco Vazquez Uin, and Domingo Martinez Wekte. The cabecillo, or head, of the seven leaders is reported to be the young man, Bartolome Martinez Wekte. Says he, in explanation: "I order all of the six other Principales because I understand Spanish, and the older men don't understand as well as I. The Padre calls me in and tells me what he wants done, and then I carry this thought to the Principales. It is because I understand Spanish that I order the others."

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

All, however, was not destruction during this history-making epoch of the municipio's life. It has already been mentioned that the five barrios began to overlook their differences in the face of the common danger presented by the threatened loss of the communal lands to Ladino land-owners and grazing live-stock. "Ya somos unidos! Ya somos un pueblo!" rings the rallying cry. Of even more importance than the unification of the five barrios in sentiment was the sharing of the communal lands with non-members of the Indian corporate community, i.e., Ladino campesinos. Its effects are proving to have a remarkable influence upon a number of facets of Indian-Ladino relations in the municipio. In the past, however, the Indians had tended to concentrate upon those lands remaining to them after usurpation by others outside of the social system. The lands were an integrating force in the life of the Indians. Under the guiding leadership of Zamudo, a peasant group was organized devoted to the administration of the communally-held lands. This action-oriented association, known as Bienes Comunales, includes Indians and Ladinos, those peasant inhabitants of the municipio cultivating communal land whose titles rests in the community. The entrance of a group of non-participating members into an active role in the administration of the lands formerly held by the Indian corporate community completed the process of change that had been occurring since the time of aye. These lands now, in longer

were the peculiar possession of a group of total Indians, but rather belonged to a peasant group, some of whom were Indian and some of whom were not. Active administration of the communal lands passed from the council of principal, to a political organization denominated Bienes Comunales. The control of users of the land was no longer to be achieved by the sanction of institutional envy (envidia) and witchcraft; nor was the land to be protected from outsiders by the content of spiritual familiars loyal to the municipio. In the first case, the Ladino peasantry, members now of Bienes Comunales, were not motivated by the same values as the Indians. They were not concerned with the problems created by a crop surplus on the part of a single individual, nor with its distribution to the group in the form of festivities. Furthermore, their failure to observe such moral codes did not bring with it a fear of either of the sanctions, envy or witchcraft. (no ft.
In the second place, the threats to the remaining communal lands came not from other Indians, but from sophisticated Ladinos who scoffed at the dangers of familiar spirits such as naguales. A legal suit in a local Ladino court of justice usually proved more than ample in the face of the spiritual powers the Indians had been wont to call to their aid.

The plethora of leaders and the variety of ways by which leadership is achieved in the contemporary social life.

Notwithstanding the pledges of unity between the respective barrios, each of these units continues to be represented, though in attenuated form, by a corps of principales. In general, these men are of middle and advanced ages who had passed through at least some of the traditional socio-religious hierarchy before the advent of the war of Zamudio. The more sacred duties of this group have diminished over time, and it now concerns itself mainly with religious functions, working closely with the resident Catholic priest. In religious activities the principales held undisputed jurisdiction. However, for only seldom do they initiate activities in the community; most of the time serving as intermediaries between the clergy and the barrios they represent. Nevertheless, they remain important in the community, and on special occasions, such as the traditional processions to the Cerro Quimia, they secure the services of the clergy.

In more secular intra-community affairs, the jurisdiction of these elders is challenged by a number of competing forces. Apart from the vestiges of the old system wielded by this group, each of the barrios is also represented by a duly appointed or elected representante. As the Principales seem to concentrate on the religious side of life, so do the representantes seem to concentrate upon secular issues, acting as intermediaries between the Ladino municipal government and the five segments of the populations, the barrios. Here, all Principales have passed through (or, in the case of the younger men, e.g., Bartolome West, are passing through the vestiges) of the pyramid of increasing civil-religious power. Several of the most prominent representantes have participated not at all in the traditional system of leadership recruitment.
type of leader actively competing for relatively scarce leadership positions with the older class of leaders is Vazquez Munich. The latter is an Indian working communal lands and, in addition, was a small piece of land on which he has planted fruit trees, as well as grazing his pack animals. A representante of Barrio San Pedro "artir, and presently serving as the only Indian member of the municipal government—the post of sixth reidor ma is usually reserved for an Indian representative nowadays—he has never participated in the traditional recruitment system of the Indian community. Once, during our stay in the field, I undertook to inform him that his son had just been thrown into the bote; the charge was wife-beating. Munich thanked me for carrying him the message and then strode angrily into the municipal palace. By the time we met once more, the grapevine had corroborated the fact that the son was, indeed, and inveterate wife-beater. Vazquez Munich at this latter meeting said that he had told the municipal president, an eminent Ladino of the municipio: "what do you think you are doing? You have treated me just like any Indian! You shall see, I, too, have power!" Vazquez Munich of course, does have power. His power, however, rests not upon the confines of ascribed power or position in the Indian community, but rather on his political relationships extending beyond the municipio. This representante holds nominal titles in regional associations of peasants, and thus he fills the role of a valued ally in local politics to state, regional, and national peasant organizations. The new leaders falling into a class with Vazquez Munich barter their local allegiance with the community as an opening wedge for state, regional, and national groups of change and influence, in return for personal power.

Another of the new type leaders of the Indian community, José Lave is also bi-lingual, like his neighbor Munich. José Lave is currently President of the Bienes Comunales group, and reputed to be one of the most influential leaders in the Indian community. Lave has gone to the national capital several times as a delegate of the peasant group in matters concerning the disposition of the communal lands. As is true of Munich as well, the walls of his hut are hung with signed photographs
of ex-President of the Republic, Ruiz-Cortines. Amongst his possessions may be found nominations to several regional peasant-action associations, as well as other quasi-governmental confederations of peasants with headquarters in the state capitol. He is accorded respect by Ladino and Indian members of the campesino-class of the municipio and is sought as an ally by powerful Ladino land-owners in their struggle to gain additional grazing lands for their herds at the expense of the peasantries. 

The new leadership role in San Bartolome de los Llanos seeks men who understand two social systems, rather than just one. The new process by which leadership is recruited by the Indians of San Bartolome places emphasis upon tactical success more than the embodiment of social and cultural norms. So far, the criteria for leaders changed in recent years that non-Indians cannot claim confidence, respect, and at times, leadership among the Indians. Some of these influential persons do not fill formal posts providing rank and consequently tend to be less able to initiate action or to back up their counsel with authority. To this class of influential Indians tend to bring problems of a personal nature. These influential have value to the Indians precisely because they are literate Ladinos, cognizant of the symbolic systems by which Ladino society operates.

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

Jose Cordoba is one of the most influential of the peasants in the municipio. A Ladino, he serves as Secretary of the Bienes Comunales group. In this post the major part of the chores associated with reading and writing communications between Bienes Comunales and the outside world fall upon his shoulders. Further, most decisions concerning the admini-
ration of the lands both within and without the group's membership is
dependent upon his interpretation, as a literate person, of the national
agrarian code. His control of pertinent information and his familiarity
with the organization's sole means of communicating with national and
regional agencies—the typewriter—and his fluent command of the national
language provide him a vital position in the group's structure. Cordoba
is a leader in the Bienes Comunales group, and by this position of the
Indian community as well.

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

The secretary of the group seems to be able to generate most of his
strength in the community due to his contacts outside of it. His success
in organizing the electorate recently has shown that one can join with out-
side forces if he offers himself as a wedge to the community for prosalt-
ance. Cordoba is a member of a number of regionally-organized agrarian
groups, sits in an unprecedented position in the campesino group, locally,
and his decisions affect Indian as well as Ladino. Of all the leaders
we have discussed in this paper (with the exception of Mario), Cordoba has
been furthest from embodying the norms of the Indian group. His position
as elected Secretary of the Bienes Comunales group, and the fact that he
is a jefe of one of the largest—sixty-seven members—grupitos, of whom only
two besides himself are members of the Ladino ethnic group, testify
to the respect and power in which he is held by the Indians. His position
as a leader has not been gained through the ascribed respect and rank from
which other leaders have benefited. He is a young man, but more im-
portantly, he is considered beyond the range of generalized kin terminol-
ogy. He merits neither the respect term tata, nor even the more egalitarian
bankil. Furthermore, he has no connection whatsoever with the trad-
tional method of leadership recruitment. Unlike Taví, whose position
as President of the campesino group is symbolized by the application of the tata usage by the younger men, and distinct from
Although both Cordoba and Mario seek the governmental post of agent for an Asuntos Indigenas office (which to the best of my knowledge is not even in the planning stage) which they hope might be set up in the cabecera of San Bartolome, Mario's position is strengthened by his wife's and her role of influence and leadership in the municipio. This woman, a Ladina from San Cristobal, generally aligns herself on political or social issues with the campesinos. She is the president of the local women's auxiliary of the Confederacion Nacional de Campesinos, as well as director of one of the two state-supported Centros Alfabetizantes found in the cabecera. She serves as confidante for some of the Spanish-speaking Indian women, advising them on personal matters having to do with their family life. More important for this study of the changing pattern of leadership recruitment is the role this woman plays as an ally of the Indians when there is difficulty with Ladino governmental organs. For example, like her husband she is often appealed to by Indian families to secure the freedom of one of their members incarcerated by local courts. This influential woman not merely exhibits personal interest in a case of this sort, but acts as an agent of the ONC. Although that organization, and especially its auxiliary, wields little power in the municipio itself, its functionaries are linked to the ever-powerful regional and national units. As power continues to shift from local decision-making bodies to supra-municipal forces, local battles are won and lost dependent upon the ability of the protagonists to gain the ear of state, regional, and national personages. Mario's wife is respected and used as a counselor because of her understanding of Ladino ways, and as well because of her allegiance with non-municipal powers. His Ladina performs this service...
willingly for the Indians, creating a personal following amongst a potentially powerful socio-political force, the Indian majority of the local campesino group.

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

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

The major attribute sought for in new leaders is the ability to speak, read, and write Spanish. As leadership roles become more specifically demanding, the community has witnessed a growing separation of sacred and secular duties. The old leaders (Principales) are now devoting themselves almost exclusively to affairs of a ritual nature, while the new types of leader (representantes and Ladinos) devote themselves to problems of relating the society to the ever-increasing Ladino world.
Paradoxically, the relationship of the Indian society of San Bartolomé to the Mexican nation ensures that the more able a man is to cope with social problems faced by his people, the less he will embody the norms traditionally valued by the Indian group.

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