

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

THEMES OF INDIGENOUS ACCULTURATION IN NORTHWEST MEXICO

Thomas B. Hinton and Phil C. Weigand, editors



THE UNIVERSITY OF
ARIZONA PRESS

TUCSON

1981

Number 38

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
NUMBER 38

THEMES OF INDIGENOUS
ACCULTURATION IN
NORTHWEST MEXICO

THOMAS B. HINTON and PHIL C. WEIGAND
editors

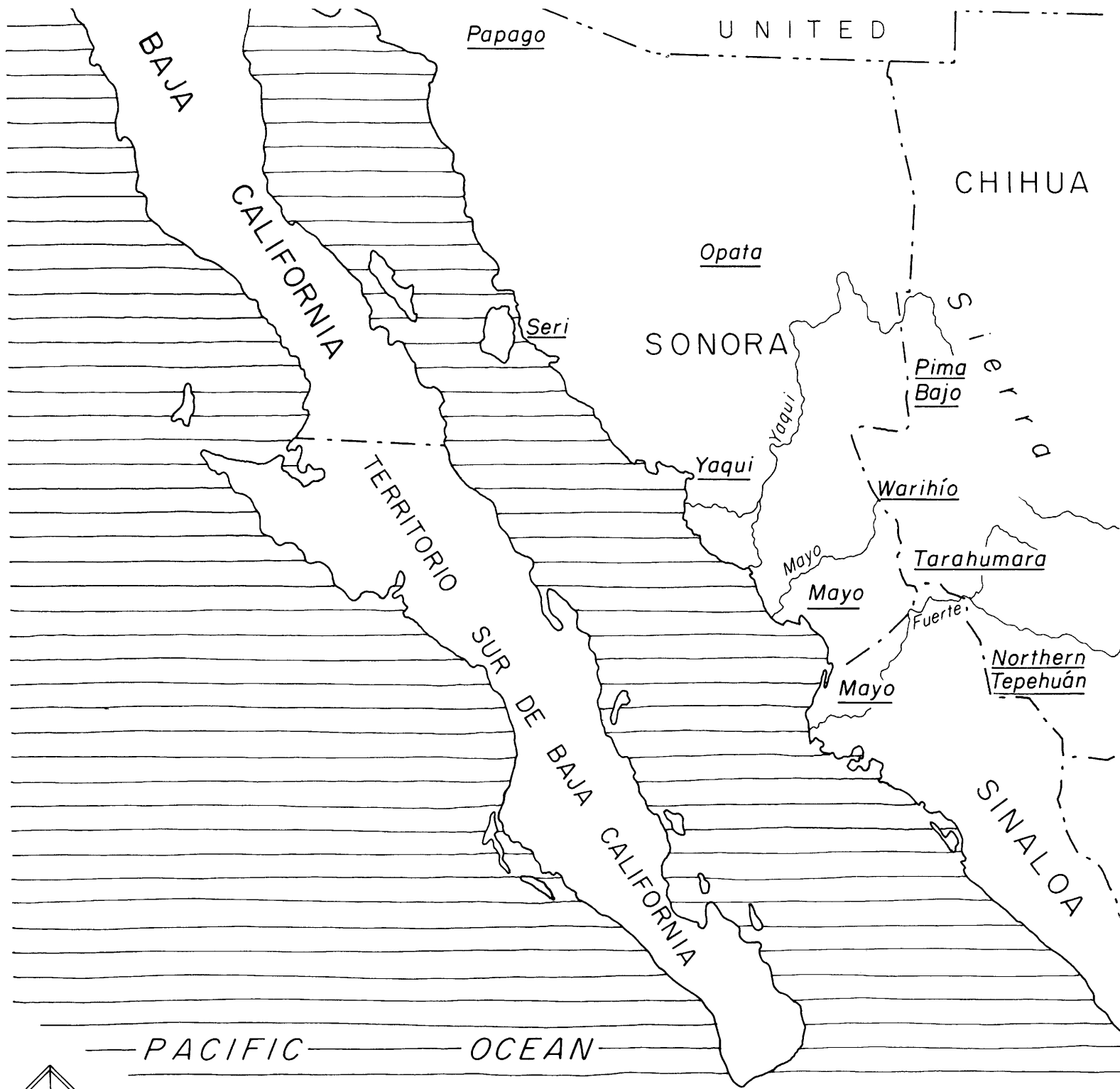
Contributors

N. Ross Crumrine	John Hobgood
Timothy Dunnigan	J. Alden Mason
William B. Griffen	Salomón Nahmad Sitton
Thomas B. Hinton	Carroll L. Riley

Phil C. Weigand



THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA PRESS
TUCSON, ARIZONA
1981



north

kilometers

0 100 200 300

miles

0 100 200 300

STATES

NORTHERN MEXICO

Showing Location
of Indian Groups
Treated in
Text



About the Editors . . .

THOMAS B. HINTON specialized in the study of the native people of northwestern Mexico. He was noted for his ability in field situations and studying with informants. He served as editor of the journal *Ethnohistory* and was a major contributor to the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*. Dr. Hinton received his B.A. degree from the University of Arizona, and master's and doctoral degrees from the University of California at Los Angeles. He taught at the University of Toronto, the University of Oklahoma, and the University of Colorado, and was Professor of Anthropology at the University of Arizona at the time of his death in 1976.

PHIL C. WEIGAND has done fieldwork throughout the American Southwest and Mexico, specializing in the archaeology and ethnography of western and northwestern Mexico. His primary interests are in economic and social organization in an archaeological and historical perspective. He holds a B.A. degree in History from Indiana University and a Ph.D. degree in Anthropology from Southern Illinois University. Dr. Weigand, a member of the faculty at the State University of New York, Stony Brook, has served as Chairman of that Department of Anthropology.

This book set 10/11 Times Roman on a V.I.P. photo typesetter.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA PRESS

Copyright© 1981
The Arizona Board of Regents
All Rights Reserved
Manufactured in the U.S.A.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

Themes of indigenous acculturation in Northwest Mexico.

(Anthropological papers of the University of Arizona; no. 38)

1. Indians of Mexico—Social conditions—Addresses, essays, lectures. 2. Indians of Mexico—Economic conditions—Addresses, essays, lectures.

3. Acculturation—Addresses, essays, lectures.

I. Hinton, Thomas B. II. Weigand, Phil C.

III. Crumrine, N. Ross. IV. Series: Arizona.

University. Anthropological papers; no. 38.

F1219.3.S57T48 972'.00497 80-39646

ISBN 0-8165-0324-9

In Memory
of
Thomas B. Hinton

CONTENTS

PREFACE	ix	5. Adaptive Strategies of Peasant Indians in a Biethnic Mexican Community: A Study of Mountain Pima Assimilation	36
1. Cultural Visibility and the Cora <i>Thomas B. Hinton</i>	1	<i>Timothy Dunnigan</i>	
2. Some Considerations of the Indirect and Controlled Acculturation in the Cora-Huichol Area <i>Salomón Nahmad Sitton</i>	4	6. Some Problems in the Analysis of the Native Indian Population of Northern Nueva Vizcaya During the Spanish Colonial Period <i>William B. Griffen</i>	50
3. Differential Acculturation Among the Huichol Indians <i>Phil C. Weigand</i>	9	7. Tepusilam and Chul: A Comparison of Mexicanero and Tepehuan Mythology <i>John Hobgood and Carroll L. Riley</i>	54
4. The Mayo of Southern Sonora: Socio- economic Assimilation and Ritual-symbolic Syncretism—Split Acculturation <i>N. Ross Crumrine</i>	22	8. The Ceremonialism of the Tepecan Indians of Azqueltan, Jalisco <i>J. Alden Mason</i>	62

FIGURES

Frontispiece		4.7 A typical Mayo home.	29
Map of Northern Mexico showing the location of Indian groups treated in the text.	ii & iii	4.8 Mayo and mestizo children breaking a piñata at a school Christmas party.	30
3.1 Map showing the limits of the Huichol in Nayarit and Jalisco, Mexico.	10	4.9 The Holy Cross fiesteros on Easter Sunday in Banari.	32
3.2 Huichol and mestizo children in San Sebastián.	15	4.10 A Banari Chapakoba (Parisero).	33
3.3 Three Huichol sisters with their new radio, San Sebastián.	16	4.11 A Banari Chapakoba.	33
3.4 Mestizo merchant men selling their wares in San Sebastián.	18	5.1 Distribution of the Mountain Branch of the Lower Pima, 1967.	37
3.5 Two Huichol young men in traditional dress but with mestizo hats, San Sebastián.	19	5.2 Sketch map of Maycoba, Sonora, 1967.	38
4.1 Cross above the spot where San Juan jumped into the Mayo River.	23	5.3 Sketch map of Yécora, Sonora, showing locations of Pima dwellings, 1967.	43
4.2 Area where San Juan jumped into the Mayo River.	24	5.4 Sketch map of La Tijera Sawmill, 1967.	46
4.3 Cross where the Saints' images were burned.	25	5.5 Sketch map of Las Cuevitas Sawmill, 1967.	46
4.4 The altar of the Banari Mayo church.	26	7.1 Map showing Tlaxcallan, Southern Tepehuan, and Mexicanero settlements in northern Mexico.	55
4.5 A Mayo church in the upper Mayo River Valley.	27	8.1 Preliminary map of San Lorenzo de Azqueltán, 1971.	63
4.6 Thorn forest in the upper Mayo Valley.	28	8.2 Funeral in Azqueltán.	70

PREFACE

The extensive culture change experienced by the Uto-Aztecan speaking peoples of northern Mexico is the subject of this volume. The papers, like the contributors, represent a variety of interests in cultural anthropology. All, however, deal with closely related peoples and their responses to contact with Europeans that began nearly four and a half centuries ago.

This volume had its inception in a symposium on culture change in northern Mexico which took place at the 1970 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. Subsequent compilation of the papers and development of the book have been understandably impeded by the untimely and unfortunate death of Tom Hinton in 1976. I am positive that I speak for all the contributing authors when I dedicate these essays to his memory.

Many discussions of northern Mexican ethnography state that the area is a blank spot on the anthropological map, and that the native cultures, with a few exceptions, have all but disappeared. While northwest Mexico may still be poorly represented in ethnographic publications if compared with a region of massive anthropological literature such as the American Southwest or Mesoamerica, there is now a rather extensive published literature on the surviving Indians of the region and still more information available in unpublished sources.

Observations of the native peoples of the Mexican Northwest began in Spanish colonial times with the explorers and the missionary priests who followed them. These early travelers left vast amounts of documentary material, much of it still to be studied in the archives of Mexico and Spain. Writers such as Perez de Rivas, Arias de Saavedra, Tello, Mange, and scores of others give us an historic baseline for this area. Many of these sources are confused, fragmentary, and display the expected bias of the writers, but they have furnished us with the time depth necessary for culture change research. From some of the colonial accounts the relationship between the earlier peoples and their present-day descendants is clear and distinct; in others, similarities are elusive or seemingly nonexistent.

Modern anthropological investigation began in this region in the 1880s, and can be examined in three periods, each roughly representing the interest of the times. Research has always been hampered by the sheer physical isolation of the area, by periods of political unrest in the years of the revolutions, and by the generally mistaken idea that native cultures in these regions were nearly extinct. Scholars working in this area have been characterized by a broad range of interests in anthropology. This has both advanced and hampered an understanding of the area. By

and large, there have been many surveys, but few in-depth, detailed studies of specific aspects of Indian life in northern Mexico.

The first anthropologists who became interested in northern Mexico were basically explorers hoping to find links between the southwestern United States and Middle America, or, like the German scholar Preuss, were looking for survivals of ancient Mexican religions. The best known of the explorers was the pioneer Carl Lumholtz, who visited and mapped the Indian groups of the Sierra Madre region in the 1890s. Other pioneers such as Hrdlička, Bandelier, and McGee were active in limited areas. Of these scholars only Preuss and Lumholtz produced in-depth studies, the former working with Cora religion and linguistics, and the latter with Huichol symbolism.

The area saw few anthropologists during the 1910–1917 Revolution. About 1930, cultural geographers Carl Sauer and Donald Brand and anthropologist Ralph Beals rediscovered the area, and their publications inspired a number of studies. Most of these were concerned with the cultural history of the north Mexican tribes. Interest in possible links between the American Southwest and central Mexico was still strong. This period produced several ethnographies such as Bennett and Zingg's study of the Tarahumara, Beals's work among the Cahita, and Zingg's study of the Huichol.

Since the Second World War and especially since 1950, research has accelerated in the area so that nearly every group has been studied to some degree. We can point to the work of Spicer (Yaqui); Kennedy (Tarahumara); Pennington (Tarahumara and Tepehuan); Benítez (Huichol and Cora); Grimes, Fabila, Negrín, Furst, Myerhoff, Anguiano, and Muller (Huichol); Shadow (Tepecan); and the work of each of the present authors. All these investigators have covered aspects of social anthropology and thus we can see a significant and growing literature for most of this area. There is still a great need for detailed in-depth studies on social organization, languages, ethnobotany, and even aspects of material culture. Most workers in this region are impressed by the vast amount of data that could still be collected from each of these groups, and most of us realize we have only scratched the surface of this rich anthropological province.

Much of the information recovered in the area still remains to be published. More sophisticated modern techniques for gathering and recording research material are being employed. We now have considerable ethnographic film footage from every group, and groups such as the Huichol and Tarahumara have been the subjects of a great deal of both anthropological and popular photography.

All the authors of this volume are anthropologists who have done fieldwork in northern Mexico. All are academics except Dr. Nahmad, who heads the Instituto Nacional Indigenista of Mexico. In most cases their papers reflect the major anthropological interests of the authors, all of whom have continuing interests in northern Mexico.

The colonial period and its aftermath are the focus of William Griffen's discussion of the population dynamics among groups disappearing under Spanish pressure. Griffen has done extensive research in the famous archives at Parral, Chihuahua, and elsewhere, and his work illustrates what can be done with the rich resources available for the ethnohistorian in northern Mexico. Historic resources of the sixteenth century combined with ethnographic data from later times provide the base for comparison of Mexicanero and Tepehuan mythology by John Hobgood and Carroll Riley. The Mexicanero themselves, who the authors speculate are Nahuatl-speaking descendants of emigrants from Tlaxcala, remain one of the puzzling peoples of the western Sierra Madre.

The late J. Alden Mason was the only anthropologist with extensive contacts among the Tepecan Indians of Jalisco before their culture was largely extinguished. His paper, edited by Phil Weigand, incorporates unpublished notes on Tepecan ceremonialism gathered in the early years of this century and serves to illustrate the cultural ties of the Tepecan to other groups in the area—for example, the Tepehuan, Cora, and Huichol.

Timothy Dunnigan describes and discusses the remote and little-known Pima Bajo of the northern Sierra Madre and outlines the fierce competition between the Pima and the non-Indian residents of the area. Similar situations occur in other parts of the Sierra Madre (see the essay by Nahmad Sitton in this volume).

Ross Crumrine, whose paper deals with the role of symbolism and belief in a culture change situation, continues his series of articles on the Mayo of Sonora. This chapter is another example of the many factors that come into play in acculturation situations.

Salomón Nahmad's paper discusses the culture change taking place in the Cora-Huichol area in light of increased contact, changing economic patterns, and the influence and direction of agencies of the Mexican government. Nahmad directed the Tepic Centro Coordinador for the Instituto Nacional Indigenista operating among the Cora and Huichol. In writing this chapter, he has drawn upon his personal experience in the INI program among these groups.

The co-editors of the volume, Hinton and Weigand, point out some dominant factors in the acculturation situation among the Cora and the Huichol, respectively.

It is evident from the papers that the study of culture change in northern Mexico involves a wide range of factors; each paper touches on but a small part of the massive changes occurring in this area. With increased communication and ongoing modernization in most of these areas, northern Mexico has become a major stage on which to observe culture change in action.

Appreciation is expressed to the members of the symposium, including Dr. Peter Furst as well as the authors represented in this volume. Dr. Ralph Beals, pioneer in northern Mexican studies, was the distinguished commentator for the symposium.

All of the authors have made long treks on muleback or foot into the back country of northern Mexico and have enjoyed the hospitality, and occasionally the suspicion, of the peoples they were visiting. We express a debt of gratitude to these northern Mexican peoples for allowing us to observe and sometimes take part in their lifeways.

In addition, we would like to thank Dr. Raymond H. Thompson for his help and encouragement. Andrés Fabregas Puíg for the translation of some of the material, and Gail Hershberger and Carol A. Gifford for their fine editorial assistance. Doris Sample typed the manuscript for transmission and we are grateful for her accuracy and skill in telecommunications. Charles Sternberg kindly drew the Frontispiece. The work of the University of Arizona Press and its dedicated staff in publishing this book is especially appreciated.

Phil C. Weigand

1. CULTURAL VISIBILITY AND THE CORA

Thomas B. Hinton

Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona

In a world where national states are actively encouraging the integration of their minority peoples, submerged ethnic enclaves that have been ignored or otherwise permitted to lead nearly independent cultural existences are finding it necessary to work out new adjustments with the larger societies in which the accidents of geography and history have enmeshed them. Characteristically, these groups seek to retain, as much as is possible, a continuing sense of cultural identity even when incorporation into the national political unit is totally accepted. While large national minorities, such as the Kurds, the Basques, or the Tamils, with numbers running into the millions, continue to exist with some success within larger political units, most small tribal groups and other minor societies find cultural survival ever more difficult. Apart from increasing political and economic pressures, another factor has emerged in that any suggestion of the colorful, the "primitive," or the hallucinogenic anywhere in the world tends to attract a wide range of outsiders who come to exploit or patronize picturesque and highly visible cultures. This attention, which reflects the modern industrial world's thirst for rapidly disappearing opportunities for exploration and romantic adventure, has pulled many of the less acculturated native peoples into the limelight. The growing number of photographers, writers, anthropologists, and adventurers who are drawn to such groups serves to bring them to the attention of more far-reaching forces for change such as missionaries and government planners (who also appear to be attracted in disproportionate numbers to the exotic). Publicity is reshaping the lives of tribal peoples throughout the world: in northern Mexico the Seri, the Tarahumara, and the Huichol, all "exotic" to outsiders, are now experiencing this phenomenon, as did many Southwestern Indians earlier.

Minority ethnic groups undergoing pressure from other peoples tend to set up social boundaries between themselves and others as a defense against their own acculturation. Phenomena of this sort have been termed boundary-maintaining mechanisms by social scientists, and they include a wide range of attitudes, practices, and structures aimed at the prevention of too close a contact between the groups involved. This paper discusses a survival technique of this general nature. Specifically, it deals with those patterns through which the Cora Indians of Nayarit have been

able to distract attention from themselves so as to present a low profile to the outside world. This effort toward cultural invisibility has become one of this group's most effective methods in avoiding too intense an involvement in the larger system.

The Cora live in eight communities in the southern Sierra Madre Occidental. The villages are semiautonomous societies and are structurally similar to many other Indian communities of Middle America. Social interaction above the family level takes place around a tightly organized village religious *cargo* system. This institution has been a major factor in the continuation of Cora identity. Isolation has been an influence as well. But in addition, the Cora display a strong tendency toward secrecy and a great reluctance to become a focus of attention from non-Cora. This almost institutional secrecy is a trait commented on by nearly all previous writers who have dealt with these Indians (Lumholtz 1902; Preuss 1912; Vogt 1955; Ibarra 1943), and it apparently goes back to colonial days when it was deplored by the missionary priests who worked in this area. Vogt (1955) aptly terms the Cora "*muy cerrado*" (very closed), using a term applied by local mestizos to the Indians.

An atmosphere of concealment is evident almost immediately on contact with the Cora villager. A typical Cora never volunteers information, and questions beyond a few superficials are parried, ignored, or answered with an absolute minimum of data. Mestizo folklore has it that the first words of Spanish a Cora child is taught are "pues, sabe" ("well, who knows")—the expected response to any questioning. So close-mouthed are they that it is usual for an outsider—that is, a non-Cora—to learn of major happenings in the community, even some of the most important annual ceremonies, only if he stumbles on them by accident. Preuss, who worked among the Cora in 1906, narrates some of the difficulties in approaching these people:

... I wandered in vain from one hut to the next trying to learn just a few of the songs and myths. They did not even want to give me the name of the singer and they denied the names that the Mexican villagers had given me were the names of singers, they were constantly sick or had just gone to their ranches, ... they had gone shopping in Tepic or somewhere. I had the same response when I went to the village called Mesa del Nayarit. [1912, p. XVI]

It is a common belief of these people that to furnish outsiders with esoteric information exposes one to illness or death due to the displeasure of the deities. Benitez (1970: 415-17)

Note: This article is based on fieldwork carried out in Nayarit, Mexico, 1959-1970, and supported by grants from the George Barker Fellowship of UCLA and the National Institutes of Health, as well as faculty research grants from the University of Toronto and the University of Arizona.

relates how his Cora informant, a respected *curandero*, was ever fearful of divine retribution, and how a shaman's subsequent untimely death was attributed by the other Indians to his unaccustomed break with the tradition of secrecy. I have heard of many other such occurrences among the Cora, these being a common explanation for the general reluctance to serve as an informant.

In the matter of personal visibility a similar attitude is expressed. Although Cora culture is almost as distinct from mestizo culture as that of the Huichol, Cora individuals are often difficult to distinguish from mestizos even in their own villages. Dress is drab and shows little distinction except that in some areas it is old fashioned, being the traditional *calzones* and *guaraches* of rural Mexico. While exotic and colorfully garbed Huichol Indians attract great attention on the roads and in the cities of western Mexico, Cora Indians are often present in the same area but are seldom noticed. The Huichol tend to exploit this attention by begging, securing gifts, and selling handicrafts. The Cora greatly dislike being singled out for special notice, so that making themselves conspicuous in the cities is out of the question and begging is unheard of. Even in Tepic, the city nearest the Cora area, few of the inhabitants are able to distinguish Cora people from rural peasants. While most Indians in coastal Nayarit are commonly termed "Coritas," it is usually the Huichol who are so identified.

The desire for low visibility appears to be of long duration among the Cora. In 1673 Antonio Arias de Saavedra, a Franciscan padre stationed at Acaponeta near the northwestern frontier of the Cora, described the still unsubjected Indians of the Sierra as dressing well in their own rancherías but as wearing poor clothing when they came into the Spanish-controlled areas to trade; "... ellos andan bien vestidos, y para salir fuera se visten pobremente" (Arias 1673). In Cora folktales the hero is often poorly dressed and unassuming and goes unnoticed by his enemies, but he is strong, alert, and self-sufficient beneath his drab exterior—an apt expression of a Cora's strongly positive image of himself. At the same time the Cora are neither timid, subservient, nor easily deceived, and few can take advantage of them (Lumholtz 1902; Hinton 1964).

A minor manifestation of this desire for a low profile is reflected in the attitude toward selling articles of Cora manufacture to outsiders—artifacts that would be classed as ethnic and art objects. Such sales are generally made with great reluctance. While making an ethnographic collection in the area, it is common for the collector to hear that the object in question should not be sold, that it does not want to leave the area, that it should remain hidden from foreign eyes. Just the opposite attitude seems to prevail among the Huichol, with their growing industry in art objects made for sale, including copies and elaborations of ceremonial material.

Modern Cora culture as a distinctive lifeway focuses on religious activity. Not surprisingly, the whole immense body of Cora religious practice is only peripherally visible to the non-Indian. Cora group religion today consists of two extensive complexes—one folk Catholic and one predominantly native Indian. The two are considered two sides of the same coin by the Indians, since each major deity has its Christian or "baptized" image represented by a *santo* in the

church as well as its non-Christian or unbaptized manifestation represented by native deities and spirits. And each complex has a great mass of *costumbre* or religious practice. The non-church observances are seldom seen even by local mestizos and they are almost never mentioned to outsiders. Except for the very visible public parts of the fiestas such as the dance groups and certain activities connected with Easter Week, even the Christian-derived *costumbre* is carried on primarily in secret. Most religious ceremony takes place at night or out of view of the mestizos. Aware of disapproval by the church of much of their religious *costumbre*, the Cora do not encourage priests to attend ceremonies not directly involving them. Non-Cora are seldom invited to Cora events; at best they are tolerated, for the most part they are ignored. No accommodation is made for visitors and no attempt is made to welcome those who appear.

The Indians have developed an effective and simple method to divert the attention of non-Cora from their full ceremonial activities. A Cora can explain his religious views in Spanish, using the Christian names of the major religious figures. The outsider will learn that the Cora does indeed believe in God, the Holy Virgin in several manifestations, Jesus, San Miguel, San Francisco, San Antonio, and so on, and in sin, Heaven, and Hell. The explanation would differ little from that which could be obtained from a mestizo peasant in the same area. Indeed, it would follow as closely as possible what the Cora considers conventional mestizo belief. Non-Christian practices would be minimized or explained away as adoration for or of a particular *santo*. An explanation by the same informant in his own language to another Cora would give an entirely different view of the universe. A native cosmology and concepts reminiscent of Precolumbian Mexico would emerge, and little overt Christian influence would be evident. The true Cora conceptions of their deities would appear. Tayao, "our father"; Tayasu, "our grandfather" (the sun and the fire); Tati, "our mother" (who is the maize); Tati Tetewa, "our mother who dwells in the underworld"; Tahas, "our elder brother" (who appears as the morning star); Muchitana, lord of the dead; and the hundreds of taquats, minor gods, and spirits of the earth and the hills and the waters, would come forth as still existing and meaningful in the Indian pantheon (Hinton 1971; Preuss 1912).

This double treatment of religion, whether always conscious or not, appears to have been effective for centuries; even those who have spent long periods of time with the Cora seem to have received only a vague idea of the esoteric side of their religion. For instance, the astute and scholarly Jesuit Ortega, who spent twenty years as a missionary here in the eighteenth century, was evidently unaware that native religious practices had survived to a substantial degree (Ortega 1754: 30).

Cora patterns of concealment can probably be traced to a long period of conditioning to missionary pressures that took place after their final defeat in the early eighteenth century. Never given to cooperation with their conquerors, they seem to have developed a type of underground resistance in which Catholic practices were accepted, but what was essentially the old religion continued underground in conjunction with Christianity. A tendency toward secrecy

has since been reinforced by historical events and by generations of economic competition with non-Indians in the Sierra.

Another mechanism has been developed in dealing with official bodies, both religious and political, that try to introduce programs in which the Indians may not wish to become involved. Recognizing that they have no real political power and that direct opposition merely intensifies the pressure on themselves, the Cora accept outside directives. Thereafter, the directives are set aside and essentially ignored. In those cases in which the Cora recognize real advantage to themselves, such as campaigns against cattle disease or professional legal advice, the cooperation is genuine.

From an early age, Cora children are admonished not to push themselves ahead of others or to attract individual attention. Chief access to prestige is through the religious *cargo* system, in which the ideal is to carry out one's duties adequately—no more, no less. Personal aggression and individual display are discouraged. These values extend to many phases of life. Especially fine clothes are not worn by a traditional Cora even though he may be well-to-do, and there is little in the way of adornment or personal display. For a Cora to transgress in this respect is to invite the negative comment that he is acting like a *vecino* (mestizo) or that he would like to become a *vecino*. The average Cora is content to remain in the background, secure in his feeling of spiritual superiority and deprecating the aggressive, individualistic, and sometimes violent mestizo rancheros with whom he shares the Sierra. Conspicuous display is considered not only socially undesirable but a positive danger as well. Young people are advised not to boast of their livestock or productive milpas and to conceal their money, since a good field or ranch will interest mestizos and money or other property will attract borrowers, thieves, and other exploiters.

Much of this attitude can be summed up in the statement of an elderly Cora who volunteered the following:

The Huichol is like a *guacamayo*, a parrot with brilliant plumage who makes a loud squawk and attracts the attention of all. The Cora is like a little sparrow hawk, with dull feathers and little sound, and is seldom noticed. It is a simple matter for a hunter to spot a *guacamayo*, kill him, and take his pretty feathers; no one bothers the sparrow hawk. The mestizos will take the best land from the Huichol and the priests will snatch away his *costumbre* like the hunter plucks the *guacamayo*. The Cora is poor and ugly and few are tempted by his possessions. We know that in time our race will disappear. But by then the Huicholes will have been long extinct.

Today the Cora are obsessed with the fear of losing their lands to mestizo settlers and with the loss of their *costumbre*, which they believe will finally result in the extinction of their identity. With a sense of their essential

helplessness in the face of an all-pervasive alternate system of life, they have developed the tactics of secrecy and low visibility as one of the few possible means of retaining their cherished traditions, which they consider the true Mexican customs.

In the last few years there have been indications that methods aimed at achieving cultural invisibility are less effective than in former times. This is primarily a consequence of increased communication. The outside world is gradually pushing into the Sierra, and there are fewer ways to avoid its influences for there are fewer places to hide. A few Cora have been prevailed upon to lower their protective walls for personal gain, and the past several years have seen the development of conflict among some of the communities (González Ramos 1972: 72–75). Once during each year the Cora become a tourist attraction—Easter week rites held in some of the villages have been the subject of photographic coverage and this has developed some tourist interest and attendance. In spite of these developments, however, the phenomena discussed in this paper are still strong influences in Cora life.

REFERENCES

- Arias, Antonio
1673 Córta e Informe del Fr. Antonio Arias al Gral. Fr. Francisco Trebena sobre el país de Nayarit. Document in Biblioteca Nacional de México.
- Benítez, Fernando
1970 Nostalgia del Paraiso. *Los Indios de México* (Libro II). México: Ediciones Era.
- González Ramos, Gildardo
1972 *Los Coras*. Mexico: Instituto Nacional Indigenista.
- Hinton, Thomas B.
1964 The Cora Village: A Civil Religious Hierarchy in Northern Mexico. In *Culture Change and Stability, Essays in Memory of Olive Ruth Barker and George C. Barker, Jr.*, edited by R. Beals. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
1971 An Analysis of Religious Syncretism among the Cora of Nayarit. *Proceedings of the 38th International Congress of Americanists* 3: 275–79.
- Ibarra, Alfredo, Jr.
1943 Entre Los Indios Coras de Nayarit. *Anuario de la Sociedad Folklórica de México IV*.
- Lumholtz, Carl
1902 *Unknown Mexico* (Vol. 1). New York: Scribners.
- Ortega, Joseph, S. J.
1754 *Maravillosa reduccion y Conquista de la Provincia de San Joseph del Gran Nayar*. Barcelona. (Reprint, Mexico: Editorial Layac, 1944.)
- Preuss, Konrad T.
1912 *Die Nayarit-Expedition. Toma I, Die Religion der Cora-Indianer*. Leipzig: Treubner.
- Vogt, Evon Z.
1955 Some Aspects of Cora-Huichol Acculturation. *América Indígena* 15 (4).

2. SOME CONSIDERATIONS OF THE INDIRECT AND CONTROLLED ACCULTURATION IN THE CORA-HUICHOL AREA

Salomón Nahmad Sitton

Director General, Educación Indígena

Secretaría de Educación Pública, Mexico

(Translated by Horacio Larrain, Giorgio Perissinotto, and Andrés Fabregas Puíg)

INTRODUCTION

During the last two years there has been discussion in academic circles about the theory and practice of *indigenismo*, as set forth by social scientists in general and anthropologists in particular. It is important to point out that during the same period the analysis and criticism of the Mexican Revolution has increased up to the point where it has been called an ex-revolution. It is beyond any doubt that the criticism leveled against applied anthropology, *indigenismo*, and the Revolution is actually one and the same thing; for it was the Revolution that gave birth to *indigenismo* and the idea that the indigenous communities in the most backward regions of the country could be transformed by practical actions and by revolutionary spirit.

The *indigenismo* concept has been formulated and developed as a consequence of the following two basic factors:

1. The need that has been and still is felt by politicians to develop methods that would justify the application of programs leading to the continuing unification of an ethnically diversified nation.

2. The desire to ameliorate the basic conditions, both social and economic, in which millions of Indians are living. Subsistence economies and subjection to exploitation of the colonial type are still the basic patterns in these refuge areas. The exploitation, due to the expansion of modern capitalism, has been refined and through new mechanisms it has kept the indigenous groups in their continued state of abject poverty and political submission.

The idealism behind *indigenismo*, which Manuel Gamio initiated and Lazaro Cardenas pursued, constituted in different forms and manifestations a kind of avant-garde within the framework of the Revolution; it was expected that the contradictions of a growing urban and industrial society with clear social strata and with opposing interests should be solved within this same framework. There persist some ethnic groups such as the Cora and Huichol Indians that are entirely left out and isolated from national life. Their languages, traditions, and clothing show this isolation, but they are continuously subjected to exploitation by

small groups of individuals who have taken advantage of the Revolution in order to penetrate the remote regions of these Indians and turn those human and natural resources toward their own benefit.

It is not infrequent to find among the Cora and Huichol Indians rich businessmen, high-ranking politicians, and even priests from Guadalajara or Tepic who are greatly interested in controlling the labor force of the "coritas" and "huicholitos," terms by which the mestizos designate the Cora, Huichol, and Tepehuan Indians. This labor force is employed in the harvest of beans, corn, and tobacco in the rich coastlands of Nayarit; it is also utilized to tend and fatten, on Indian lands, the cattle belonging to the rich members of the cattle associations. The wealthy merchants send their middlemen, provided with radios, weapons, and alcoholic beverages, to practice in the Cora and Huichol Sierra what they call "huicholear," that is, a kind of itinerant trade. The mestizo ranchers who are engaged in this trade visit the Indians wearing charro clothes and huaraches, and, most important, armed with pistols and high-powered rifles to impress the Indians with the great differences between their life-styles. These middlemen represent the *patrones* who live in Mezquitic, Bolaños, Acaponeta, Ruíz, or Tepic. The *patrones* are distinguished members of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) and occasionally they are *municipio* presidents. These are, in fact, a new elite who know how to manipulate political and economic connections and organizations like the Departamento Agrario, and Secretaría de Agricultura y Ganadería. In this way, what should be an instrument for the protection of the Indians has turned into a weapon against them; a circle of economic control has in this manner been closely drawn around them.

Year after year it is possible to observe hundreds of Huichol families living under the trees on the Nayarit coast in abject conditions that usually characterize societies that have never undergone a revolution. From January to May, months during which they migrate from the Sierra to the coast in order to earn some money to buy corn and pay the return ticket by airplane, unhealthy conditions, promiscuity, and lack of labor protection of any kind are common.

In this brief resumé, I try to describe the other face of the Cora and Huichol world—not that of the "magic" Sierra inhabited by their gods, but cultures deeply affected by modern society, with which they must come in close contact because of their frequent migrations inside and outside their own *comunidades* and ranchos when working as "braceros."

Note: This article is a preliminary report of a larger study on the Cora and Huichol Indians. The information came from field experience while I was Director of the Centro Coordinador Indigenista of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista for the Cora-Huichol area (1967-1969).

Their religious symbols have also been the target of considerable official interest in the form of the Sociedad de Amigos de los Huicholes, made up of some of the finest and oldest families of the areas. They contribute to the betterment of the Indians' lot by giving a few coins and used clothing. This material is delivered to them by the dedicated nuns and priests of the Franciscan order, who try with all their might to save the souls of the pagan Indians just as their forerunners did in the sixteenth century.

The critics of *indigenismo* state that applied anthropology is an ideological instrument of colonialism and that it is used by the present federal government as a method of subjecting the ethnic minorities, either through paternalism, or through liberal integrative programs that are applied "from the point of view of justice and convenience of the nation" (Caso 1962). The objective, according to Caso, would be to induce the ethnic groups to take part in national life even though in fact they will occupy the lowest social stratum. All means, including nationalism, are employed to acculturate these groups. Common methods are to induce migration to the cities or enrollment by the Indians themselves as land workers in the new ranches or in their own *ejidos* (often rented to others) where they have to work as *peones*, masons or servants. By doing this, the Indians automatically come to be considered integrated, and, as a group, nonexistent.

Let us now analyze the results of applied anthropology that we can observe in the zone occupied by the Cora and Huichol Indians, 60 years after the Revolution. Let us also note the social changes and acculturation brought about by transformations within the states of Jalisco and Nayarit. Finally, let us examine the changes resulting from almost 20 years of new Christian evangelization and the 10-year-old program of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista. Let us ask ourselves, at the end of this paper, about the future hopes and aspirations of the Cora and the Huichol.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AREA

Briefly, we can say that the Cora-Huichol area is one of the most isolated regions of Mexico because of its rugged topography, which, up to the present time, has prevented communication by roads. The only practical way for outsiders and government personnel to reach their ceremonial centers is by light airplane.

This area, comprising nearly 20 *municipios*, is located within four states: Jalisco, Nayarit, Zacatecas, and Durango (see Frontis.). In other words, the Cora and the Huichol are politically fragmented; only one *comunidad* corresponds with a *municipio*. Thus, the inability to express themselves politically seems inherent because of the Indians' traditional dispersed settlement pattern.

This region encompasses nearly 10,000 square kilometers and is crossed by several large rivers that flow south through deep canyons. The rugged terrain is also responsible for the isolation of the Sierra's indigenous communities. Each group is composed of extended families that come together only during the most important occasions. Only the Cora possess a kind of confederation that unifies the different communities, the head of which is the *gobernador* of the village Jesús María.

THE ECOLOGY OF CULTURAL REFUGE

The characteristics indicated above explain sufficiently why time in the Sierra passes almost without notice. The inhabitants live isolated from one another and engage only in agriculture, in stock breeding and, above all, in religious ceremonies such as the trip undertaken to seek peyote, the feast of the *elote*, the *pachitas*, the Holy Week, and the trip to San Blás to visit Aramara. Their traditions and cultural patterns are strongly embedded in their environment.

The existence of monolingualism among nearly 10,000 Cora and approximately the same number of Huichol Indians is an indication of limited social change. Generally, only the men who have been working in the coastal regions understand and speak a little Spanish. Their agrarian leaders speak some Spanish, even though the majority of them are still illiterate. In the Cora community of Santa Teresa, for example, only one adult was able to read and write Spanish in 1969.

The Cora and Huichol Indians call themselves *nayares* and *virrarcas* respectively; all the other persons who are not part of their own ethnic groups are called *tehuaris*, which is a synonym for *blanco* or *vecino*. *Tehuari*, as a term, is used as a mode of self-defense or revenge for the way the Indians are usually humiliated by the mestizos who address them indiscriminately and refer to them in general as *tu*, *coritas*, and *huicholitos*.

The cultural life of the Cora and Huichol Indians is composed of traditional patterns, stable for centuries, and they continue living in their mythological world, with their legends and all other traditional forms of their culture.

RESISTANCE TO CHANGE

The Cora and the Huichol seem at first sight to be resistant to change. Nevertheless, we can see them boarding airplanes with total ease, or carrying transistor radios under their arms, or drinking endless cans of beer. The few aspects of *vecino* life that are of interest to them are picked up rapidly; more difficult to analyze are the changes that relate to agricultural and livestock-breeding techniques. The fiercest resistance to change is offered when attempts are made to alter their religious concept of the world and their subsequent interpretations of life. For a Huichol, as an example, to abandon his traditional clothing is also to abandon the symbols such as the embroidered deer and scorpion that protect his life.

To marry a *tehuari* means to lose group identity. Thus, half-Cora or half-Huichol Indians are not accepted because that would mean danger for the unity of the group. Such individuals as the former official of the *bienes comunales* of Guadalupe Ocotán are rejected. This man was followed by only a few Indians and was despised by the rest of the community for having transferred some land belonging to the town to the mestizo village of Huajimíc, and for feeling closer to his father, a mestizo farmer of Zacatecas, now living in Guadalupe Ocotán, than toward his mother, a Huichol Indian. Even those Huichol Indians who in the last 40 years have moved from their ranchos in the Sierra to the coast and to the banks of the Río Santiago (such as to Colorado de Mora, a village of complete acculturation) do

not accept any kind of change in their behavior and cultural patterns. As an example, a member of the community brought home the daughter of a coastal farmer. She had to suffer all kinds of humiliations from her own family for taking this step. The community, however, did not accept her and excluded her totally from the life of the group so that she finally was forced to leave, abandoning her Huichol husband and the community.

THE REVOLUTION AND ITS INFLUENCE

It cannot be doubted that the Mexican Revolution brought about fundamental changes in many regions of the country. In the case of the Cora and Huichol Indians, however, even if their problems did not become worse than before the Revolution, it is certain that many such as the agrarian problem still persist. The agrarian reform confirmed the titles of communal lands owned traditionally by the *comunidades*. This confirmation, however, was *de jure* rather than *de facto*. Indians have frequently been put in jail and even murdered by the mestizos to facilitate the alienation of their lands. Some examples will illuminate this situation. In the village of Jesús María, a nefarious leader, supposedly Cora, through bribes given to employees of the Departamento Agrario, knowingly allowed the majority of the lands belonging to the *comunidad* to be alienated. This seizure was based on the pretext that the leaders of Jesús María had refused to join the Brigada Adolfo López Mateos. This brigade was nothing else than an official tool for legally dispossessing the Indians of their legitimately owned lands. The same thing happened in San Andrés Cohamiata, when that *comunidad* was deprived of 30,000 hectares to form a supposedly new *comunidad* named Santa Rosa. Santa Rosa was in fact a personal estate of a mestizo who, during his 15 years as secretary to the Huichol governor of San Andrés Cohamiata, acquired more than 2,000 head of cattle that had formerly belonged to the members of the *comunidad*.

This same brigade saw that the lands belonging to the village of Guadalupe Ocotán were considered part of Huajimic, depriving the Huichol Indians of their possession. The presidential resolution that formalized the dispossession of the land also saw to it that no Huichol were represented in its reorganization. In addition, the Huichol Indians were threatened with being thrown into the *barranca* if they insisted on their land rights. As compensation for work done by these "revolutionary defenders" of the Indians, one of their leaders was named a federal deputy with the total support of the invading cattlemen and those with economic power in Tepic. One of the most courageous Huichol leaders, on the other hand, spent two years in jail and was found guilty of alleged crimes against the established order of the Sierra (see the description of this same case in Benítez 1968).

A final example is the case of an 11-year-old girl, niece of one of the promoters of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista, who was raped in her mother's presence by mestizo cattlemen from San Juan Peyotán as a demonstration of their unwillingness to give up already alienated lands formerly belonging to San Andrés Cohamiata. When the Huichol leaders wanted to arrest the criminals, they were disarmed by the judicial police of the State of Nayarit. It turned out that the police chief was the brother of one of the criminals,

who occupied an important position within the government. These examples, collected during three years of research, illustrate how the land is alienated in the Sierra. As for the economy and technology both in agriculture and in cattle breeding, the methods employed are substantially the same as described by Lumholtz: the unproductive *coamil* and a few head of cattle are all the Cora and Huichol continue to need in order to subsist.

From the political and administrative points of view, it was evident in 1969 that three of the states had, intentionally or unintentionally, determined that each Huichol *comunidad* was organized into a different *municipio*. According to this system, one community was located in Durango, four in Jalisco, and two in Nayarit. Others were organized into ejidos within Nayarit. Their participation in municipal politics is severely limited and they are not taken into consideration in the decisions of interest to the whole *municipio*. In the case of the Cora Indians, the great majority of their communities form one *municipio*, in which there is a struggle for power for the office of *municipio* president between the mestizos and the Cora. In the 1970 elections, three individuals took part, as *precandidatos* of PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional), for the office of president of the *municipio* of Nayar. The first candidate, from San Juan Peyotán, represented the interests of the mestizo cattlemen; the second, a Cora Indian, was a primary-school teacher; and the last one was chosen by the Indian governors of Jesús María, Santa Teresa, Mesa del Nayar, and San Francisco. PRI determined that the best candidate, according to the political goals of the state, would be the Cora teacher, although there was strong opposition from the mestizos and, strangely enough, from the Cora Indians themselves. The teacher, although born in Jesús María of Cora parents, had recently married a mestizo girl, and because of this marriage the traditional Cora opposed him. They finally won out over his candidacy, and put in his place their original candidate.

Generally speaking, the Indians remain completely indifferent to the political events at state and national levels. They do not understand the forces of economic or political power; the only thing they know is that the mestizo or *tehuari* is always considered to be right and that justice and power are always on his side. The relationships between mestizos and Indians, consequently, are reduced to a minimum. There are some minimal commercial transactions, but the Indians are afraid when they have to demand justice for themselves and show themselves distressed and fearful if they have to face mestizos, from whom they have received—as in the case of the invading mestizo ranchers—only violence, aggression, and contempt.

The norms and values of the *tehuaris* are considered by these Indians as strange, and they definitely prefer their own traditions and norms in marriage and in the administration of justice. They prefer to have recourse to their Indian governors to solve their inheritance problems and any other civil affairs, and they comply with these decisions without further discussion.

By government policy, the attempt has been made for more than 40 years to instill nationalistic ideas into the Indians through formal education. However, these groups have always shown passive resistance to these programs, and the teachers themselves consider the effort useless.

During the presidential term of Lazaro Cardenas, two boarding-house schools for Indian children were opened, but they were soon closed because of lack of attendance by the children and despite strong pressures to keep them open.

THE NEW EVANGELIZATION

As a result of the expulsion of the Jesuits at the end of the eighteenth century, their missions among the Huichol Indians were abandoned. The missionary work was reinitiated in 1953 by the Franciscans, who took on the responsibility for the Christianization of the Cora, Huichol, and Tepehuan Indians. They received the support of the church and created the first bishopric in Jesús María.

The missionaries have tried incessantly to obtain the Indians' adherence to Christianity and their abandonment of those ceremonies and religious symbols that are clearly traditional and prehispanic and show few elements of syncretism. In fact, the Cora and the Huichol cannot be considered as Christians at all. The rejection of the missionaries by the Indians, not only collectively but also individually, is only a reflection of the little interest shown by the Indians in changing their rituals and other forms of their religious life.

In the Huichol community of Guadalupe Ocotán, the missionaries gained the trust of the aforementioned leader of the community and a little group of followers. They destroyed, by burning, the *calihuey* (ceremonial center) and vigorously prohibited its reconstruction. These Huichol Indians have thus been performing rites at their own ranchos for more than 10 years, fearing the reprisals of the leader and his relatives.

Not only was the Huichol temple destroyed. In the church itself, the Indians had learned to worship the Virgin of Guadalupe, to whom they offered prayersticks and votive gourds, and, above all, the blood of sacrificed deer or bulls that was sprinkled before the altar. Confronted with these paganisms, the missionaries took away the Virgin and substituted another one. At the same time, they prohibited anyone from bringing offerings, or lighting a fire—which represented the fire god Tatehuari—inside the church, and most of all, they prohibited the sacrifice of animals in honor of the Virgin.

Among the petitions submitted to me by the Indians was one asking that the government mediate in the restitution of the original image, now taken away and hidden, because this image, they said, was the only one they could worship; for this purpose, they were willing to build a little shrine or chapel, separated from the church, where they wanted to be allowed to practice their traditional ritual activities.

When the rumor spread that the Huichol Indians, angry as they were, would try to burn the entire Catholic mission, as they had previously done in San Andrés Cohamiata, the missionaries obtained from the bishop the concession that the image be reinstated, since this appeared to be the only way of making peace. The image was in fact brought back to the community in 1969 and now the two images are worshipped by the Huichol Indians.

This example gives an idea of how the Huichol react when somebody tries to change what they consider "their customs." For these reasons, the Huichol Indians of Tuxpan de Bolaños, San Sebastián, and Santa Catarina have not permitted the establishment of missions inside their com-

munities. We can observe a similar phenomenon among the Cora Indians. In the village of Jesús María, for example, the intervention of the bishop and priests in their Holy Week ceremonies is not allowed, and the reason given is that their religion is in the hands of their own religious leaders, and that the official church ceremonies have nothing to do with their traditions. On the other hand, the missionaries look with clear disapproval at their religious practices and label them "paganism," and the priests always actively seek to end what they regard as paganism. The evangelization effort will consequently employ every means leading to this goal, even if such a process takes a long time. One phrase may summarize the feeling of the Indians: "We do not want to change our customs and be like the *tehuaris*."

PRESENT OFFICIAL POLICY OF INDIGENISMO

In a paper presented by Edward H. Spicer in 1968 at the meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology held in Mexico City, he pointed out that the official policy of the government, as represented by the I.N.I., goes against the prevailing societal opinion, because it "leans on certain pluralistic concepts which have constantly been attacked, and has not consolidated itself as a prevalent national policy. Its goal remains still the assimilation of the Indian groups." To the problem posed by Spicer, I would like to answer with his own words: "In the most recent summary published by the I.N.I., this organization does not make clear which are, in terms of integration, the effects of this policy in the very region where it has been operating for a long period of time" (Spicer 1969: 61-63). These and other questions constitute our main concern as anthropologists currently working in the I.N.I. programs, especially because it seems clear to us that, in terms of daily life in the indigenous communities, Mexico is not a monoethnic country but basically a polyethnic and pluricultural land. It is, of course, much simpler both for theory and practice to imagine a homogeneous national society integrated by standardized values and cultural forms. To bring this ideal into effect, however, is extremely difficult and the resulting efforts of this type of integration have been utopian rather than realistic.

It is very difficult to formulate solutions and theories to shape a country composed of different societies living together. This task is surely complex and delicate, and demands much courage and perseverance by the dominant majority in the struggle for the recognition of rights for the minority ethnic groups. Aguirre Beltrán pointed out that these tasks "represent a challenge both for theory and anthropological action, because they have substantially altered the usual forms of examining the problem of building a nation, and its corollary, the integration of corporate surviving groups." The same author states further that "it is increasingly felt that some of these Indian groups show a clear desire to remain Indians, and, therefore, it will be necessary to build theory and practice that allows them to maintain their own identity, and at the same time allows them to enjoy the rights, obligations, and loyalties of membership in a larger group" (Aguirre Beltrán 1969: 26).

As I have already shown, the indirect and controlled acculturation of the Cora and Huichol Indians has been basically focused toward the reduction of these ethnic groups as

cultures. The work done by the I.N.I. in the last 10 years has been limited, because of the shortage of financial resources, and also because of the theoretical reformulation of the program. In practice, its work has been reduced to a permanent struggle against the forms of injustice committed against the Indians and to obtaining a change in attitude toward the dominated groups by the dominant. This particular task is not well accepted in political circles in the states involved, because it is felt that these indigenous ways of life are somehow detrimental and have to be fully eliminated. This situation explains why the I.N.I. has received such little local support and why people who try to offer solutions to the problems of the Indians, in order to gain respect for the Indian point of view, fail. Generally, the power structure acts against all those who dare change this situation. In certain cases, the whole state and federal machinery has been put into action in order to stop litigation by Indians who are attempting to recover their traditional, but alienated, lands. To liberate the Indians as a group within the national economic structure also implies, in the last analysis, the liberation of millions of exploited peasants. The struggle in favor of Indian culture and the preservation of their values and traditional forms of life presuppose a fight against nationalism and the religion of the dominant group. An attempt was made to organize the most intelligent young Indians from the different communities to make them conscious of their problems, and for that purpose a school was organized offering a two-year training program. Suspicions immediately arose, and the organizers were accused of indoctrinating them with exotic ideas. As a result of this accusation, the Army was commissioned to inspect the functioning of the school so that it would not attempt any action against "the sacred interests of the nation."

In this paper I have tried to explain and clarify why the I.N.I. has not been able to achieve the goals set by applied anthropology. I recognize that in education, assistance, and social services the I.N.I. has achieved certain limited, but tangible, objectives. Basically, it is clear that all these small achievements are no more than palliatives for the deep needs and problems intimately felt by the Cora and Huichol Indians. The goals of regional development and integration will remain just projects and will not take place, in spite of the optimism shown by the founders of official *indigenismo*—optimism still found among its present leaders.

WHERE THE CORA AND HUICHOL INDIANS ARE GOING

The question of the future is difficult to answer because of its complexity. The pressures exercised by the dominant groups are day by day stronger, both directly and indirectly. The Indians find themselves more and more defenseless

when confronted by this power and they have no other alternative than to disperse further into the heart of the Sierra, where they have now been finally encircled. In this process, they lose their unity and ethnic identity. "The Indian communities possess their own culture, but this is a culture of a minority and is consequently subjected, defensive, and isolated. In contrast with the culture of the exploited within the dominant system (class culture), which is also an oppressed culture but has an alternative within the national system, the indigenous cultures have alternatives outside that system, because they do not base their legitimacy in terms of the national culture, but rather in their own distinctive past, and in a history of exploitation as Indians. The very fact of their exploitation as Indians has permitted the survival of their own, different culture" (Bonfil 1970).

REFERENCES

- Aguirre Beltrán, Gonzalo
1969 *Política Indigenista en América Latina. Anuario Indigenista*, pp. 17–26.
- Benítez, Fernando
1968 *Los Indios de México* (Vol. II). México: Era.
- Bonfil, Guillermo
1969 Reflexiones sobre la política indigenista y el centralismo gubernamental en México. *Anuario Indigenista*, pp. 139–44.
1970 Del indigenismo de la revolución a la antropología crítica. *De eso que llaman Antropología Mexicana*. México: Ed. Nuestro Tiempo.
- Caso, Alfonso
1962 *Los Ideales de la Acción Indigenista*. México: I.N.I.
- Guzman B., Carlos, and Jean-Loup Herbert
1970 *Guatemala: una interpretación histórico social*. México: Ed. siglo XXI.
- Nahmad, Salomón
1968 La acción indigenista en comunidades dispersas y en habitat de montaña. *Anuario Indigenista*, pp. 33–43.
- Nolasco A., Margarita
1970 La antropología aplicada en México y su destino final: el indigenismo. *De eso que llaman Antropología Mexicana*. México: Ed. Nuestro Tiempo.
- Romano, Agustín
1969 La política indigenista de México y la Antropología Aplicada. *América Indígena* 29(4).
- Spicer, Edward H.
1969 Política gubernamental e integración indigenista en México y los Estados Unidos. *Anuario Indigenista*, pp. 49–63.
- Vogt, Evon Z.
1955 Algunos aspectos de Aculturación Cora-Huichol. *América Indígena* 15(4): 249–63.
- Warman, Arturo
1970 Todos Santos y todos difuntos. *De eso que llaman Antropología Mexicana*. México: Ed. Nuestro Tiempo.

3. DIFFERENTIAL ACCULTURATION AMONG THE HUICHOL INDIANS

Phil C. Weigand
Department of Anthropology
State University of New York, Stony Brook

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary Huichol are widely scattered in the rugged mountain and barranca country of northern Jalisco, eastern Nayarit, and southern Durango and Zacatecas (see Weigand 1972 for a more detailed description of their distribution and the ecological zones of this region). Major concentrations of Huichol Indians also occur in the town and urban centers of Nayarit and Jalisco (Fig. 3.1). Census figures are often misleading or incomplete, and estimates of the numbers of Huichol Indians are extremely variable. My own census material from the *comunidad indígena* of San Sebastián Teponahuastlán and from several urban concentrations, most notably Guadalajara, suggest that a total figure of approximately 10,000 may be in order. The migration of Huichol Indians to urban centers has deep historical roots, but only recently has this migration become an important factor in the acculturation of the mountain groups. Approximately 2,000 Huichol now reside in urban centers. The major rural concentrations are in northernmost Jalisco, in the municipios of Mezquitic and Bolaños, and in the old Tecual region of Nayarit. The rural Jalisco Huichol are the most numerous group (about 6,000) and they now reside almost exclusively in the middle Chapalagana valley.

It is the purpose of this paper to outline some of the major historical trends that have affected and continue to affect Huichol acculturation, and to show, where possible, how these trends were felt differentially among the Huichol Indians.

THE ABORIGINAL PERIOD

Archaeological investigations in the areas where rural Huichol Indians now reside are nearly nonexistent (see Weigand 1969a, 1970 for summaries of archaeological materials from the *comunidad* of San Sebastián). Some limited inferences about aboriginal cultural affiliations, however, can be made from the content of legends and myths, the distribution of art styles and motifs, and the earliest Spanish archival references to the mountain groups (Weigand 1967a, 1967b). Bell (1971) and Kelley (1971)

Note: This research was sponsored by the National Science Foundation, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, and the Mesoamerican Co-Operative Research Program of the Southern Illinois University Museum. I express appreciation to J. Charles Kelley, Carroll Riley, Campbell Pennington, and Celia García de Weigand for their aid and comments. I also wish to thank Evon Vogt, whose 1955 article stimulated my interests in Huichol acculturation and in the Huichol Indians in general.

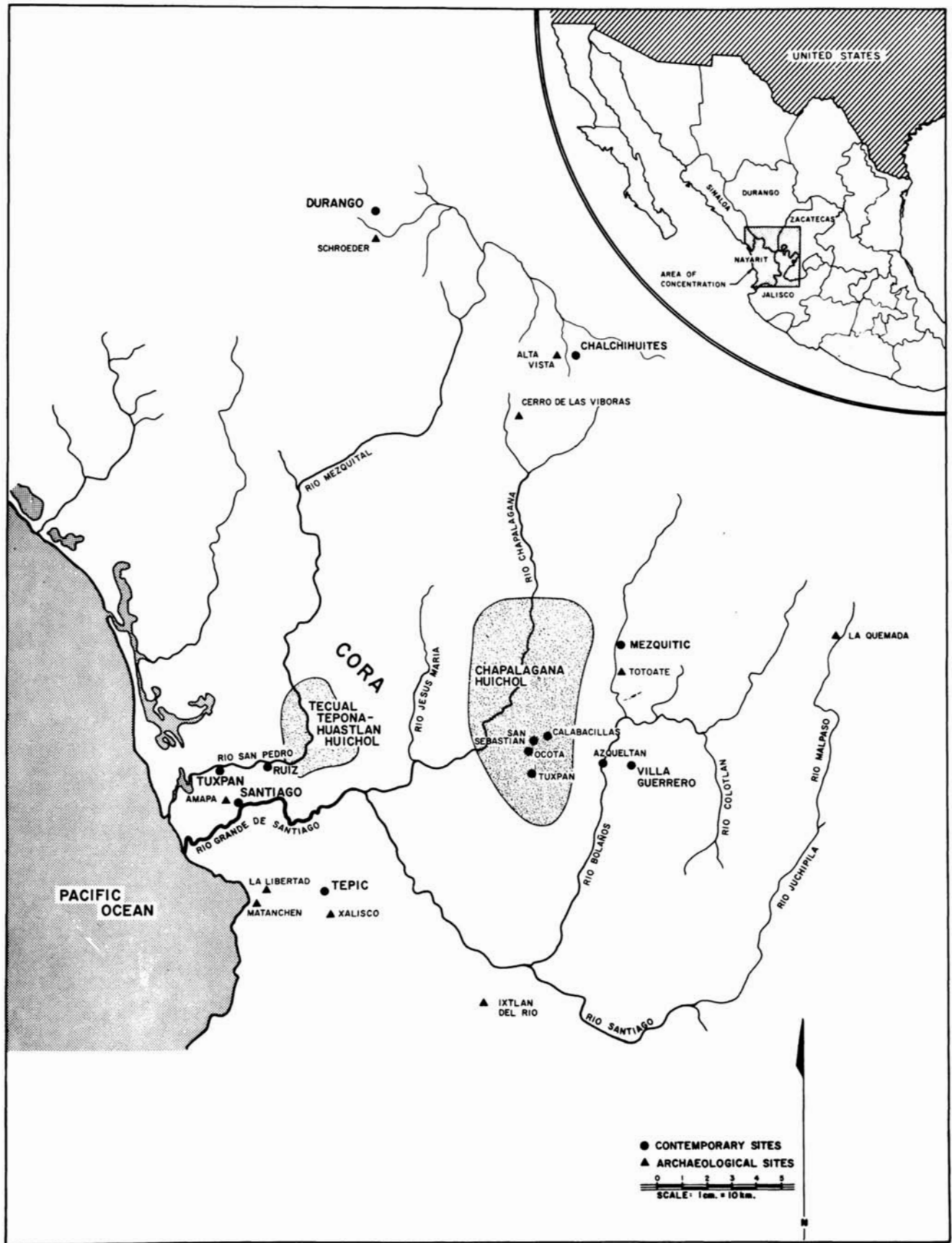
summarize the known information about the surrounding archaeological cultures in Nayarit, Jalisco, and Zacatecas. Four major aboriginal areas seem to emerge.

1. The Tecual Huichol, considered as *nayaritas* by such early explorers as the Padre Arias de Saavedra (1975) in 1673, were closely related to the Mesa de Nayar and Guainamota Cora. These groups were coastally oriented and fairly Mesoamericanized. By the seventeenth century, these groups were considered so hostile that plans for their conquest were formalized. This conquest was finally effected during the course of the early and middle eighteenth century (see Reynoso 1964, for a description of the role played by Juan Flores during the major episode of this conquest in 1722). During the aboriginal and preconquest periods it is extremely difficult to distinguish between the Tecual-Huichol and the Cora, and the Spanish certainly treated them as closely related peoples. The Tecual Huichol should be considered within the coastal sphere of Mesoamerican cultures and as only one of the many mountain, foothill, and canyon cultural variants along with many other groups subsumed under the label *nayarita*.

2. The southernmost Chapalagana Huichol seem to have been heavily influenced by the Huajimic-La Yesca archaeological cultures, and these in turn from the Ixtlán del Río zone. Legendary references to the Magdalena Basin and the Río Grande de Santiago seem to be most common in the south. The large circular pyramid at Ixtlán del Río may have indeed partly influenced the development of the circular *túki*/ceremonial structures among the Huichol.

3. The northernmost Chapalagana Huichol were apparently influenced heavily by the Chalchihuites culture of Zacatecas. The site of Cerro de las Víboras is located in the upper Chapalagana drainage and is heavily Chalchihuites-like in character. Indeed, it is conceivable that the aboriginal groups of the northern Chapalagana basin may be descendants of the Suchil-Colorado branch of the Chalchihuites culture.

4. The eastern and central Chapalagana Huichol appear to have been heavily influenced during the aboriginal period from the Bolaños valley. Sites in the Bolaños valley such as Cerro Prieto, Totoate, Las Juntas, Cerro de Colotlán (near the present-day Tepecan town of Azqueltán), and Bolaños display remarkable similarities with the complex site in the Arroyo Gavilán, a tributary to the Chapalagana located in the Santa Catarina Huichol comunidad. From the descriptions of Tepecan ceremonialism by Mason (this volume), it is evident that the Huichol and the Bolaños-based Tepecan were closely related. Of particular interest is the close similarity between the peyote rites of the Bolaños valley and



Drawn by William Poulos

Fig. 3.1. Map showing the limits of the Huichol in Nayarit and Jalisco, Mexico, in relation to mestizo centers, river drainages, and major archaeological sites.

those practiced by the Huichol. The circular ceremonial structures found at all the major Bolaños river sites may indeed be the direct forerunners to the Huichol /*kalihue*^{b/} ceremonial compounds. Taking into account the presence of the peyote rituals and the extremely elaborate ceremonial compounds in the Bolaños valley, it is possible that much of what we regard today as Huichol ceremonialism was developed and formalized in the Bolaños valley. I think that the cultural relationships between the eastern Huichol districts and the archaeological and Tepecan Bolaños tradition are extremely close. There were differences, but these were the differences between large, well-developed ceremonial centers with large adjacent villages or even towns and the Huichol configuration of rural, backcountry, dispersed settlement patterns with the actual ceremonial centers physically isolated from the rancherías.

There are, thus, many possible aboriginal roots and reasons for regarding all the Huichol subareas as being unique historical units. One major contemporary difference between the eastern and western Huichol areas is that the inhabitants of the western districts seem to preserve better the coastally oriented myths and legends and they also more frequently visit the coastal area. Those in the eastern districts preserve with more intensity the peyote-seeking myths and seem to participate more frequently in the pilgrimages for peyote than those from the western districts. I want to emphasize that these are only differences in degree, and not total contrast, between the two areas. The peyote emphasis, however, may indicate that it was the Bolaños valley, not the Chapalagana, that served as the aboriginal hearth of the southern Sierra Madre Occidental *peyote-peyotero* complex. A study directed toward the east-west difference in peyote rites would settle this part of the argument, though the description of the peyote festivals among the Tepecan (Mason, this volume, and field data collected in 1971) shows a tremendous amount of similarity between the eastern Huichol districts I have observed and the Bolaños Tepecan. Two Huichol legends that mention the Bolaños river sites also mention a raid on, possibly, La Quemada because the latter polity had interfered in the east-west peyote trade. The myths were collected in the central /*kalihue*^{b/} districts of the Huichol comunidad of San Sebastián Teponahuastlán. I know of no such equivalent texts collected among the western Huichol. This legendary material (Weigand 1971) suggests that the central and eastern Huichol groups were involved in the raid under the leadership of a Bolaños polity (probably Cerro de Colotlán). The structure of these myths suggests that this zone of the Chapalagana was probably a hinterland, both cultural and political, of the Bolaños aboriginal polities.

Huichol Indians have been regarded, in some of the more uncritical literature, as being later emigrants from the Gran Chichimeca—from a time either just before or just after the inception of Spanish activity in Nueva Galicia. This interpretation ignores a tremendous amount of contrary data and focuses primarily on a few word-list similarities from the poorly understood Guachichil group and on the annual peyote quest to the dry steppe and desert land near Real Catorce and Venado of San Luís Potosí. Both archaeology and mythology strongly suggest that the groups called the Huichol had been long-term residents of the mountains and valleys and, indeed, had a strong coastal orientation.

The archaeological and mythological evidence, though far from conclusive, at least suggests that influences were coming into the Chapalagana valley from several different directions. Therefore, the possibility of different regional aboriginal cultures in the zone must be strongly considered, and there seems to be some evidence to suggest that the groups later called Huichol were, during the precontact, preconquest period, culturally distinct one from another, though obviously closely related.

THE POSTCONTACT, PRECONQUEST PERIOD

At the time of the initial Spanish contact with the Cazcan, specific references are made to a transmontane trade route by which coastal products such as salt, feathers, and seashells were brought inland and peyote was taken westward. The Teul-chichimeca and Xurute are mentioned as carriers of this trade to the Cazcan area. The term "Teul-chichimeca" was gradually dropped from use for the area west of the Bolaños and the names "Xurute" and "Nayarita" became, generally, the most accepted, though many of the early Spaniards of the area recognized the catch-all quality of the latter term. The term "Huichol," which is a Spanish corruption of /*wisálka*/ or /*visárka*/, gradually became associated with those groups that were central to the salt-peyote trade. The terms "Huichol" and "Xurute" are definitely related. Feathers and shells lost a great deal of their cultural prominence with the increasing acculturation of the area and therefore dropped out of the picture slowly. Exactly how far the salt-peyote trade went back into the Postclassic and even the Classic periods, and how much the trade had to do with the cultural formations of the Huichol, Cora, and Tepecan in particular are major questions for archaeology. However, it is clear that the groups later called Huichol were well integrated into regional Mesoamerican life and that their isolation is an artifact of the Spanish colonial era.

Little is known of the long period of time between the conquest of what became Nueva Galicia and the consolidation of the highland, mountain, and barranca area of the Nayarita (including the Huichol). The area was a refuge for discontented Indians and slaves, and even Spaniards and mestizos took advantage of the area's remoteness and isolation (Weigand 1967a, 1967b, 1969b). There was a long period of acculturation without direct Spanish controls. Several discernible patterns appear during this period; however, they seem confusing and indeed mutually contradictory. While the major acculturative influences from the Spaniards are seen in the native acquisition of cattle, horses, and certain items of material culture, the native polities and social structures were not being heavily altered, at least in a cultural sense, from this direction. Indeed, an intensification of Mesoamerican societal patterns seems to have occurred as the result of external pressure and the continuous arrival of refugees. In the contemporary myth cycles concerning the Spanish conquest and early colonial developments around the Huichol zone, important postcontact, but preconquest, Mesoamerican influences can be seen. Several waves of these influences are possible, though the ones that occurred immediately after the Guzmán *entrada* and the Mixtón war were probably the most important. The collapse of the west coast Indian polities that was precipitated, first,

by the decline of trade routes following the conquest of the Central Valley of Mexico, and, second, by the Spanish *entradas* and initial colonization efforts, triggered a migration to the still unconquered sierra. It is possible that some of these coastal refugees arrived in the mountain zone preserving some degree of political organization and thus were in a strong position to influence the social organization and cultures of the more primitive mountain groups. The prolonged Mixtón war and the establishment of a presidio at San Luís Colotlán both served as stimuli for migrations of Mesoamerican Indians from the Cazcan and Tepecano-Bolaños zones. The Mixtón war, beginning in 1540, illustrated to the Spanish the danger of an unpacified, barbarian frontier so close to the new towns of Nueva Galicia and the new mining centers in Zacatecas. The road between Guadalajara and Zacatecas became so dangerous to traverse that the decision was reached in the late sixteenth century to place a presidio, with Tlaxcaltecan families, in the cultural zone between the steppe Chichimeca and the mountain- and barranca-based Nayarita. The place chosen was the Colotlán tributary to the Bolaños valley, a zone inhabited by the Tepecan. By 1591 the Tlaxcaltecan families were settled in, and San Luís Colotlán became the "double frontier" town that protected the route between Nueva Galicia and Zacatecas and served both as a reconnaissance base for pacification of the Indians and as a missionary base (Velázquez 1961). Up to the point of the founding of San Luís Colotlán, the Spanish had not been very knowledgeable about the ethnic distributions in the Bolaños and Chapalagana valleys. San Luís Colotlán served as the most important Spanish base for contact of the *flechero* and *fronterizo* Indian groups—that is, the Huichol and Tepecan.

The new Spanish towns that grew up bordering the mountain refuge were populated in part by Central Valley and Tarascan Indians. Many of these Indians escaped and took refuge among the mountain groups. Another postcontact, preconquest wave of Mesoamericanization is therefore a distinct possibility. A third Indian-to-Indian contact situation existed when, in the course of the eighteenth century, the mountain zone was finally conquered and the Spanish settlers and administrators brought nonnative Indians directly into the region. By this period, however, the Mesoamerican influences that these Indians were able to pass on to the Huichol must have been heavily modified by colonial acculturation. I suggest that much of what is regarded as Huichol culture today must be evaluated in terms of these rather intense, multidirectional Mesoamerican influences that came into their region during the early colonial period, and that these influences came from highly distinctive, regional Mesoamerican cultures. I also suggest that these influences should be regarded as having differential impacts on different parts of the mountain regions.

Two maps, one dated 1550 (Mapa del Obispado de Guadalajara) and the other dated sometime before the founding of San Luís Colotlán and after the founding of present-day Guadalajara (Nova Hispania et Nova Galicia), show for the first time the ethnic groups of the unconquered regions. Mentioned are the Xurute, Coringa, "Tepecuanos," Cuanos, and Chiapoli.

In 1586 a call went out to build a presidio at Guainamota in order to aid the settlement and missionization of that

area. The Huajimic area was also apparently missionized at this same time. So by the start of the seventeenth century, the Chapalagana Huichol were surrounded on three sides by missions, at least, though they still remained independent. However, by the 1650s the Spanish-Indian patterns of contact had begun to change; peaceful trade and peaceful contact in general started to give way to reciprocal raiding. One example is Juan Ruíz Colmenero's 1649 raid into the northern Huichol zone. At Tezompa he burned two religious compounds of the Huichol living there and reduced them—that is, forced them to move off the mesa tops into more accessible locations. He also was partly responsible for forcing the Guazuquilla Huichol to rebuild their church and for continuing to maintain the *doctrina* located there.

Raids against the other Huichol picked up sharply in the last part of the seventeenth century as more and more of the Bolaños Tepecan became regarded as *fronterizos* instead of *flecheros*. The *flecheros*, or unconquered Indians, were more consistently referred to as *nayaritas* by this time, and they were beginning to react with even more violence to the expansion into their lands by the *fronterizos*, or Indian allies, and the Spanish. By 1660, the archbishop of Mexico had been informed concerning the increase in the tempo of violence in the area, and the physical security of San Luís Colotlán was felt to be threatened. The violence, however, did not completely end missionary work in the general area, as the efforts of Padres Juan Mohedano and Antonio Arias de Saavedra document. Both these men, and others, also illustrate the degree to which the Huichol and Cora had been acculturated before their conquest. As mentioned, livestock, a whole range of material artifacts (such as iron), and some bilingualism were evident.

The initial conquest of the eastern Huichol occurred long before the famed *nayarita* campaign of 1722, which was called into existence by the King of Spain in 1709. This campaign, however, did consolidate control over the Huichol, and after it was over the Huichol Indians took the step from *flecheros* to *fronterizos*. After the campaign, which was over at least formally in the 1720s, missionization was radically stepped up, and San Sebastián is referred to as a *doctrina* thereafter. The conquest of the *nayarita* area, which should be understood to include the consolidation of the Chapalagana Huichol region, was carried out for many reasons, and one of the most important was to stop the flow of refugees and criminals into the area. As mentioned, Indians, Spaniards, and Negroes were all involved and had been fleeing there since the Spanish conquest of the rest of Nueva Galicia. The possibility of finding mines in the area was also an incentive, as was the desire to convert the natives to Christianity. In 1716, a Jesuit, Tomás de Solchaga (Weigand 1967a, 1967b), wrote that only a complete pacification of that area, which should be carried out from Colotlán and Tlatenango, would alleviate the immense social problems brought about by raiding so near to Guadalajara. Also, one of the main reasons for stabilizing the region was to allow the salt trade to pick up once again.

After the consolidation, the Huichol area was formally organized and the three contemporary *comunidades* emerged: San Andrés, Santa Catarina, and San Sebastián. All three pueblos were to be administered from Colotlán. The Marques de Valero, writing in 1722, mentioned these

three towns in the category of *yndios infieles* and stressed the immediate need for their missionization. Juan Flores, the Protector del Nayarit, wrote later, however, that missionization and the conquest had not stopped the violence, but Flores did establish five presidios and eleven new towns, which helped cut down the intensity of fighting. Control, however, was always very light, and by 1743 a padre mentioned that the Indians of the whole area still had their liberty and that very little of the faith had been spread (Weigand 1967a). By the 1780s, the *informes* of Bolaños, Colotlán, Jeréz, and other towns in the area mentioned that the area was more or less at peace. The *informes* also mentioned a population estimate for the Huichol—around 1,000. Missionization and colonization were said to be ongoing at that time (Velázquez 1961).

San Sebastián, as the *doctrina* for the entire zone, thus became the focal point for the introduction of the Spanish governmental-religious *cargo* system. Initially, the Huichol response to the new pueblo settlements seems to have been enthusiastic enough to allow the adoption of some Catholic elements. The pueblos served as collection centers and centers of redistribution of rare items. Just as important, however, was the incipient breakdown of the aboriginal rancheria settlement and lineage patterns (Weigand 1972) and the ability of larger numbers of people to gather in one place than had ever been possible before. Aside from facilitating the spread and acceptance of some elements of Spanish culture, these large gatherings of Indians began breaking down the isolation of the aboriginal polities, leading to an interchange of Huichol ceremonial ideas on a scale never before possible. The aboriginal polities are partly preserved today as /*kalihúe*^h/ districts—each /*kalihúe*^h/ compound a focal point for a rancheria. Where old compounds exist, the present *comisario* boundaries express as well the early colonial administrative segments of each *comunidad*. In some cases, /*kalihúe*^h/ compounds have fallen into ruin but in most cases the *comisario* district borders still faithfully portray the older polities. Within the *comunidad* of San Sebastián there are five old /*kalihúe*^h/ districts preserved. Eight of the ten present *comisario* districts appear to preserve their early colonial configurations. /*Kalihúe*^h/ ruins are visible within the limits of some of the *comisario* districts.

THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The period from the end of the eighteenth century till past the middle of the nineteenth century saw the greatest Spanish-mestizo acculturative influences, though the general pattern of change had been set long before. Huichol Indians were even recruited into the army to fight as allies against other Indians in northern Mexico. New towns for these veterans had to be organized, as they were not accepted back into their old ones; La Colonia and Pueblo Nuevo are two such examples, and these towns have eventually come to dominate the *comunidad* of Santa Catarina. By the mid-nineteenth century, stone Catholic churches were built and in use, and the mestizo incursion reached one of its peaks. After Mexico's independence from Spain, the legality of the *comunidad* structure was called into question. As this pressure increased, Indian *comunidades* collapsed

all over Mexico, though only one did among the Huichol, that of Santa Catarina, which was reorganized as an hacienda under the Torres family. Secondary pueblo centers grew in two of the *comunidades* (San Sebastián and its annex Tuxpan, and San Andrés with its annex Guadalupe Ocotán), and the civil-religious *cargo* systems were successfully adopted in each, though the sources for their models were different.

Also, as land pressures increased toward the end of the nineteenth century, so did organized violence, and a series of intense local power struggles finally ended all central government control in the area. Manuel Lozada emerged in the 1860s as the leader not only of the *nayarita*—including both the Cora and Huichol, to whom he promised respect for their communal rights—but also over other large areas of west Mexico. His battle with the Juárez government swayed back and forth between victory and defeat and peace and war until the French intervention. He finally joined sides with the French in an effort to reconsolidate his position. The Huichol actively supported him for the whole time of his power, and they were the major participants in the devastating raid and occupation of Colotlán.

After the French withdrawal from Mexico, Lozada faced a major crisis, but he was able to hold on, especially in the mountains, until the 1870s. Mexican regulars finally isolated him from these mountains and thus deprived him of his main base of support, the *nayarita*. However, even with Lozada out of the way, a separate *nayarita* campaign had to be organized to reconquer the mountains. This second conquest was fairly easy, but there were never enough forces present in the area to police a real peace. All the padres had left during the disturbances and all the churches in the Huichol area had fallen into ruins (Weigand 1967b).

When Díaz came into power, he renewed the push to individualize the land holdings of the *comunidades*, and it was at this time that the Tepecan *comunidades*, such as Azqueltán, collapsed. The Huichol communities resisted, however, and as Lumholtz (1903) reported, they wrote petitions to the government in order to remain organized. Lumholtz also reported that in the early 1890s only a few mestizos were resident in the area, and the general impression he gives is that very little central control had yet been felt.

However, after Lozada's defeat, a new wave of mestizo invasion got under way. Several new rancherías were organized within, for example, the *comunidad* of San Sebastián, and were staffed by cattlemen such as those near Tuxpan. Missionization, such as at Guadalupe Ocotán in San Andrés, picked up once again. The mestizos even tried to relocate the entire town of San Sebastián and move it to San José, but the attempt failed. By the start of the twentieth century colonization had become a serious enterprise, and in San Sebastián, more than 50 *vecino* (neighboring mestizo) families had become resident.

The outbreak of the 1910 revolution in Mexico in general did not affect the Huichol area until the mestizos declared for Pancho Villa in 1913. Then the Huichol, under the leadership of General Mesquite, a Huichol cacique, opted for Carranza, and Mesquite enjoyed at least the moral support of Guadalajara. The Huichol won several battles and the mestizos eventually fled from the Huichol area. Santa

Catarina formally lost its hacienda status at this time. Mesquite maintained a fairly firm grip on the countryside for some time, even after the revolution, but his followers eventually tired of his abuses, and with the help of some federal soldiers, they ambushed him and his family at his ranch, Las Minatas. Many older informants remember this period between the start of the revolution until the late 1920s as the best time the Huichol had had—there was a general prosperity, there were no mestizos, and there was a revival of the native religious rites. Mesquite's death opened the door for another power struggle and eventually led to a major crisis.

The Cristero preachers began attaining a measure of influence in the general area, and eventually many Huichol Indians of San Sebastián joined the Cristero movement. Santa Catarina and San Andrés, however, were badly split, so badly that they essentially remained neutral or even progovernment throughout most of the Cristero revolt. Huichol Indians from Santa Catarina and San Andrés who joined the Cristeros were usually refugees already or became refugees upon joining. Therefore, as the Huichol had participated unevenly in the revolution, their participation in the Cristero revolt was even more uneven. The *comunidad* of San Sebastián in particular became affected much differently from most of the rest of the Huichol area. In 1927 a mestizo from the Amoles area brought a Cristero priest to San Sebastián. The priest convinced Juan Bautista, the leader of the *comunidad* at the time, to join forces with Pepe Sánchez, a revolutionary from the Bolaños valley. Bautista contributed about 75 men to the Sánchez group, which totaled around 250 at the time of the raid on Mezquitic. Many other spectacular raids were carried out by this team, though participation by Huichol Indians outside the *gobernancia* of San Sebastián was limited and unenthusiastic. As mentioned, many of the Huichol supported the federal government and even those from San Sebastián's annex, Tuxpan, were decidedly anti-Bautista. The Cristero revolt wound down slowly in the remote mountains until there was little raiding activity. After the areas closer to the cities and rail lines were pacified, the federal government turned its attentions to this zone. *Rurales* were recruited from La Yesca, Huajimic, Camotlán, Bolaños, Villa Guerrero, and Mezquitic, and these soldiers, along with army regulars, swooped down on the *comunidad* over and over again until nearly all the cattle were rustled and resistance was broken. The San Sebastián Huichol dispersed in order to defend themselves, and many left the *comunidad* to go to the nearby towns or to the Tecual-Huichol area of Nayarit, where many are still settled. The *comunidad* was totally broken and defeated and the *rurales*, who were also cattlemen, saw a chance to entirely dismember the *comunidad*. A massive invasion occurred, which indeed nearly ended Huichol control over San Sebastián. The Army supported the attempt to dismember the *comunidad* and surveyed the zone near Ocota de la Sierra for a military colony in the 1940s. Those Huichol still left in the area were disarmed. The effort was blocked, however, through the efforts of local cattlemen, though the zone around Amoles was established as an ejido in 1951 and was thus lost to the *comunidad*. A mestizo-born individual, Pedro de Haro, who had become a Huichol through choice (Weigand 1969b),

took leadership of the resistance to the dismemberment in the 1950s and through raiding and litigation reestablished the legal charter of the *comunidad*. The process of recovery, however, consolidated the hold of the conservatives, both old and young, over the affairs of San Sebastián. In contrast to the relative openness of San Andrés, Guadalupe Ocotán, and Santa Catarina, San Sebastián has become intensely suspicious of outsiders, their programs, and ideas.

THE PRESENT PERIOD

Three institutions provide most of the face-to-face contact and acculturative pressures on the Huichol: the municipal and state governments, the Catholic missions (at Santa Clara and Guadalupe Ocotán), and the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (I.N.I.). These agencies are not equally active throughout the Huichol zone, so their effects are felt differently. The most diffuse and generalized influences are those of the regional governments, and these influences are most often time-honored and stabilizing rather than new and innovative. The *municipio* of Mezquitic, however, has been able to institutionalize a major structural change recently: Huichol *gobernancia* personnel now hold offices for three-year time periods instead of one year *cargos*. The new office periods also coincide with the municipal periods of office. The effects of a three-year *cargo* will undoubtedly affect the religious-civil ceremonies, such as the Semana Santa fiesta, for these rites are sponsored and paid for by the major *cargo* holders. Since a one-year *cargo* almost always impoverishes a holder, three years would bankrupt him unless ceremonies are either toned down in terms of expense or alternate methods of financing them are innovated. Many Huichol were reluctant to assume *cargo* responsibilities before, and it now seems certain that that reluctance will grow with longer *cargo* time-spans.

The Catholic Church has sponsored three intense periods of missionization among the Huichol. The first period was during the eighteenth century, and it was then that San Sebastián, in particular, became so heavily acculturated. During this period, San Sebastián, followed by the other Huichol zones, accepted the *gobernancia-mayordomo* organizations. By the time the *comunidades* were established in the late eighteenth century, the missions were no longer active and the Huichol began the process of internalizing the *gobernancia-mayordomo* institutions in isolation and with a great deal of originality and local differentiation. The second period of missionary activity was the mid-nineteenth century, after the Reforma had in effect opened up *comunidad* lands to outsiders. The churches in the major Huichol pueblos were built and equipped with bells at this time. Colonists arrived with the missionaries and the missionaries attempted, with differential success, to "clean up" the aboriginal elements in Huichol Catholic ceremonies. Informants from San Sebastián state that the Corpus ceremonies had been very elaborate before the reforming zeal of the new missionaries was felt. The newest missionary phase began in the 1950s and continues very actively in the 1970s. San Sebastián, however, has not allowed missionaries to build inside the *comunidad's* boundaries, and the traditional leadership of this *comunidad* actively discourages the missionaries' presence even for very brief periods of time.

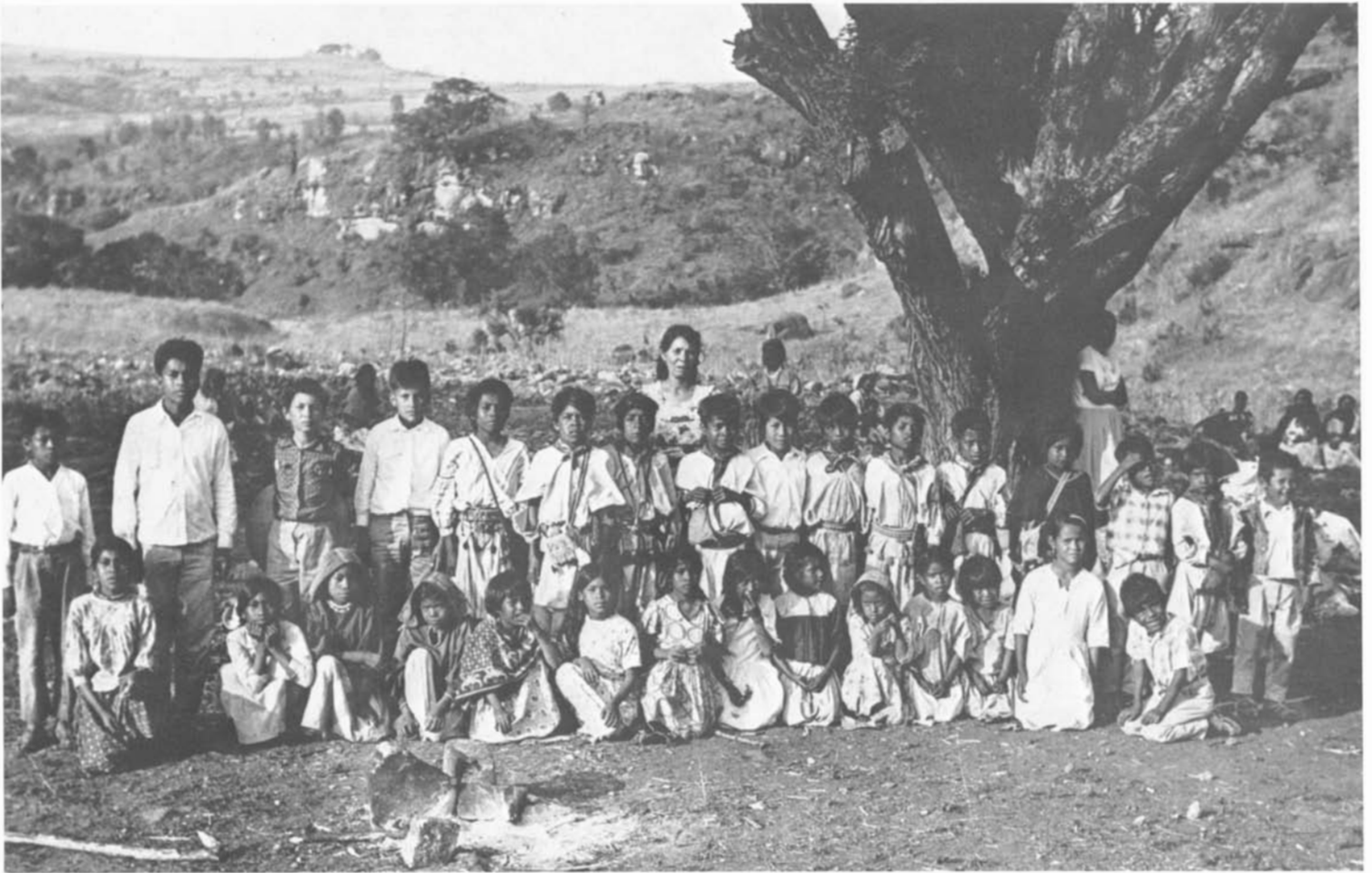


Photo by Phil C. Weigand

Fig. 3.2. Huichol and mestizo children together at the Instituto Nacional Indigenista school in San Sebastián, class of 1966.

Several have been asked to leave just after arriving in the pueblo. A protestant missionary in Tuxpan had no better response and was ordered out with a threat on his life if he continued to stay. Some Catholic motifs, however, have recently been accepted within the context of the aboriginal /širiki/ (God House) ceremonies. Pictures of saints and the Virgin of Guadalupe, for example, now frequently decorate the /širiki/ altars and are used during the ancestor-oriented rites, as well as curing ceremonies. No permanent Catholic facility exists in the Santa Catarina *comunidad* either, but missionaries are given a slightly warmer welcome on their infrequent but increasingly common visits. The San Andrés *comunidad* is host to both the active Catholic missions. The Guadalupe Ocotán mission (Grimes 1961) seems stable and only moderately aggressive in its attempt to acculturate the local Huichol Indians. The *gobernancia's* civil-religious hierarchy, though, has been heavily altered as a result of progressive (Catholic)-conservative factional fights. Indeed, the *gobernancia* now has two duplicate *cargo* organizations and the end result has been a major modification and simplification of the traditional ceremonial cycle. The Santa Clara mission, in the *gobernancia* of San Andrés, is run from Zapopan and is very aggressive in its acculturative

attempts. It has therefore become extremely visible, and conservatives recently burned down the corn *bodega* to protest the mission's very presence. Because of the high visibility of the mission and its active converts, this mission has had very little success to date in serious widespread acculturative attempts. The mission can be characterized by its persistence; by its radio, record, and pamphlet propaganda program; and by its program to supply services, especially in the Guadalajara-Zapopan area, to the Huichol. It is determined that its programs will be felt and that the Huichol "pagan" ways will be eliminated.

The I.N.I. has also had a differing impact in different Huichol areas. The major I.N.I. effects on the area are summarized by Nahmad (this volume) and by various numbers of the *Boletín del Instituto Nacional Indigenista*. Several other observations, however, can be made. Only the *comunidad* of San Andrés has enthusiastically embraced the I.N.I., and the field center for the Huichol zone has been built there. I.N.I. programs are often experimentally carried out there before being introduced to the more traditional and isolationist San Sebastián. While San Sebastián has accepted I.N.I. schools (Fig. 3.2) and Conasupo stores, the *comunidad* maintains local controls over the personnel of

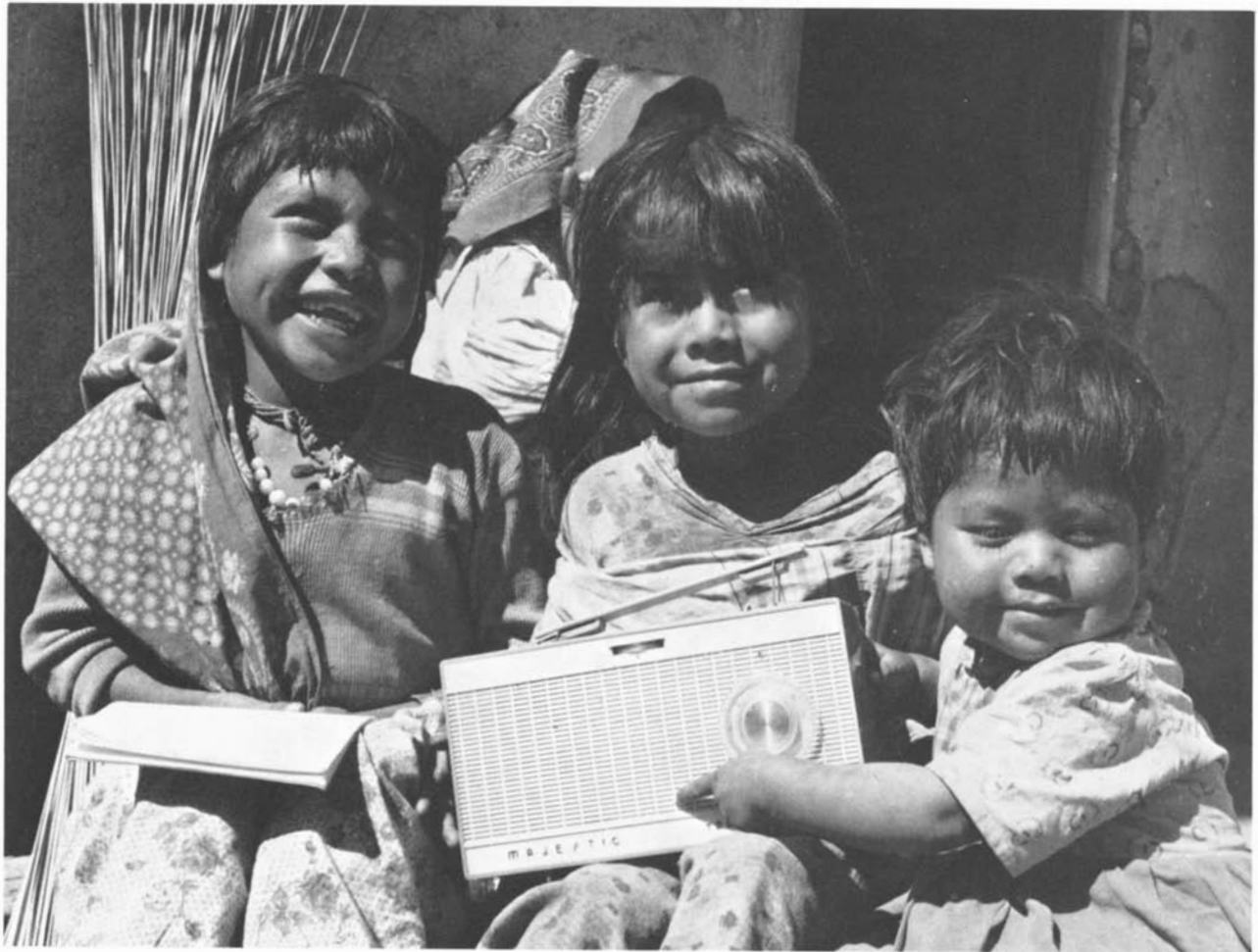


Photo by Phil C. Weigand

Fig. 3.3. Three Huichol sisters with their new radio, San Sebastián.

both. Santa Catarina is slightly more open than San Sebastián but certainly not to the point of enthusiasm. There is a tremendous amount of suspicion and skepticism about the I.N.I. in both these latter *comunidades*. Even in San Sebastián, though, the I.N.I. programs have had a major acculturative effect. The most promising of the field programs of the I.N.I. to date has been the introduction into all the *comunidades*, including San Sebastián, of improved cattle strains and a program of cattle inoculations. Cattle epidemics had been a major factor in equalizing social status among the Huichol. Cattle holdings are the most important basis for figuring wealth, though epidemics could make rich men poor during a very brief period. Cattle wealth was thus unstable. Vaccines have allowed this form of wealth to become much more stable, and for the first time enormous wealth differentials between Huichol Indians are possible. Still, wealthy individuals cannot differentiate themselves too radically from those with fewer cattle, for to do so would make them targets of criticism, robbery, and witchcraft. Foster's idea of the "limited good" (1967, Chapter 6) does not seem to explain this behavior. It is ostentatious attitudes that are attacked rather than wealth as such, for ostentation is a threat to the balance of the *cargo* system. Acquiring wealth, especially cattle but also beads,

is a cultural goal of every Huichol. Nevertheless, wealth can now become much more stable and the effects of wealth stability will undoubtedly modify the social structure in the future.

In general, the Huichol are experiencing two major and definitely separate trends in acculturation (Fig. 3.3). I believe that the Huichol acculturation case is an excellent example of differential systemic social change. Structural acculturation is proceeding in quite different directions from cultural acculturation. The major Huichol structural trends can best be illustrated by the organizational shifts occurring in the */kalihúe^h/—comisario* districts. The *rancherías* in each district can now be characterized only as residential units. Former organization of the districts was based on kinship principles in combination with residential nucleation of the lineage. The bilateral lineages (Weigand 1972) are presently spread out beyond district boundaries, and lineage organizations have become much more diffuse and less unitary in function. Concomitant with the trend toward district membership based only on residence is the trend toward dominant agnatic kin ties within the smaller, face-to-face residential units. Changes in residential rules also reflect the ongoing breakdown of the bilateral lineage system. Much more individual choice in residence locale is

allowed each new household unit than ever before. In addition, the pattern of parentally arranged marriages is virtually a thing of the past.

Cooperative labor group composition patterns in subsistence activities also reflect this trend (Weigand 1972). Cooperative groups are still generated according to lineage principles, but, according to older informants, the groups have become much smaller, presumably because lineages are more widely dispersed in space. Despite the smaller size of the cooperative labor groups, they are viewed as having become more stable and dependable. Essentially the current cooperative labor groups in subsistence activities represent the recruitment maximum from a kin core of the larger lineages of the recent past, lineages that are now dispersed. Recruitment beyond this core is no longer even attempted. In addition, since the /kalihúe^h/—*comisario* districts now largely stress the residential principle alone, ceremonial cooperative labor parties are now composed of mixed kin groups. Intra-Huichol day-wage labor is an obvious corollary to the changing nature of the cooperative labor organization. Wage workers have for the most part replaced the expanded cooperative groups. Wage labor as a replacement for expanded cooperative groups, however, is at a much lower level of structural integration among the Huichol Indians than among the local mestizos. Immediate kin, for example, are never hired among the Huichol. The distance of collateral relationship required in order for an individual to become regarded as a potential employee varies with each lineage unit. Important individuals of wealthy lineages hire much more distant kinsmen than do the less wealthy. The role of the leader and his function in group generation also reflects the major structural shifts in cooperative labor group composition. As the labor groups themselves have become much smaller, the hierarchy of the leaders has also diminished in size and scale. While cooperative labor groups in subsistence activities were never organized on a pan-/kalihúe^h/ district principle, the central lineage figure did oversee the entire composition pattern. At present, each district normally contains several lineage figures of equal status so that no centralizing individuals exist at the top of a district-wide hierarchy. The leaders are still selected by lineage principles, but the potential recruitment base is now the household and/or the rancho instead of the entire district. Even within the reduced recruitment area, there now exists more autonomy in decisions on participation.

Even the peyote-seeking group composition patterns reflect this change in /kalihúe^h/—*comisario* district organization. Peyote-seeking groups are, for the most part, recruited from within each district, but they have become much smaller in recent years and are often composed of representatives from different lineages.

Another important structural difference between the Huichol and the *vecinos* is that, while wealth differentials exist among the Huichol, they are not yet concomitant with other social differentials, such as eligibility to hold offices. Therefore, no true social classes exist within the *comunidad*. In addition, the Huichol continue to hold their land by the *comunidad* type of organization and thus all are landed. While some of the neighboring mestizos are members of ejidos, most are landless, rural proletariat. However, the social organization of the local *vecinos* is poorly understood not only for this area (Vogt 1955) but for all Mexico

(Aguirre Beltrán 1967). A project in the middle Bolaños valley, in which I am involved with Robert Shadow, will hopefully result in an expanded understanding of regional *vecino* culture and society (Fig. 3.4).

Another major response to the changing Huichol social environment has been the elaboration of religious ceremonies. A modest degree of prosperity is filtering into the Huichol area; crafts, cattle sales, and seasonal day-wage labor on the coastal plantations account for most of the new wealth. Individuals continue to invest most of their wealth in traditional holdings, especially in cattle and beads, but the most prestigious form of wealth investment remains the holding of an upper *cargo* office and the sponsoring of a *cargo* festival. As individuals often have a true surplus, the religious parties, especially at the rancho-rancheria and the *gobernancia* levels, are becoming more highly elaborated and more frequent. Revivals of older and nearly forgotten ceremonies are beginning to take place. For example, the Día de la Bandera festival was revived and held at the pueblo of San Sebastián in February, 1969, after not being held there for 18 years. The Semana Santa festival, also at San Sebastián, has been highly elaborated in recent years. Before 1970 the festival was relatively short and simple, but it has come to be held as it was at the turn of the century. The intense interest and pride that the Huichol now overtly display in their culture is becoming more widespread. Many I.N.I. officials and local *vecinos* are puzzled by and even fearful of this apparent rejuvenation of Huichol culture. These people, however, often do not realize the advanced structural acculturation of Huichol society.

The *comunidad* system in general is regarded by many of the I.N.I. personnel and by state and federal officials as archaic. The *comunidades* cannot readily apply to credit unions or banks for development funds. *Comunidades* also are capable of a great deal of independent action and are thought to be difficult to control because of this traditional independence. Part of the reorganizational goals stated for the *comunidades* is to slowly incorporate them into the more workable, manageable, and modern ejido system. The elimination of the *comunidad* system would gravely affect traditional Huichol society, for it is the religious-civil hierarchy, the *gobernancia-mayordomo* system, that has given Huichol culture and society its distinctiveness and integration.

THE URBAN HUICHOL

Many of the Huichol, however, do not live in the *comunidades* or other mountain regions, and a growing proportion are urban Indians. Huichol since the eighteenth century have moved into Spanish and mestizo towns and cities, most often as political refugees from the *comunidades*. Formerly, the price of acceptance was always assimilation, usually of a rather abrupt nature. By the second generation, language and most other traits of aboriginal culture were gone. This pattern of urban migration and assimilation still exists, but an important new trend has developed which, if it continues, undoubtedly will completely modify the older patterns of urban adaptation. The new conditions now allow, and indeed require, that the new urban migrants remain identifiable as Huichol within the urban environment. The growing popularity of Huichol-produced crafts—not only



Photo by Phil C. Weigand

Fig. 3.4. Mestizo merchant men selling their wares in San Sebastián.

for the tourist market, though that is the most important outlet, but also for museum collections and exhibitions—is the variable that allows and requires the Huichol to remain as “Indians” in the cities. A new Huichol, a “professional Indian,” is thus emerging. Guadalajara and Tepic are the two most important centers of urban, professional Indians, and some of these Huichol are second- and third-generation urban dwellers specializing in crafts. Few live in groups larger than the nuclear family, though they often maintain contacts with relatives in the same urban centers. Those relatives may be very distant, and they would not normally be in such intense contact with each other in the *comunidades*. Most inter-Huichol contact in the cities, however, is based on the simple factor of “Huichol-ness” rather than on considerations of lineage kinship. Marriages are very fragile in the urban environment and a considerable amount of partner changing occurs. Most individuals find their spouses from completely different *gobernancia* and even *comunidad* origins. There seems to be little importance attached to keeping traditional kin group memberships intact. Some make occasional trips back to the *comunidades*, but some have never revisited their districts. A small but grow-

ing percentage born in the cities have never visited the *comunidades* at all and indeed, while dressing and acting like Indians, speak Huichol poorly.

The first step of the new type of Huichol migrants to the cities is usually to the Zapopan mission near Guadalajara, to the Casa Cultural-Artesanías in Guadalajara, or to the I.N.I. in Tepic. At these institutions, the Huichol gain fluency in urban life and do piece work for their institutional stores. Many, however, especially those who have gained urban fluency and those of the second generation, work more or less independently from the institutions. They often contract directly to privately owned stores, though none yet own their own outlets. Even most of those who work independently try to keep some degree of institutional affiliation, though they often change these loyalties in order to obtain better deals, fringe benefits, and greater recognition. Many of the best of the professional Indians actively try for recognition as artists, and some have traveled internationally for exhibitions of their art. Most, however, continue to work anonymously. No organizations or corporations have yet been formed among them.

As mentioned, the very character of their work requires



Photo by Phil C. Weigand

Fig. 3.5. Two Huichol young men in traditional dress but with mestizo hats, San Sebastián.

them to maintain a relative fluency and a degree of control over traditional Huichol culture. Most of the new and second-generation urban residents make serious efforts to preserve their language and teach it to their children, who need it in order to gain membership in the informal crafts group. Traditional dress is also kept, though differences in dress between urban and professional Indians and their mountain counterparts are becoming observable (Fig. 3.5). The dress of the professional Indian is becoming more elaborate, almost baroque, and traditional design combinations are being reinterpreted and mixed. Traditional dress is not often worn by those who live and work in the cramped urban slums, however. Traditional religion is remembered, but there are no ceremonies held in the urban areas, except for an occasional curing sing.

Since these artisans are in frequent contact with Huichol from many different districts, *gobernancias*, and *comunidades*, motif and legend mixing from the different subtraditions of the mountain regions is very common. Saleability, rather than any desire to preserve the subtraditions, is the main criterion. In addition, craft apprenticeship is not necessarily with one's own relatives, as is the case in the

comunidades, but is most frequently with those from a different subtradition. I saw one instance of a young San Sebastián Huichol who learned how to make the elaborate, tourist-oriented yarn paintings from a Cora, who had in turn learned the craft from a Huichol from San Andrés. Many mestizos are also becoming competent 'Huichol' artisans. It is my observation that the professional Indians do not make completely reliable informants if one is interested in traditional mythologies, social data, or craft items. Their art work, legends and myths, and other rememberings often represent rather thorough blends of different *comunidad*, *gobernancia*, and district traditions rather than the aboriginal conditions. They often reflect the direct desires of the tourist market. It is possible to 'order' a yarn painting with a combination of motifs having no traditional meanings, despite the painting's beauty and fine execution. I once witnessed yarn paintings being copied from a published source. Legends also can be 'ordered' and, since many professional Indians are literate, they are reading up on themselves in books, newspapers, and catalogs. Myths are often created on the spur of the moment to impress a tourist. I had a myth recounted to me by a second-generation, pro-

fessional Indian, and he acknowledged the source to be a booklet published by the Zapopan mission. The general observation concerning the mixing of art and legend sub-traditions can be applied as well to the professional Indian's recollection of religious rites and social organization.

Rather than using the professional Indians as informants and collecting their often vague, mixed, and inaccurate recollections of life in the *comunidades*, it is more interesting to view them from the perspective of successful adaptation to urban life, as a different and new type of urban proletariat. The professional Indian, in this case Huichol, has a lucrative future and the popularity of Huichol-inspired tourist arts is on the upswing. The impact of craft popularity and of the urban Indians is being felt in the mountain *comunidades* as well. It is my impression that mixing of the motif, legend, and craft subtraditions is proceeding much more rapidly with this new stimulus. Even the field worker in the mountains will have to be very careful because of this process. The field worker in the urban environment already faces an impossible puzzle, but it is a highly original, dynamic, and interesting combination.

CONCLUSIONS

The Huichol *gobernancias* and /kalihúe^h/ districts preserved quite divergent approaches and interpretations of much ceremonial material. These differences not only are reflected in minute cultural detail but also seem to extend into the organization of the civil-religious hierarchy. There are observable differences in the standardized aboriginal ceremonies as well, such as the squash and green corn fiestas. Fabila (1959) and Grimes (1964) report dialectal differences between the *comunidades* and *gobernancias*. How far these /kalihúe^h/ and *gobernan* differences extend into basic social organization is a major question. I believe, however, that there are indeed significant social differences in the area. It seems time to approach the Huichol by carrying out detailed, small area studies (such as /kalihúe^h/ districts), and only afterward to expand to the generalizing level of description and interpretation. The past and current trends among anthropologists working with the Huichol have been to generalize from one small area, or, even worse, from several informants to characterize Huichol society and culture; this approach to field data most often produces information that is extremely misleading. The anthropological emphasis on religion and symbolism has also given an extremely narrow view of Huichol society, one that is often so out of context as to be next to worthless for detailed studies of social organization, settlement patterns, land tenure and use, and the like. The anthropological tradition of generalized Huichol culture also obscures all the rich diversity of mythology, ceremonial and religious life, symbolism, settlement patterns, social and governmental organization, and the historical processes that have created the various related but distinct subtraditions of the region. The Chapalagana Huichol should be treated at least within the context of the five *gobernancias* and perhaps 20 /kalihúe^h/ districts of the area. The five *gobernancias* (San Andrés, Guadalupe Ocotán, Santa Catarina, San Sebastián, and Tuxpan) are as different from one another as are the Río

Grande pueblos of New Mexico. San Sebastián's large southwestern zone, Ocota de la Sierra, probably should be treated as a proto-*gobernan*, as should the Santa Clara area of San Andrés. Huichol rancherías in the La Yesca area of Nayarit and the Tecual-Huichol zone certainly comprise other subtraditions worthy of the intensive, small-area anthropological approach. Differential acculturation to the eighteenth century Spanish colonial system probably explains much of the internal variety of Chapalagana Huichol culture, though these cultural differences seem to have been already well developed and to have both aboriginal and postcontact, preconquest roots. The subareas of the Huichol continue to adapt differentially, not only within the *comunidades* but also in relation to the new urban environments.

REFERENCES

- Aguirre Beltrán, Gonzalo
1967 Regiones de Refugio. *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, Ediciones Especiales* 46. Mexico.
- Arias de Saavedra
1975 Franciscan Report on the Indians of Nayarit, 1673. Introduced by Kieran McCarty, O.F.M.; translated by Dan S. Matson. *Ethnohistory* 22: 193–221.
- Bell, Betty
1971 Archaeology of Nayarit, Jalisco, and Colima. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians* Vol. 11, edited by G. Ekholm and I. Bernal, pp. 694–753. General editor, R. Wauchope. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Fabila, Alfonso
1959 Los Huicholes de Jalisco, *Instituto Nacional Indigenista, Colección Culturas Indígenas* No. 2. Mexico.
- Foster, George McClelland
1967 *Tzintzuntzan. Mexican Peasants in a Changing World*. Little, Brown Series in Anthropology. Boston.
- Grimes, Joseph E.
1961 Huichol Economics. *América Indígena* 23: 281–306. Mexico.
1964 *Huichol Syntax*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Kelley, J. Charles
1971 Archaeology of the Northern Frontier: Zacatecas and Durango. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians* Vol. 11, edited by G. Ekholm and I. Bernal, pp. 768–801. General editor, R. Wauchope. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Lumholtz, Carl S.
1903 *Unknown Mexico*, Vol. II. London: Macmillan.
- Reynoso, Salvador
1964 *Autos hechos por el Capitán don Juan Flores de San Pedros, sobre la Reducción y Conquista de los Gentiles de la Provincia del Nayarit en 1722*. Documentación Histórica Mexicana-2, Librería Font, Guadalajara.
- Velázquez, María del Carmen
1961 Colotlán. Doble Frontera Contra Los Bárbaros. *Cuadernos del Instituto de Historia, Serie Histórica* 3. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Vogt, Evon Z.
1955 Some Aspects of a Cora-Huichol Acculturation. *América Indígena* 15: 249–63. Mexico.
- Weigand, Phil C.
1967a The Pastells Collection, Ms., Southern Illinois University Museum.

- 1967b Huichol Ethnohistory. Paper delivered to the American Society for Ethnohistory, Lexington. Ms., Southern Illinois University Museum.
- 1969a *Modern Huichol Ceramics*. Mesoamerican Studies 3. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Museum.
- 1969b The Role of an Indianized Mestizo in the 1950 Huichol Revolt, Jalisco, Mexico. *Specialia 1, Interamericana 1*: 9–16. Latin American Institute, Southern Illinois University.
- 1970 Huichol Ceremonial Reuse of a Fluted Point. *American Antiquity* 35(3): 365–67.
- 1971 Possible Historical References in Huichol Myths to Sites of the Bolaños Valley, La Quemada, and the Magdalena Lake Basin. Ms, Department of Anthropology, SUNY at Stony Brook.
- 1972 *Co-operative Labor Groups in Subsistence Activities among the Huichol Indians*. Mesoamerican Studies 7. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Museum.

4. THE MAYO OF SOUTHERN SONORA: SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASSIMILATION AND RITUAL-SYMBOLIC SYNCRETISM—SPLIT ACCULTURATION

N. Ross Crumrine

Department of Anthropology, University of Victoria

INTRODUCTION

This discussion of Mayo acculturation begins by presenting three mythical elaborations of recent events. The first mythical history relates to the recent antichurch legislation and the 1926 burning of numerous churches and images as ordered by Plutarío Eliás Calles, then President of Mexico. Since in their area the churches of the rich and powerful were not burned, Banari Mayo believe the local mestizo powers saw in this occasion an opportunity to take revenge upon the Mayo by destroying their humble church buildings. Banari is the pseudonym for the Mayo ceremonial center and Mayo-mestizo village that was the focus of my field research.

Rodríguez did it. He just walked into the church. At that time the church doors were never locked as they are now. He set fire to the church. It was just a little mud and cane building with one bell. It burned and fell. And he gathered up all the Little Children [images] and carried them away. As they came to the river and started to cross, San Juan jumped away from Rodríguez and hopped into the river where the little bridge is now. Rodríguez pulled out his gun to shoot San Juan, but the little santo ducked under the water and Rodríguez could not harm him. That is why the cross stands under the big oak at the place where it happened. Rodríguez went on to the place in the bush where Crucécitas now stands, and there he burned up the Little Children. That is why Crucécitas are in that place now. The charred bodies of the Little Children lie there. Our Father Old Man [Iton Ačai O?ola] will burn him down for that pain. Those little bodies suffered agony. Rodríguez and his issue will be destroyed by Father Sun [Itom Ačai]. (See Figs. 4.1–4.3)

Although some mestizos and more assimilated Mayo Indians may argue that God's failure to kill Rodríguez proves Mayo religious beliefs are useless (see Erasmus 1961: 276–77; 1967), persons who clearly identify themselves as Mayo express no doubt that Itom Ačai (God) and the saints are still very powerful.

The second description explains the reconstruction of the Banari church in 1936 (Fig. 4.4).

I was a federal in Colima. We fought this battle there. Men were shot to pieces all over the place. All you could hear was their moans of pain, like one voice. It was terrible. Terrible! There was a man beside me who was dead but had not been buried. Men were just left for the coyotes to eat. My leg was badly wounded and I couldn't move. I made a *manda* [religious promise] that if I lived and could return to my home I would pay my promise in the Hurasim [Parisierom, men's masked Lenten ceremonial society].

Then when I got here I had to pay my *manda*. I went to my old grandmother, who was the only relative I had left. I told her I had this promise. She didn't say anything. She just took me to the church. There were only a few charred pieces of cane and one cross standing. I just stood there and looked at it. "What will I do?" I asked. "I must keep my promise." I talked to the old people and they told me what had happened. "The government isn't mad at us," I told them. "It's the priests who have sent all the money to Rome whom they are mad at." So they took up a collection to start building a church. We didn't have the bells then. When the church was burned some school teachers had taken the bells to Huicori. A young virgin girl from Camalobo went to the governor and got a paper that said Banari could have the bells back. She is now called a saint in Banari.

Not only have the Mayo rebuilt their churches, but also they could be characterized as actively reorganizing their social, ritual, and belief systems. For example, in 1957 Damian, a young Mayo, was visited by an old man who instructed Damian in a new type of ceremonial. After approaching, the old man asked to have a few words with Damian. He explained that the clouds would not lift until a season far distant from the present and that there would be many strange signs and much rain for the next few years. As Damian says:

Damian Bohorque, in this place, in the pueblo in general, at this point, Our Father Old Man God: Under a mesquite tree, to me came an old man much bearded. He talked several words. "Pahkom [ceremonies] you shall make, [to be on] eight Mondays, [and to include] three flowers, red, white, blue. [You] shall make that, our Pahko, for several [two or three] years. Those who believe in God, on Monday until Tuesday's sunrise [will be] Pahko Persona [ritual hosts] [and] will make (the ceremony)."

Thusly it was said by the old man, much will it rain in the Pahko year [or season]. In truth it will come to pass as has been said. Nineteen hundred and eight, Tuesday, last day of the Pahko.

Our Father, Jesus Christ, said thusly: "Go and take [your] inheritance in this weeping earth, all who are yoremes [Mayos], [and] twelve pahko persona." God thusly ordered. For this reason work the Paskolam [masked dancers], Masom [deer dancer], Matačinim [church dancers], Go?im [coyote dancers], Mačtorom [lay ministers], [they all are searching or seeking out the fulfillment of God's command]. God said that three crosses [would] testify to the work [of] all pueblos who believe in God.



Photo by N. Ross Crumrine

Fig. 4.1. Cross above the spot where San Juan jumped into the Mayo River.



Photo by N. Ross Crumrine

Fig. 4.2. Area where San Juan jumped into the Mayo River.

After talking with Damian the Old Man asked for water, which he drank. When he returned the glass to Damian it was still completely full of water. The followers of the cult that grew from this visitation, as well as many Mayo Indians who reject the new cult, accept the experience as an actual visitation of God and not as a vision or a dream.

The major aim of this paper focuses on the description and explanation of these revitalization phenomena in terms of broader acculturation processes taking place in the lower Mayo River valley.

THE HISTORY OF MAYO-MESTIZO CONTACT

The 1950 census lists 31,053 Mayo speakers, of whom 2,509 or 8.1 percent are monolingual in Mayo. We estimate that by 1965, owing to both population growth and difficulties in counting Mayo Indians, this figure could safely be doubled, and by including 15,000 Yaqui Indians it seems quite possible that Cahitan peoples today might reach 100,000. The major bodies of data on Mayo history come from accounts of the early explorers and Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century and from more recent descriptions by late nineteenth century travelers and twentieth

century ethnographers. Despite the lack of any extensive archaeological work in the Mayo River valley, the relatively closely related Uto-Aztecan languages of northwestern Mexico and the lack of dialectical variation suggest a population movement into the area in the 1400s and 1500s just preceding Spanish arrival (Spicer 1969: 782). The arrival of the Spaniards, in the early 1600s, stabilized the tribal groups around seven mission towns and later around mines in the Alamos area and haciendas spreading down the valley from Alamos.

River flooding provided the preconquest Mayo with the water for two crops a year, although wild foods constituted perhaps up to 40 percent of the diet (Spicer 1961: 12). These early Mayo lived in rancherías that usually numbered less than 300 persons, although some occasionally attained a population of 1,000 persons. In the early 1600s Jesuit missionaries brought several new crops and livestock such as sheep, goats, and cattle. They consolidated some of the Mayo into seven mission towns of 2,000 to 3,000, but today many Mayo family households still prefer to locate close to their fields and at some distance from their neighbors. No elaborate Mayo stratification system has ever existed, and descent and kinship was and continues to be bilateral. In the

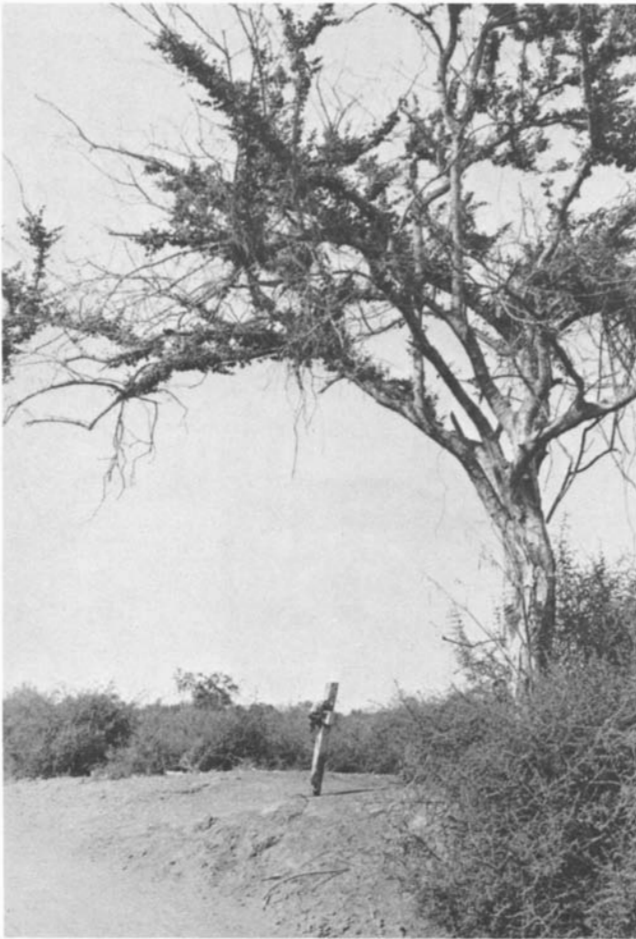


Photo by N. Ross Crumrine

Fig. 4.3. Cross where the Saints' images were burned.

past there may have been a stronger bias toward the male line. The kinship terminology was bifurcate collateral with a Hawaiian-like set of cousin terms (Spicer 1969: 839, for Yaqui). The preconquest rancherías were exogamous, and supra-ranchería political organization existed only during times of warfare. During times of peace a group of ranchería elders provided the leadership and made decisions in community meetings of adult males. The Jesuit missionaries emphasized ceremonial kinship and godparenthood, certain ceremonial sodalities, and village government. The leaders of the major sodalities became the heads of the town council, which included representation from each household. Both the preconquest and the village-government political systems valued equality and individuality of adults; however they consisted of ceremonial sodalities whose leadership depended to some degree upon authority and a hierarchy of positions or roles within the sodality. The fusion of new supernaturals, introduced by the Jesuits, with indigenous beliefs and organizations and the linking of this sacred system to the village government has produced a type of highly integrated yet dynamic Catholic folk culture that still exists in the Mayo River valley (Fig. 4.5).

The Jesuit acculturation techniques—learning the language, working through the native leaders, living with the

Indians, and utilizing the army only when absolutely necessary—proved successful. After the first 50 years, during which epidemics killed half the Mayo population, the Mayo River valley was stable until 1684, when one of the richest silver mines in northwestern Mexico was discovered at Alamos, just above the river valley itself. Spanish settlement and forced work in the mines created Mayo resentment, which contributed to the general Indian revolt in 1740. By 1767, when the Jesuits were expelled from the New World, Mayo population was down to less than 6,000, although many Mayo may have been away working in the mines or on the haciendas. In 1768 several Franciscans arrived, but they were replaced in 1771 by secular clergy, who were not to be successful in effecting any real change in Mayo culture or society.

By the 1820s Mexico had become a free and independent nation, but the new Occident State government (Sonora and Sinaloa) lacked the necessary power to integrate the Indians by carrying out plans for land distribution, taxation, and location of political power away from Indian villages. After a period of relative independence and a number of revolts caused in part by mestizo land encroachment, the Mayo were essentially pacified by the 1880s. In the years just preceding 1890 a number of Mayo prophets predicting floods appeared; in September 1890 they were deported to the mines in Baja California. From the late 1800s to the 1910 revolution many Mayo virtually became slaves on the haciendas in the Mayo River valley. Interested by the visit of Francisco Madero to the area, many Mayo Indians joined the young local mestizo leader Alvaro Obregon and marched off to the revolution. But they returned to the river valley in 1915 to discover that their families, lands, and homes had been destroyed and that mestizos had taken the lands the revolution had promised to them. Even though in this same year the law establishing the reconstruction of ejidos and small properties was enacted, it was to have little effect in the Mayo area until the late 1920s and early 1930s, when Banari ejido was set up and the Banari church reconstructed.

This brief historical sketch brings us to the modern period of the reconstruction of the church and the revitalization of beliefs and rituals constituting Mayo social and ceremonial organization. In general, this history of acculturation exemplifies a broad process of slowly eroding sociopolitical autonomy and land loss, of military and prophetic response, and of reconstruction and revival of a way of life after periods of destructive warfare.

THE STRUCTURE OF MAYO-MESTIZO SOCIAL CONTACT

Quite briefly, let us turn to potential social contexts for interaction between Mayo Indians and mestizos (for full discussion see Crumrine and Crumrine 1969). In the abstract case that we assume, broad-range social interaction is associated with assimilative acculturation. Recent settlement and land transformation from scrub thorn forest to irrigated fields are manifestations of the general process of mestizo infiltration and usurpation of basic economic goods. No reservation land has been set aside by the government for the Mayo on account of their status as Indians.



Photo by N. Ross Crumrine

Fig. 4.4. The altar of the Banari Mayo church.

The Mayo still utilize what virgin areas exist for gathering wild fruits, firewood, and building and manufacturing materials, although today they may have to go greater distances to find such stands of virgin thorn forest (Fig. 4.6). Even the Mayo River itself has been dominated by the technological knowledge of mestizo society. A dam in the upper valley not only controls river water but also is in part responsible for the imposition of a water tax. The population has changed as dramatically as has the environment, so that of the 120,000 people (1960) in the river valley no more than one-third are Mayo, and none of the larger towns consists predominantly of Mayo.

There are at least four types of settlement patterns in the lower river valley: (1) scattered rural household clusters or *rancherías* (Fig. 4.7), apparently a precontact pattern; (2) a modified Spanish village ceremonial center type; (3) a modern northwestern Mexican urban market center pattern; and (4) a more recent *ejido*-type community. Socially, the *ranchería* pattern means distance from neighbors, of whatever ethnic affiliation, and privacy exceeding city or even village standards. A ceremony is less likely to cause complaints or to arouse the police than in the town or city. The modified ceremonial center consists of a Mayo segment of scattered

adobe and jacal huts concentrated around the church-cemetery area. Making up the other half of town is a mestizo plaza center. On a square-grid block pattern around the plaza are found the mestizo homes, the rural school, the grocery store, and the *comisaría*. The modern urban pattern includes a plaza with a municipal palace, banks, a Mexican church, a bandstand, a centralized enclosed market, a large number of stores and saloons, a police station, several schools, an infirmary or hospital, and a social security building or buildings. Good Mayo lands in urban areas have been lost by Mayo Indians, who remain in *barrios* in the older and lower sections of the towns. Although many predominantly Mayo *ejidos* are of the ceremonial village settlement type, there are some *ejido* communities laid out on the block grid pattern. In these, Mayo compounds tend to be found interspersed with mestizo ones, apparently with no forced and little spontaneous zoning. Mayo extended families cluster together but larger Mayo groupings do not form, which suggests more neighborly contact between Mayo Indians and mestizos in this type of settlement pattern than in the others. Certainly where people live next door or close by, use the same roads and streets, and go to the same schools, store, and markets, eventually a certain number of



Photo by N. Ross Crumrine

Fig. 4.5. A Mayo church in the upper Mayo River Valley.

Mayo Indians and mestizos become friendly, visit, and choose each other as *compadres* and as marriage partners. But Mayo residence and neighboring with mestizos, as well as house plot inheritance and dispute settlements, have become individual and nuclear family concerns, rather than those of a Mayo societal corporate unit like a clan, sodality, or village.

Since a mestizo spouse most likely would not wish to sponsor crucial Mayo rituals, the Mayo in theory are prejudiced against intermarriage. But in actuality, mestizos marrying into Mayo families are tolerated with kindness, for the Mayo accept individuals on their own merits. Nevertheless, to be accepted, these individuals should not occupy lands out of proportion to their immediate needs or restrict the rights of others. Mestizo objections to Mayo culture focus on the expensive ceremonials that Mayo Indians must sponsor in order to enrich their position and status within the Mayo community. Of the ceremonially participating Banari Mayo of marriageable age, not fewer than one-fifth have married mestizos. For the Mayo in general, the percentage of mixed marriages would likely be higher. Some Mayo Indians now married to other Mayo claim marriage to mestizos earlier in their lives. All mar-

riages have tended to be fragile, especially because of warfare and migration; thus intermarriages are not necessarily more stable than intramarriages. Intermarriage and acceptance of inmarrying spouses depend on specific family situations, but most marriages, as well as neighboring, *compadre*, and visiting relations, are with other Mayo Indians. In general, more of the Mayo participating in the Banari church have mestizo neighbors and *compadres* than have mestizo marriage ties.

Another role relationship that integrates Mayo Indians and mestizos is that of employer and employee. Since most Mayo must supplement their farming income, both Mayo men and women provide low-paid, unskilled farm wage labor. Mestizos, conversely, act as employers. Mayo Indians share the employee role with lower-class mestizos and often tend to be treated as such by the employers.

The above patterns of interaction tend to be more dyadic in nature, whereas the following involve Mayo participation within mestizo societal units, and in terms of mestizo values. Ideally, schools are highly valued by Mayo parents, who believe their children should have a good education. In reality, the average formal education of most Mayo Indians in Banari certainly does not exceed several years, and for

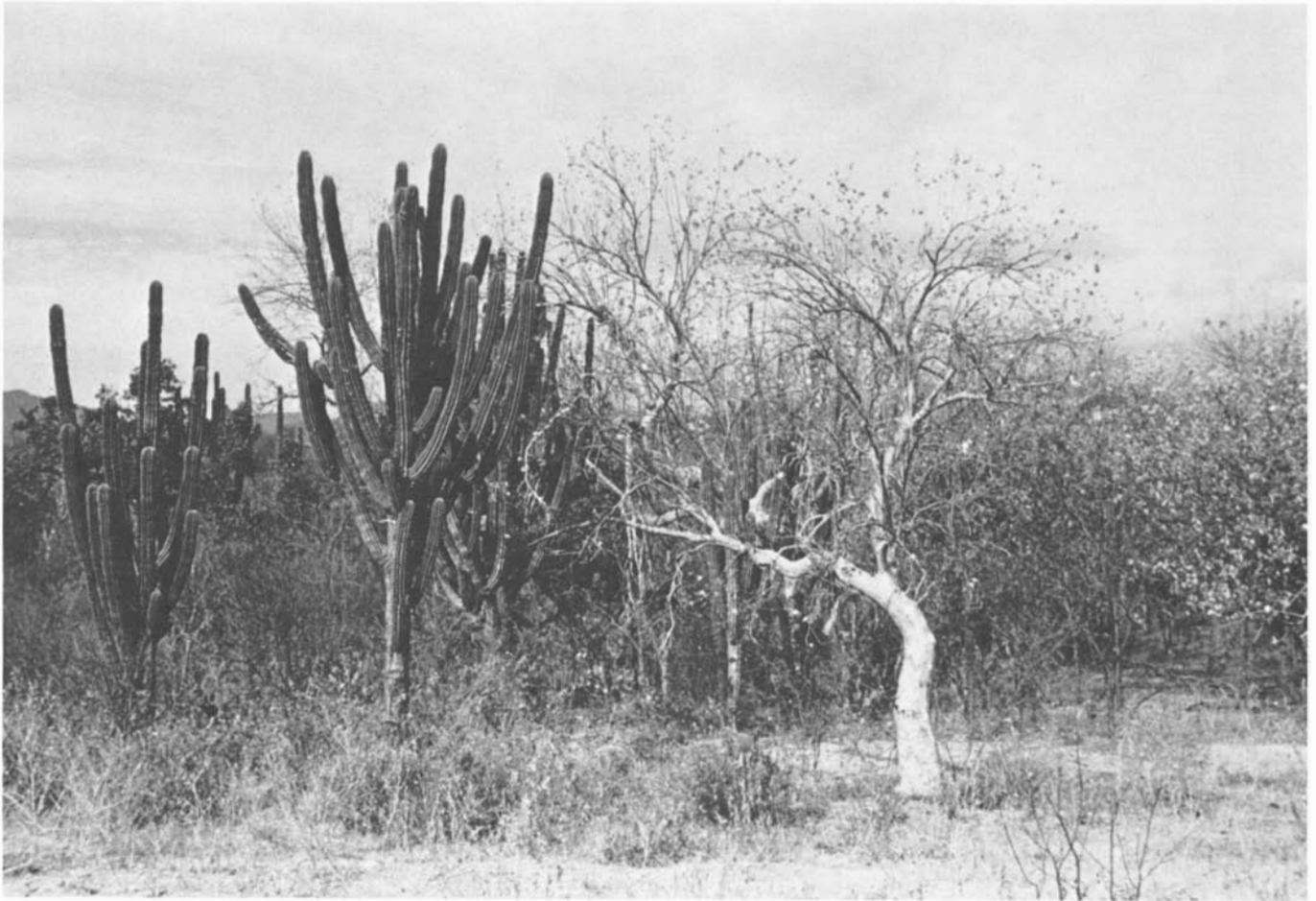


Photo by N. Ross Crumrine

Fig. 4.6. Thorn forest in the upper Mayo Valley.

many it is even less. Important Mayo ceremonials, sheer hardship, and inferior physical equipment and personnel in the rural schools all contribute to a large gap in quality between these schools and those of wealthier urban districts. In spite of these factors, today Mayo children do attend school and during a short period of their lives interact in this manner with poorer mestizo children (Fig. 4.8). Yet the mestizo children are already at an advantage because they have learned only Spanish at home.

The ejido, a Mexican communal landholding unit, either parceled or collective, provides another context for participation by Mayo individuals in a mestizo institution. In the ejido organization the Mayo and mestizos sit together as equal *socios*. Since many of the ejidos are predominantly either Mayo or mestizo in actual composition, interaction is somewhat limited. Mestizos are the doctors in the ejido infirmaries and teachers in the ejido schools. Although the *comisario*, the Mexican political head of Banari, happens to speak Mayo, he is said to be appointed to the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) ticket by the municipal president. Thus the control of the ejido organization is somewhat outside of Mayo hands and as a result this organization is separate and distinct from traditional Mayo social organization.

Mayo individuals also join the military service, as a means of improving their lot while still remaining Mayo. Some Mayo people are becoming Protestants, or *evangelistas*, but in doing so they are essentially leaving Mayo culture and society. At the same time, insofar as Catholic priests disapprove of uniquely native Mayo Catholic rituals and paraphernalia, they are resented by the Mayo. For the patron saint's day ceremony, a priest says mass once a year in most Mayo churches. But most Mayo Indians do not frequent the urban Catholic church where a priest is resident.

I have mentioned the types of social contexts in which Mayo as individuals are integrated either with mestizos as individuals or with mestizo societal units. In addition, mestizo individuals attend uniquely Mayo ceremonials and social gatherings either simply as a diversion or in order to sell food or other items to the Mayo participants. Finally, social integration between Mayo societal units and mestizo societal units essentially does not exist, although Mayo village-church centers are socially integrated with one another.

In general the structure of social contact between Mayo Indians and mestizos suggests that information flows either between individuals as individuals and not as representa-

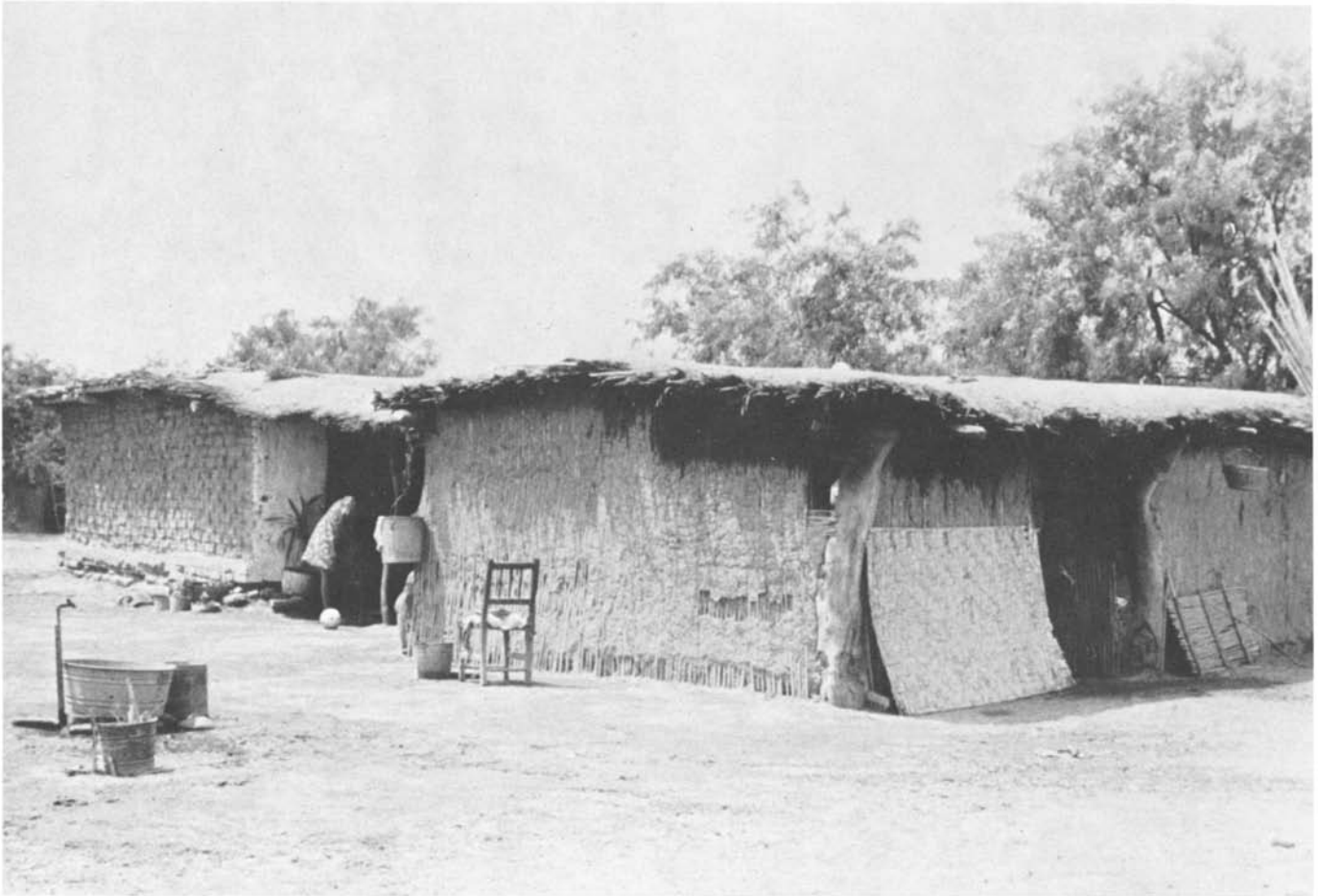


Photo by N. Ross Crumrine

Fig. 4.7. A typical Mayo home.

tives of societal statuses, or from mestizo societal units to Mayo individuals. Information flow and the potentiality for positive adaptation and adjustment between Mayo and mestizo societal units is severely limited. Social contexts simply do not exist in which these units are integrated. Given these conditions, the Mayo have two major choices: (1) to assimilate into mestizo society as individuals, or (2) to adapt and revitalize traditional Mayo culture and society. If a Mayo selects the first alternative, he must enter mestizo society essentially on the bottom stratum with little potential for advancement.

Many positions in Mexican society are closed to Mayos because of lack of skills usable to Mexican society. Mayos do not develop many practical (mechanical, electrical) skills because the schools do not offer the training and because Mayos are not likely to attend school long enough to reach this level of attainment. Apprenticeship possibilities are limited, and what few there are tend to be passed on to relatives by the mestizo possessors. Also, Mayos tend to reject skills not directly connected with primary resources, in keeping with deeply ingrained cultural values, and hesitate to stay with a job which does not permit the worker to arrange his time to participate in ceremonial activities [Crumrine and Crumrine 1969: 56].

These types of factors tend to make assimilation less attractive than it could be. Thus a large group of Mayos, a number that may actually be increasing in size, are opting for the second alternative and are seeking in a revitalized traditional Mayo culture and society the satisfaction lacking in assimilation. Members of this group recognize in the process of individual assimilation an implicit threat, and they direct their main hostility and show their lowest possible esteem toward mestizos with Mayo ancestry who have turned away from Mayo traditions, specifically the religious traditions. "By far the greatest amount of Mayo verbal hostility toward mestizos is directed toward their own defectors (*yoris revueltos*), those people who had an opportunity to choose the Mayo way and rejected it in favor of a mestizo pattern of life instead" (Crumrine and Crumrine 1969: 56).

THE STRUCTURE OF MAYO REVITALIZATION

Mayo Indians, unable to assimilate or adapt as Mayo to mestizo culture, have reconstructed a kind of symbolic opposition culture. The enactment of this culture in ritual contexts reinforces Mayo identity and symbolically establishes a clear boundary between Mayo and non-Mayo. A way of life has in part become a kind of drama. If this should be so,



Photo by N. Ross Crumrine

Fig. 4.8. Mayo and mestizo children breaking a piñata at a school Christmas party.

what model is utilized by the Mayo, first to explain the types of adjustments that have taken place in their revitalized culture and society, and second to logically reintegrate their culture in spite of their constant technological, economic, and political domination by mestizos? In other words, is there a folk model that explains to the Mayo their own acculturation experiences and attempts at revitalization? Only quite recently did I realize the importance of the concept of the "Holy Family" (Utes Yo?oriwa) to the Mayo. After some consideration the "Holy Family" concept reveals implications much broader than they might seem at first. Although we anthropologists have recently been questioning the postulated correlation between urbanization and modernization and the breakdown of the extended family, we have produced a type of "Holy Family" model. With modernization and assimilative acculturation, extended family ties tend to disintegrate, leaving a kind of nuclear family consisting of parents and children: Our Father, Our Mother, and Jesus Christ—the "Holy Family." For the Mayo Our Father (Itom Ačai) refers to God the Father, the Sun, the Cross, all Male Images, and the Holy Trinity; Our Mother (Itom Aye) includes all the Female Images, the several Images of the Virgin Mary, the Church, the Holy Spirit, the Moon, and some aspects of the Earth; the Son (Itom Ačai Usi, Ili Usim) refers to Jesus, Christ, and, as Children of God, all the Saints' Images. The Holy Family refers to several complexes on a number of levels of reality: the Mayo Family itself; the Sun-Moon-Stars; the Forest Father, Forest Mother, animals (their children) (Huya O?ola, Old Man of the Forest; Huya Hamyo?ola, Old Woman of the Forest); Ocean Father, Ocean Mother, fish (their children) (Bawe O?ola, Old Man of the Ocean; Bawe Hamyo?ola, Old Woman of the Ocean).

With this model in mind let us examine present processes of acculturation in southern Sonora as they relate specifically to Mayo culture and society. The Mayo family and family ritual and Mayo ceremonialism and ceremonial sodalities still retain ethnic patterns. Even though in the Banari area many Mayo families have rights to farm lands, nevertheless some of the members of most families must work as laborers part of the year or do part-time subsistence fishing. Some families own a milk cow, a few pigs, chickens, sheep, plow horses, and goats, and others supplement their cash income through the practice of native crafts such as blanket or carrizo mat weaving. Although somewhat more limited in numbers of practitioners, the making of fireworks and certain dancing and curing specialties bring cash into other households. The food and cash coming into the family is utilized for the maintenance of the family as a whole, but its utilization involves two distribution systems. On the one hand, Mayo Indians participate in the mestizo system. They use money for labor services, taxes, utilities, and a limited number of durable goods purchased from mestizos—pottery, enameled spoons, pots, pans, iron tools, meat grinders, clothing, and even radios and bicycles in some cases. This type of distribution and consumption pattern is rooted in the family. Thus the family provides the major economic link between the Mexican economic system and the Mayo. On the other hand, Mayo families are also the elements in ritualized exchanges within a uniquely Mayo economic system. Mayo families, especially those

linked through real and ritual kinship ties, carry small gifts of food when they visit each other and return home with a gift from the host. In this system home-produced items are preferred. The village-wide ceremonials also embody exchange patterns (see L. S. Crumrine 1969). The ceremonial hosts are expected to feed the village members, some of whom bring food contributions to the ceremony. Thus the Mayo family is the major unit in economic consumption and distribution patterns.

Beyond the Mayo terms for immediate family members, the Spanish kinship terms and kinship system are rather widespread. Some Mayo are unaware of the kinds of distinctions made in the old system while others have confused (1) some of the older distinctions or (2) the terms used by a female ego with those used by a male ego. Thus the shift to the present kinship system is consistent with the "Holy Family" model. Extended families (sons' or daughters' families living in the same compound with their parents, or siblings' families living together) do exist and family rituals such as those connected with the dead still integrate both extended and nuclear family compounds. Yet the extended family pattern is extremely informal and vague. Much of the ritual of Damian's new prophet's cult was family or ceremonial kin-based and thus also is consistent with the "Holy Family" model.

The concept of Pueblo is still a powerful symbol in Mayo ritual speeches. In reality two local political organizations exist: (1) the mestizo town president, appointed to the ticket by the *municipio* president; and (2) the Mayo church governors — president (Tiopo Kobanaro), secretary (Hiotelio), treasurer (Tomita Suayaleo), watchman (Bihilante) and captain (Kapitan) — who originally were part of a separate village political organization. Today this organization has lost its secular governors and secular authority.

Finally, the church organization and the cycle of ceremonials both reinforce Mayo identity and prove to be essentially consistent with the "Holy Family" concept. On one level of thought, (1) the female images and the church-cemetery area represent "Our Mother," (2) the male images represent "Our Father," and (3) the people of the pueblo represent the children of the church. The Mayo say the number of children a church has directly represents its prestige and the power of its saints. The most scathing thing one can say about a neighboring ceremonial center and its perhaps competing saint is that "X church has very few little children."

Mayo ceremonialism ranges from family rituals, already mentioned, through local pueblo ceremonials, to ceremonial exchanges that integrate ceremonial centers. The ceremonial cycle is patterned on the "Holy Family" cycle. Mary, "Our Mother," is pregnant and Joseph, "Our Father," is upset until he learns it is the work of the Holy Spirit. Jesus is born, matures, becomes a great curer, eventually is an old man, and ultimately is crucified by the Pariserom (Pharisees). On Easter Sunday He returns from the world of the dead. During Lent the Pariserom sodality usurps political powers from the church and the civil governors (Bahi Reyesim), but on Holy Saturday they are burned up by "Our Father" the Sun and the Bahi Reyesim again regain control.

Joseph and Mary fled, out of shame it is said, because Mary was pregnant, and Joseph knew that he had had nothing to do with it. But the angel appeared to Mary and told her not to be ashamed, because she was going to give birth to Christ, and he told her and Joseph not to be ashamed, for it was the work of the Holy Spirit. He talked to Joseph alone, then, and told him not to leave Mary because of this. So Mary and Joseph came back to Belem, but there was no room for them anywhere so they had to go to a stable. And there the Child was born and the Three Kings [Bahi Reyesim] came to see the Christ Child. The animals made special noises signaling his birth. The cock crowed, the donkey brayed, and the dog barked.

Then Pontius Pilate started pursuing the Christ Child, it is said, because he was afraid. Since the Three Kings had visited Christ, Pilate thought the child must be pretty important. So the army of Pontius Pilate pursues the Christ Child every year, and kills him, but in the end He arises and He and the Three Kings triumph on the Saturday of Glory.

After Lent a summer cycle of ceremonials takes place: the Exaltation of the Holy Cross on May 3, San Isidro on May 19, the nativity of San Juan on June 24, and the moveable feasts of the Holy Spirit (Itom Aye) and Holy Trinity (Itom Ačai) in late May or early June. In October and November, the dead ancestors return to the village. The year begins anew with the birth of Christ along with the feast of the crowning of the Bahi Reyesim (Three Kings) in the first week of January, at which time the governors are

confirmed in office. The twelve days between Christmas and the Day of the Kings represent the coming year in microcosm.

Easter ceremonies take place in each of the larger ceremonial centers and draw local people. In another monograph (N. R. Crumrine 1968) I argue that this ceremonial also functions as a rite of passage for young men moving into adulthood. In this regard, for the initiates as well as for the members of the center, it dramatizes identification with a local area. It also dramatizes the rejection of militaristic coercive political power and the acceptance of values more compatible with an egalitarian political structure, the only structure that is viable today in the Mayo River valley (N. R. Crumrine 1970). The set of summer ceremonials integrates villages through ceremonial exchange in which, for example, the male Santísima Tiniran (Itom Ačai) of Banari is hosted by the female Espiritu Santu (Itom Aye) of a neighboring center one week, and the following week the Santísima Tiniran hosts the Espiritu Santu (see L. S. Crumrine 1969). These exchanges are explicitly spoken of as the meeting, the embrace, and then the separation of Itom Aye ("Our Mother") and Itom Ačai ("Our Father"). In summary, the model of the "Holy Family" (Utes Yo?oriwa) provides the structure for a series of ceremonials that integrate Mayo ceremonial centers.

In terms of change in the ceremonials themselves, I observed the Banari Easter Ceremony in 1961, 1965, 1970, and 1971 (see Figs. 4.9–4.11). The structure of ceremony remains static; however, there has been an increase in numbers of participants—about 100 Pariseros in 1961, 202 in





Fig. 4.10. A Banari Chapakoba (Parisero).

Photo by N. Ross Crumrine

Fig. 4.11. A Banari Chapakoba.

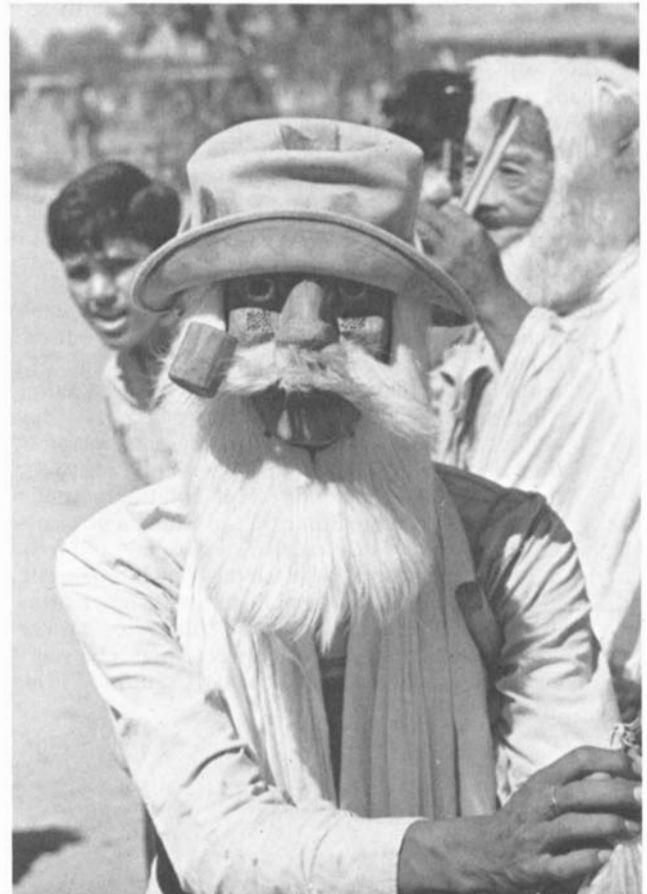


Photo by N. Ross Crumrine
Fig. 4.9. The Holy Cross
fiesteros on Easter Sunday
in Banari.

Photo by N. Ross Crumrine

1970, and reportedly more than 300 in 1969. Also there has been an increase in the secular entertainment from nothing in 1961, to several food booths in 1965, to a dozen or more food booths, six rides, and twelve games in 1970. In 1971 I observed a reduction in Pariseros to 125–150 members, as well as a reduction in secular entertainment to only a few rides and games, although the dozen or so commercial food booths continued to exist.

In conclusion, we have seen that a contact social structure emphasizing individual Mayo assimilation into the bottom stratum of mestizo society is coupled with an oppositional and revitalized Mayo culture and society. A great deal of this culture is being dramatized and presented in the form of a complex set of ceremonials. The model of the "Holy Family" permits the Mayo to integrate (1) the cycle of ceremonials, (2) certain changes in kinship, social, and economic structure, and (3) the world of nature (the forest, the heavens, the ocean worlds). The incorporation of recent events into the sacred mythology and ceremonialism—for example, the church burning—and the creation of new prophetic cults show that the Mayo are still creatively developing and adapting their logico-symbolic and social systems. Through elaboration of Arnold van Gennep's (1909) ideas, Victor Turner (1964, 1968, 1969) has produced a structure applicable to recent Mayo acculturation. Van Gennep demonstrated that movement from one status to another—for instance, at birth, marriage, or death—often involves ritual. Aided by the ritual, the novice moves through the transition or liminal period, a kind of limbo or "betwixt and between," in Turner's words (1964). Turner applies van Gennep's concept of individual passage to social groups. He argues that entire social groups undergoing a transition exist in a state of liminality (Turner 1968: 576–77). This period of transition is characterized by symbolic enrichment, egalitarian social relations, equality of novices, and structural impoverishment. The myths and rituals provide a deeply exciting and dramatic stimulus to individuals or members of groups moving through this liminal period. Present Mayo society manifests some of the indicators of just such a liminal stage. Even though many ceremonial sodalities are hierarchical, the Mayo value equality very much. Mayo mythology and ceremonialism reveals intense and creative elaboration while Mayo political organization obtains no power or recognition in mestizo affairs.

Mayo ceremonialism and the Mayo way of life has become an elaborate ritual drama which is part of this liminal status that Mayos hold between an autonomous tribal society and a rural mestizo peasantry. Mayos are neither autonomous nor mestizo peasants, yet at the same time they are both, they are "betwixt and between." As the drama is enacted different solutions, such as the church *paskos* (ceremonies), San Damian *paskos*, or San Cayetano *paskos*, are created, tested, and fall into disuse or in part are absorbed by the ongoing liminal state. Thus in a sense Mayo ceremonialism and symbolism is being used by Mayos in their attempts to develop a more stable and workable adjustment between themselves as Mayos and the dominant mestizo society [Crumrine 1977].

Modern Yaqui Indians, with a reservation just north of the Mayo River valley, still control a village political organization that is recognized by the Mexican government. Since the Yaqui have achieved a level of political integration with the mestizos that the Mayo lack (Spicer 1971), the former should not be characterized by liminal phenomena. Indeed, the Yaqui governors would not permit the ceremonies of the new Mayo prophet's cult to spread into Yaqui country, and in general the Yaqui have not produced recent prophetic cults (Spicer 1971). As a boundary-maintaining mechanism, the Mayo substitute a dynamic symbolic ceremonial system for the Yaqui political organization. Each proves to be an effective method of grouping people as Mayo or Yaqui vs. mestizo. Thus the whole process of Mayo cultural revitalization acts as a symbol of the Mayo attempts to control their own destiny and to develop beyond a liminal state to a more respectable national status.

REFERENCES

- Crumrine, Lynne S.
 1969 Ceremonial Exchange as a Mechanism in Tribal Integration Among the Mayos of Northwest Mexico. *Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona* 14. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Crumrine, N. Ross
 1968 The Easter Ceremonial in the Socio-Cultural Identity of Mayos, Sonora, Mexico. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Arizona.
 1970 Ritual Drama and Culture Change. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 12(4): 361–72.
 1977 *The Mayo Indians of Sonora: A People Who Refuse to Die*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Crumrine, N. Ross, and Lynne S. Crumrine
 1969 Where Mayos Meet Mestizos: A Model for the Social Structure of Culture Contact. *Human Organization* 28(1): 50–57.
- Erasmus, Charles J.
 1961 *Man Takes Control, Cultural Development and American Aid*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
 1967 Culture Change in Northwest Mexico. In *Contemporary Change in Traditional Societies*, Vol. 3: *Mexican and Peruvian Communities*, edited by J. H. Steward. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Spicer, Edward H.
 1961 Yaqui. In *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change*, edited by E. H. Spicer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
 1969 Northwest Mexico: Introduction; The Yaqui and Mayo. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, Vol. 8, edited by Evon Vogt, pp. 777–91, 830–45. Austin: University of Texas Press.
 1970 Contrasting Forms of Nativism Among the Mayos and Yaquis of Sonora, Mexico. In *The Social Anthropology of Latin America*, edited by W. Goldschmidt and H. Hoijer, pp. 104–25. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Turner, Victor W.
 1964 Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period of Rites de Passage. *Proceedings of the 1964 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, pp. 4–20.

- 1968 Myth and Symbol. *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. New York: MacMillan and Free Press.
- 1969 *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Chicago: Aldine.

van Gennep, A.

- 1909 *Rites de Passage*. 1960 *The Rites of Passage*. (Translation of the French edition.) London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Also 1960 Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press.

5. ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES OF PEASANT INDIANS IN A BIETHNIC MEXICAN COMMUNITY: A STUDY OF MOUNTAIN PIMA ASSIMILATION

Timothy Dunnigan
American Indian Studies
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the social and economic strategies by which Mountain Pima Indians cope with the territorial encroachments of ranchers who within recent times have established themselves in the vicinity of Maycoba, a small village in eastern Sonora, Mexico (Fig. 5.1). As in most biethnic settlements of the Sierra Madre Occidental, Indians and *blancos*¹ represent competitive economic factions. The *blancos* are primarily livestock raisers, whereas the Pima depend mostly on the product of their *milpa* agriculture. The two factions supply one another with goods and services, but both want control of the land. It is on the issue of land that they are irreconcilably divided, and each would like to see the other completely withdraw from the area.

The in-town residents of Maycoba (Fig. 5.2), who total about 175 persons, are mostly the families of *blanco* ranch owners and their overseers, while all but a few of the approximately 500 Pima live in small family clusters or ranchos widely dispersed over the surrounding countryside. The location of the Indian farms reflects the patchy distribution of arable land that occurs in small pockets along water courses and at the bottoms of eroded mountain valleys. In Maycoba proper are located the old mission church of the Pima and a newer church erected by the *blancos*. The chief civil official of the Pima, the Gobernador, has a residence in town, and it is to Maycoba that the rancho dwellers must come in order to participate in community-wide religious fiestas and conduct their political affairs. Pima individuals also visit Maycoba out of a need to patronize *blanco* stores and to look for wage work.

As is the case with other Sierra Indians such as the Tarahumara, Wariho, Tepehuan, and Huichol, the Mountain Pima have a political organization that is highly atomistic. A sense of common tribal identity is shared by about 1500 Pima living in a number of settlements on both sides of the Sonora-Chihuahua border, but each village is entirely autonomous and without a tradition of inter-community alliances. Even the satellite rancho enjoys a great deal of independence, since it controls its own immediate lands free of overt interference from other sectors of the community.

This lack of corporate political structures has hampered the Pima in taking concerted action against the *blanco* incursions.

Faced with a shrinking land base and unable to depend on his own political power to halt the process, the individual Pima is forced to change his pattern of subsistence. Such a change may involve the acceptance of new occupational roles, although this is not always the case. The primary strategy is to manipulate reciprocity obligations among relatives so as to retain the largest possible investment in the traditional economy. This means that more intensive cooperation must be developed within the bilateral kindred, and especially the stem family, in order to effect a wider distribution of scarce resources. An increasing number of Pima are becoming socially mobile beyond the boundaries of their own group, but such cases seem to reflect a purely reactive strategy to severely limited opportunities for continued participation in the traditional economy. Once a new socio-economic status has been attained, however, it may become highly valued and carefully maintained against any return to a denigrated minority. It is also true that reverse movement frequently occurs and that peasant modes of subsistence are re-adopted after long periods of work in non-Indian society. I shall be examining two fundamental propositions concerning the adaptive strategies of the Mountain Pima: (1) that kinship involvement adjusts in specific ways to economic variables introduced from outside the indigenous social system, and (2) that these adjustments are essentially conservative in purpose, that is, the objective is to make minimal changes in one's status as a member of a peasant Indian economy.

METHODS

During a three-month period in 1965 and again for eight months in 1967-1968, I carried out ethnographic research among Mountain Pima located at a number of settlements both in the Sierra and in the Sonora lowlands. In addition to visiting Maycoba and its satellite ranchos, I spent considerable time in Yécora, a *blanco* ranching town that has attracted Maycoba Pima in search of work. Several trips were made to nearby sawmills that employed Pima individuals, and three weeks of fieldwork were allocated to contacting Pima families who had moved to the Ciudad Obregón irrigation district from the Sierra. All persons interviewed were raised within the environs of Maycoba and still consider themselves as enrolled members of the town since this is where their baptisms are officially recorded.

One phase of research concentrated on whether there is a

1. Those Pima who are bilingual use two terms when referring to a non-Indian Mexican. In the indigenous language the latter is called a *duukam* (pl. *dudkam*). A commonly used designation by both Indian and non-Indian is *blanco*, meaning white. More rarely a person is said to be mestizo, that is, his life-style is that of a *blanco* but his Indian parentage is well remembered by the local people. Racial distinctions appear to be highly salient among the Sierra populations.

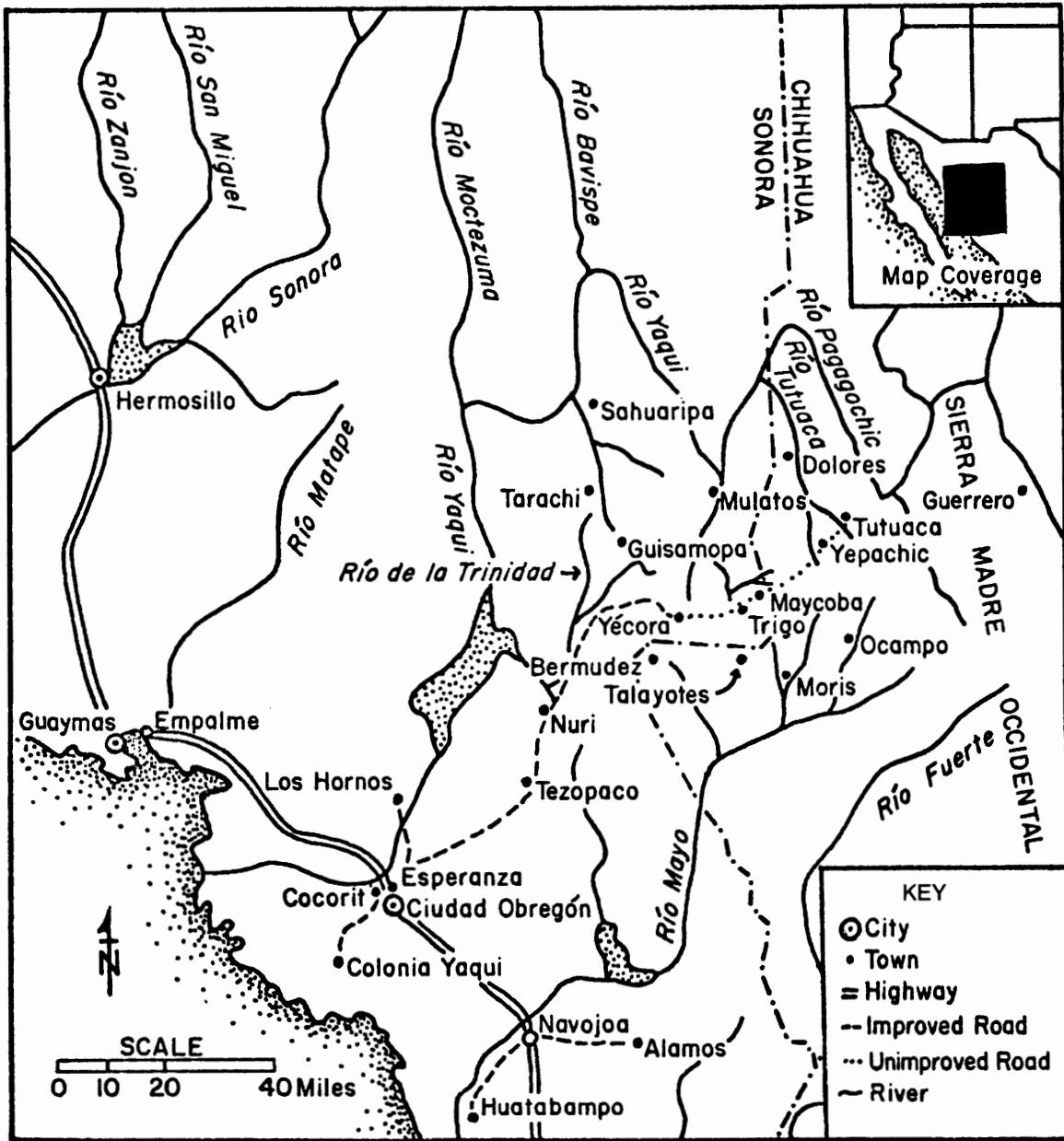


Fig. 5.1. Distribution of the Mountain Branch of the Lower Pima, 1967.

sequence by which individual Pima gradually disengage from indigenous institutions and establish themselves within the class structure of the dominant society. Using occupation and residence as a basis for sampling, I elicited a number of life histories from each of four subgroups representing the principal adaptive types. The objective was to determine the critical preconditions that impel the Pima to accept new subsistence patterns. Regarding the actual strategies of adaptation, the most important data pertained to the reciprocities that existed within and between the different groups. Inter-family cooperation involving the Pima was studied through structured interviews and participant observation. Particular attention was given to the content of

the exchanges, and the nature of the kin or friendship bonds that linked exchange partners.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Present acculturative processes affecting the Mountain Pima are an extension of trends established almost a century ago. Beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when raiding Apache Indians ceased to be a problem in the Sierra, the territory of the Mountain Pima was invaded by a large influx of *blanco* ranchers, who displaced the Indian populations at major settlements such as Moris and Yécora. Longtime residents of Yécora report that around 1900 many

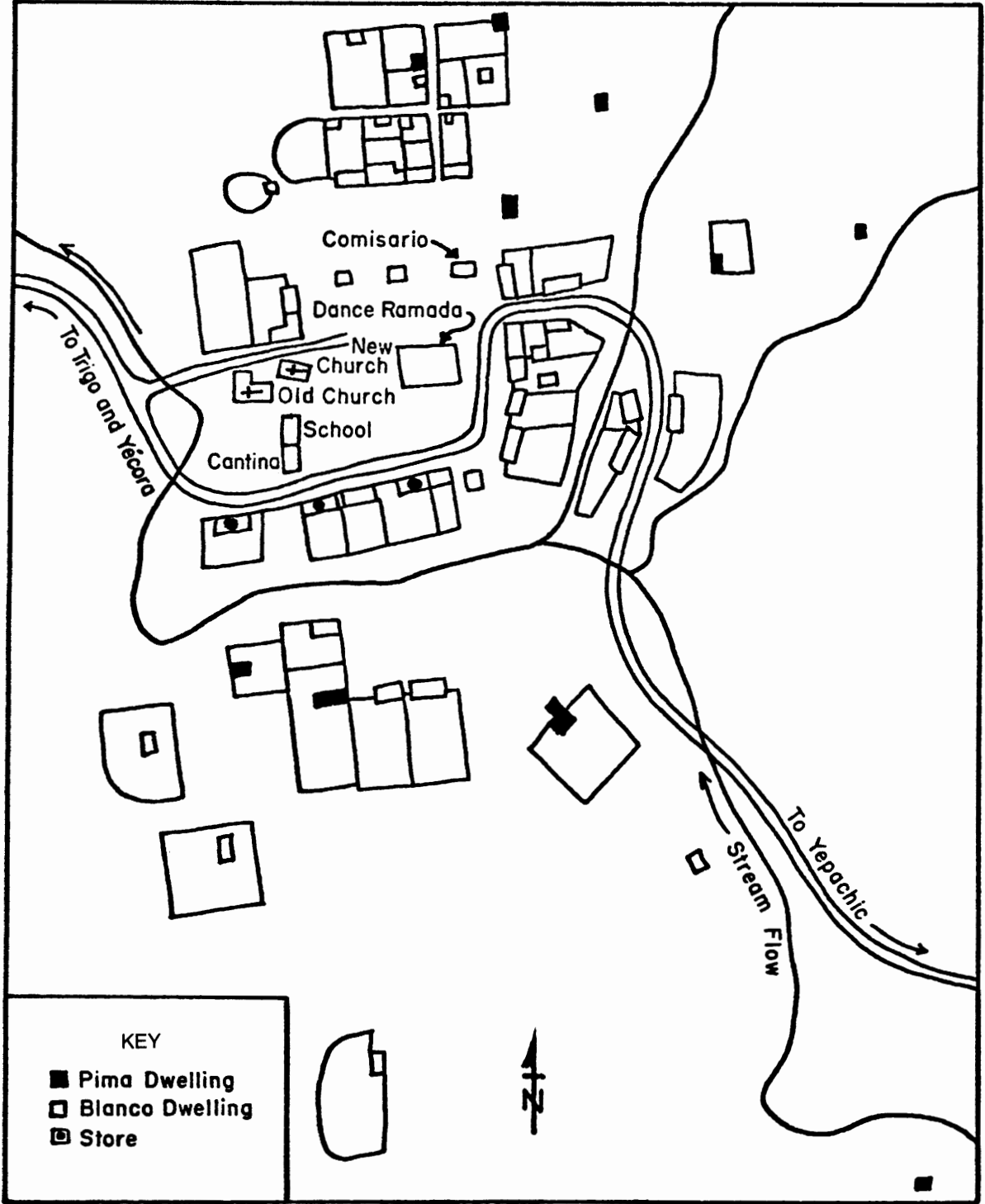


Fig. 5.2. Sketch map of Maycoba, Sonora, 1967.

Indians still lived on the outskirts of town where they cultivated small plots of land and grazed a few head of livestock. Gradually, after pushing the Indians off the land, the ranchers fenced the entire valley. So far as I know, there are no Pima who trace their ancestry to the original inhabitants of Yécora.

Blanco settlement well east of Yécora and north of Moris occurred mostly after the Mexican revolution of 1910, although a number of families were established in the vicinity of Maycoba before 1905. By 1945 at least 14 *blanco* families with sizeable holdings were located within an area traditionally considered as belonging to the Maycoba Pima. In addition, other non-Indians moved into the Maycoba region as employees of the ranchers, and a very few as subsistence farmers.

Initial contacts between the *blancos* and the Pima were friendly, or at least without marked conflict. The ranchers did not attempt to exploit land already in use, and the Pima were given the opportunity to earn wages as herdsmen, drovers, plowmen, and general laborers. *Blancos* also provided a small market for Pima crafts such as baskets woven of beargrass, reed sleeping mats, ceramic containers, and other utility items. Inevitably, the demand for land on the part of the non-Indians increased to a point where Pima pasture and crop lands were being invaded. The situation then changed from one of mutual tolerance between *blanco* and Pima to one of extreme hostility.

It is the contention of the Pima that they lost most of their land and cattle to the *blancos* as the result of illegal seizures, although the ranching faction often used methods that created the illusion of legality. One stratagem, according to the Pima, was for a rancher to advance money or goods to a Pima in exchange for the latter's use rights in land. After the contract remained in force for a generation or more, the rancher would claim that he had purchased the proprietary rights and not merely the usufruct. Sometimes titular heads of the indigenous community could be persuaded to sign away Indian land, though they lacked the authority to take such action. Other Indians lost their cattle and land through the piling up of debts resulting from conspicuous consumption at fiestas. The Pima also cite many other persecutions allegedly perpetuated on them by the *blancos*, including beatings and even killings. Unfortunately, the *blancos'* version of what transpired is not as well documented, and I am unable to say, except in a few instances, how the Indians might have contributed to a worsening of inter-ethnic relations. The Pima are said by non-Indians to have constantly raided the herds of the ranchers, slaughtering animals for meat and hides, or selling them outside the area to other ranchers. It is difficult to determine to what extent these acts were the result of the Indians' straitened condition brought on by the erosion of their economic base, and to what extent they merely tried to exploit the *blancos*. The first explanation seems more plausible since, once the process of Indian displacement from the land had started, the Pima also began losing livestock to their less fortunate relatives.

The conflicting claims made by the *blanco* ranchers and Indian peasants concerning land rights are based on quite different assumptions about the nature of land tenure. When the ranchers came to the area of Maycoba, they found what

to them was free, unsettled land for homesteading. Much of the country was open range, but the Pima needed access to this land if their livestock was to have sufficient pasturage. Because of the poor nature of most soils in the area, cultivation sites had to be frequently shifted, and this meant that several hectares were needed for the support of a family (one hectare equals 10,000 square meters or 2.471 acres). The fences put up by the ranchers restricted many Pima to a few small plots and made complete reliance on agriculture impractical.

A typical rationalization of the *blanco* position is that only the big ranchers can make the best use of the land. The Indians are unable to do this because of their limited tillage and the small size of their herds. Therefore, the Sonoran economy as a whole, and the ranching industry in particular, stands to benefit by the continued dominance of the *blancos*. The Pima counter these assertions by pointing out that the territories surrounding Maycoba have been the domain of the Pima for centuries. Individual families, by virtue of their patrimonies, possess exclusive rights to certain portions of land for planting and pasturing animals. The rest is considered public land open to any member of the indigenous community who has need of its use. These rights, in the view of the Pima, have been legitimized by their earlier recognition as a mission station, by their defense of the area against the Apaches, and by their contribution to the revolution of 1910, in which some of the Maycobeños served as soldiers.

A series of decisions rendered by a federal commission within the Departamento de Asuntos Agrarios y Colonizacion has given ejidal status to much of the land around Maycoba. The only persons who have legal rights in the ejido are those listed in a 1943 census of Maycoba, along with their heirs, and the vast majority are Pima. Maycoba communal lands supposedly include 17,200 hectares, but the boundaries have never been surveyed. Until this is done, the *blancos* can continue to exploit all disputed territories so long as they remain politically dominant.

The Pima Gobernador (governor) is the modern representative of the traditional *mo'otkar* or headman. As moral leader of the Indian community and chief arbiter of its disputes, his position is the most influential. The role of Assistant to the Gobernador is without any real significance. A slate of six ejidal offices was created in 1944. Roughly translated, the new titles included that of President of the Ejido, Treasurer, Chief of Police, Police Assistant, Range Inspector, and Assistant Inspector. Like the position of Gobernador, these are elective offices. Their functions are unclear, however, and only the President appears to command even slight authority. His job is to investigate Pima complaints of land encroachment, cattle theft, crop damage by roving livestock, and so on. When only Pima are involved, the President may be able to successfully mediate a settlement, sometimes with the help of the Gobernador.

Whatever can be said about the duties and authority of the Pima officials, the paramount fact is that they are severely constrained by the *blanco* power structure. Maycoba is a dependency of Yécora, the cabecera or administrative center of the Yécora *municipio*. The representatives of the Sonoran state government in Maycoba are the *blanco*

comisario and his assistant, both important ranchers. The *comisario* is directly answerable to the President of Yécora, but Maycoba's isolation gives the local *blancos* an added measure of discretion. Moreover, several wealthy ranching families living in Yécora have holdings in the Maycoba area and may be expected to support the decisions of the *comisario* against the Pima.

The history of mining in the Sierra reveals that Mountain Pima have for a long time relied on wage work as an adjunct to subsistence agriculture. A resurgence of gold and silver prospecting in the late 1800s led to the opening of numerous mines near Pima settlements. The Pima provided much of the labor for workings at Mulatos and Santa, and are reported to have been employed in small numbers at other mines. During this time, Pima contacts with mining life were more intense than in previous centuries under the Spaniards. Some of the effects on Pima material culture have been described by Lumholtz (1902: 127), who traveled through the eastern part of Mountain Pima country in 1891: "Everywhere here [Yepachic, Chihuahua] betrays the nearness of the mines, with the characteristic accompaniment of cheap cloths, cheap, tawdry jewelry, and a slight influx of iron cooking utensils." Pima oral traditions mention the former existence of tunnel and placer mines that were owned and operated by the Indians themselves. Exactly how important these mines were is difficult to ascertain. One woman is said to have amassed considerable wealth by extracting gold from an extremely rich placer mine.

After nearly a decade of inactivity following the revolution of 1910, mining operations were reopened at Mulatos and Santa Ana. Somewhat later, new workings were set up at El Pilar, Chihuahua, and Trigo, Sonora. A number of smaller strikes were also made in the same region, but most of these soon had to be abandoned because of poor showings. At all these mines, there was heavy reliance on Pima labor drawn chiefly from Maycoba and Yepachic. Twenty-four of 54 work histories provided me by Pima males from Maycoba from 35 to more than 60 years of age indicated some mining experience. Only five of 30 informants aged 18 to 32 reported that they had worked in the mines. The difference in occupational experience according to age group can be explained by the fact that most of the mines had played out or suffered a decline in productivity before the younger men were old enough to engage in this kind of work. Over the last 15 years or so, the demand for Pima mine labor has been sporadic. Not only are there fewer mines than previously, but those that exist have more mechanized operations and employ a greater proportion of non-Indians, both skilled and unskilled. Thus there has been a marked reduction in the number of jobs, particularly for the Pima workers.

In the past, when jobs were more plentiful, aggregations of 30 or more Mountain Pima could be found on the edge of mining settlements such as Trigo, Mulatos, and El Pilar. These consisted primarily of adult male workers, and sometimes entire nuclear families, who had collected from outlying ranchos in the general areas of Maycoba, Moris, Yepachic, and probably other communities. A desire for the large wages paid for this kind of work (large when compared to the income from subsistence agriculture) was undoubtedly the primary motivation for the Pima to seek jobs

in the mines. Moreover, the *blanco* ranchers were increasing their pressure on the Indian community for more land. The Pima claim that the size of the indigenous population 25 years ago was already taxing the capacity of their subsistence economy. The mines drew off some of the excess manpower and provided jobs for some of the full-time agriculturalists, whose labors in the field could be confined to a few brief periods of intensive cultivation.

Despite the amount of money that could be earned, mine work remained an adjunct occupation. There were a variety of jobs performed by the Pima at these mines, each with its particular rate of pay. Pima were employed as domestics in the houses of the *blancos*, tended their gardens and orchards, hauled firewood in from the hills, and cut it into measured lengths. They also labored on road construction crews, tended machinery, moved ore and rubble from the mines, and wielded picks, shovels, and hammers. The more menial jobs usually paid just food and shelter, while as much as 25 pesos could be earned in a day for skilled work within the mine.

The basic Indian livelihood was derived from plow and hoe agriculture, and from the raising of livestock, mostly cattle. Over the short term, mine wages paid to the individual exceeded any product that he could have realized from the land. However, such jobs were impermanent, sometimes lasting as long as four years but with frequent layoffs and long periods between employment. The average length of stay at any one mine, as calculated on the basis of my limited sample, was a little less than two years, and the range was a few months to six years. If a mine closed down or reduced operations at a time when employment opportunities were lacking elsewhere, the Pima workers were forced to move back to their ranchos. The transition between mine and rancho was made easier by the fact that most Pima, all through their terms of work at the mines, had maintained economic partnerships with those who had stayed behind in order to plant. Such partnerships worked in several ways. A common pattern was for a father who had one or several sons employed at the mines to be assisted by the entire family during peak times of work in the yearly agricultural round, as when land had to be cleared, plowed, sown, or the crops harvested. Movement from the mines to the fields and back again on the part of the sons was more likely if they were doing piecework, that is, if they contracted on a temporary basis to provide so many cords of wood, build so many meters of stone fencing, or construct a corral of a certain size. Such labor could be planned to avoid conflicts with a worker's planting activities. If the mine job required a steady application of time throughout the growing season, a person could plant by proxy. This involved capitalizing part of the agricultural operations by sending back money to buy seeds and food for those actually engaged in the work of the rancho. When it was at all possible, the family gathered on the rancho at harvest time and stayed so long as the produce from the land sustained them. The workers then returned to the mine in order to obtain income for the continued support of the family. Persons who combined their resources in this way constituted a single unit of production in that all participated directly or indirectly in a common agricultural operation.

This kind of economic cooperation was not restricted to

fathers and sons. Married brothers with independent land holdings, brothers-in-law, the offspring of brothers, paternal uncles and their nephews, as well as a number of other affinally and consanguineally related persons, regularly entered into similar arrangements. A man would sometimes seek as a partner the godfather of his child or the husband of his child's godmother. Where persons not of the same nuclear family were involved, the partnerships tended to be less permanent, lasting one or several seasons on the average. Also, a somewhat more strict *quid pro quo* was observed. The contribution derived from mine work, or its equivalent in labor, was rewarded with just half the crop. As we shall see in regard to the present-day sawmill workers, these partnerships still flourish among the Mountain Pima, and are an important aspect of their adaptation to the worsening land situation.

Not all Pima who worked the mines, possibly not even a majority, participated in cooperative ventures in subsistence agriculture with relatives permanently located on the ranchos. Many of those who went to the mines did so out of necessity. They had lost what land and livestock they once controlled, and were without close personal ties to other members of the indigenous community that would have provided a basis for extensive economic cooperation. Some Pima, by their own statement, simply preferred the alternative of wage labor to subsistence agriculture. Most of the latter group never again resorted to subsistence agriculture as a source of income. After the mines were depleted, workers sought employment in the newly established sawmills—beginning about 1948—and some even traveled to the lowland in search of work. Thus, the mines were important in weaning some of the Mountain Pima off the land and putting them permanently in the wage-labor market.²

RANCHO ECONOMICS

The Pima nuclear family is greatly dependent on the linkages it has with other families. These linkages are primarily of a kinship nature, and they provide a basis for many kinds of exchange necessary to the family's economic survival. The lines of bilateral descent and affinity define large, overlapping kindreds that serve as exchange networks. These networks are further extended by ritual kinship, common ethnic identification (usually regarded as a kin tie), and simple friendship. When a family is forced to adjust its subsistence patterns, certain relationships become emphasized over others, and reciprocal obligations are redefined to include goods and services that support the new adjustments. Although there may be a change in exchange partners, the members of a Pima family will continue to observe reciprocal agreements within the bilateral kindred so long as they regard themselves as Indians. This is true even for families who have migrated outside of the Sierra.

For the majority of Maycoba Pima who regard subsistence agriculture as their primary occupation, a critical factor determining economic alliances between families is the

distribution of rights in the land. These rights depend both on an ideal set of rules governing inheritance, and on an ancillary set of rules covering some of the contingencies that arise when inheritable property actually changes hands. The father apportions land, and in some cases part of his cattle, among his sons and daughters when they marry. Final division of land and livestock occurs when both parents die. The children share equally, but the land remains integral within the sibship, and there is no alienation to persons outside the family. To the extent that these ideal rules are observed, contiguous lands are worked by brothers and their male offspring, and by the husbands of women in the same agnatic line together with their male offspring.

Because of the decreasing size of Pima landholdings, some inheritance procedures are commonly ignored. If land and cattle are scarce in relation to the number of male siblings, daughters frequently come away with very little at marriage. They go to the ranchos of their husbands, and not until later, when final division of the parents' property is made, can they expect some share in the movable goods. The daughters' rights to land exist in principle but can be exercised only if their husbands enter into planting partnerships with the brothers holding the land. If a father has only daughters or has surplus land, one or more of his sons-in-law may help work his fields, which the grandchildren later inherit through the mother. When there is insufficient land to support the entire family, one or several sons may continue to stay with the father while other brothers seek wage work at sawmills or ranches or in *blanco* towns. At the death of the parents, the sons and daughters must negotiate with one another for what remains to be inherited. Siblings who prefer to continue in their wage-paying jobs or are already earning a living from the property of their fathers-in-law usually have no interest in the settlement. Theoretically, they retain rights in the land, but these rights have no force in fact unless legitimized by continued occupancy and use of the land. It is usually up to those still in actual possession of inheritable property to decide its distribution.

The transmission of most heritable property to the male sibship has important implications for exchange relations among the Mountain Pima. Complete economic self-sufficiency is unusual for a rancho family. My estimate (based on a survey of 30 households) is that 70 percent of the Pima who derive income from agriculture lack one or more essential items of capital. Because they do not have adequate land of good quality, most Pima are unable to produce food supplies for the entire year, much less realize surpluses that can be sold for cash. Others are without draft animals, plows, or even seed. In order to make up these deficiencies, the rancho Pima must turn to alternative sources of capital. One strategy is to pool resources with another family and to split the proceeds into equal shares. This at least assures that the available arable land will be put into production. Another alternative is to strike a bargain with a *blanco* rancher, whereby the Pima agrees to contribute his labor and land in return for draft animals and seed money. Customarily, the *blanco* also demands unlimited pasturage for his livestock on the stubble fields of the Pima. The resulting crops are divided equally between *blanco* and Indian, unless the latter has received credit in goods against his share of the harvest. Because of the land shortage, a

2. A more complete history of the Mountain Pima and discussion of other aspects of their culture can be found in Brugge (1961) and Mason and Brugge (1958).

majority of the Pima are eventually forced to pursue adjunct laboring occupations so that they can earn enough income to carry them through once food reserves have been depleted. The wages also provide the money needed to finance a new crop.

A great many economic activities of the rancho provide opportunities for reciprocity with those outside the immediate family. The most important activity is the growing of staples such as maize, beans, and squash. Of secondary importance are wheat and potatoes. Each year, when a Pima begins the preparation of his fields, he must decide whether or not to plant *a libre*.—that is, without the assistance of a partner who has rights to half the harvest. If he lacks the necessary capital and still wants to plant *a libre*, he must try to borrow from near kin. The possibility of obtaining an interest-free loan of capital from another Pima is limited by a number of factors. Pima who are in a position to finance a crop of maize or of beans cannot afford to do so without realizing a share of the profits. An individual might use a temporary cash surplus to help a partner plant on shares, but funds for *a libre* endeavors must come from within the family of persons growing the crop. The loaning of land is not so restricted. A limited sample of 16 cases involving the transfer of usufruct for a single season was documented for the period 1965–1969. The results showed that land was most often exchanged between brothers or half-brothers who had established separate households (seven cases). Individual Pima were also likely to extend the use of their fields to nephews—specifically, brothers' sons—and to paternal uncles (six cases). In two instances, land was turned over to a *compadre* for his use, and the remaining case of land transfer occurred between first cousins (the sons of brothers). The lending of oxen or mules as draft animals, which are quite scarce, is seldom found outside the grandparental, paternal, or sibling relationship.

The need to acquire agricultural capital results in the formation of temporary partnerships between families who jointly exploit the land according to a system known as planting *a medias*. Usually, just two families are involved, although three may occasionally join efforts. Data for 1965 and 1967–1968 indicate that, on the average, 40 percent of the rancho families farm part or all of their holdings *a medias*. The actual number of planting partnerships formed each year tends to fluctuate with climatic conditions, the availability of outside income, and the population pressure on the land. During periods of drought, the Pima are inclined to seek wage work rather than trying to put in a crop. Land is taken out of production, and there are correspondingly fewer opportunities for planting partnerships to form. In times of normal or heavy rainfall, wage-paying jobs have a positive effect on Pima agriculture. Pima Indians hire out on a part-time basis so that they can acquire seed money and rent for draft animals. Some choose to work through the planting season but provide relatives with seed money for a half interest in the results of their agricultural labors. When jobs are few, Pima are forced to seek assistance from the *blancos* rather than from others of their own group, and the incidence of *a medias* arrangements between Pima families is low. The ratio of arable land to the number of Pima wishing to engage in agriculture is particularly critical. With the encroachments of the *blancos*, the total amount of land cultivated by the Pima has decreased, while the institu-

tion of planting *a medias* has become increasingly important. Only by sharing resources can many Pima families continue to plant.

Which families get together for the purpose of planting *a medias* is determined by the distribution of agricultural resources and by the degree of kinship that exists between potential partners. Residential patterns are also important, inasmuch as neighbors are more likely to cooperate than persons who live at a distance from one another. The importance of the bilateral kindred in the formation of agricultural alliances can be seen from an analysis of *a medias* partnerships studied in 1967. In six instances, only male siblings were involved. Either paternal or maternal uncles collaborated with their nephews in five cases, while first cousins worked together as partners in three cases. There were two examples of a father-in-law entering into an agricultural venture with his son-in-law, and one partnership between brothers-in-law. This sample also included a single case in which a man planted on equal shares with his grandson. The remaining six *a medias* planting arrangements involved partners more distantly related to each other by consanguineal and/or affinal bonds. Three of these partnerships were formed by persons who, in addition, shared a close social and spiritual relationship by virtue of the fact that they were *compadres* of baptism.

Single and married males frequently assist their parents by joining with them in a common agricultural venture. This kind of economic cooperation is not properly an *a medias* partnership, and the Pima do not apply the term in such cases. The land is owned by the parents, but heritable interests are held by the sons. Each member furnishes some part of the productive resources, and sons not able to do the work of cultivation because of other job commitments can make their contribution by an investment of money from their wages. At least part of the product is consumed by the whole group at the rancho, although nuclear families live apart and maintain separate food supplies. Unlike the *a medias* partnership, such arrangements are much more lasting and not subject to realignment each year. Should the proceeds of the harvest become exhausted, the sons continue to assist their parents by returning to jobs outside the rancho and regularly sending back some portion of their income.

Another kind of agricultural reciprocity involves only the trading of labor, and is called planting *juntos*. Several Pima work side by side in one another's fields performing the same tasks. There is no dividing of the harvest into shares, and each person retains the produce from his own land. Planting *juntos* is particularly useful in developing hillside milpas called *mahueches*. Even though these are generally of small size, a considerable amount of work is required to clear the land and then till the soil with a hoe. Pima who are preparing neighboring plots often agree to assist each other because this "makes the work go faster." Since the rules of inheritance tend to group male agnatic kin, those who join together in order to plant by this method are usually of the same patriline.

THE BLANCO RANCHING TOWN

Outside the environs of Maycoba and Yepachic, one of the largest concentrations of Pima Indians is at Yécora (Fig.

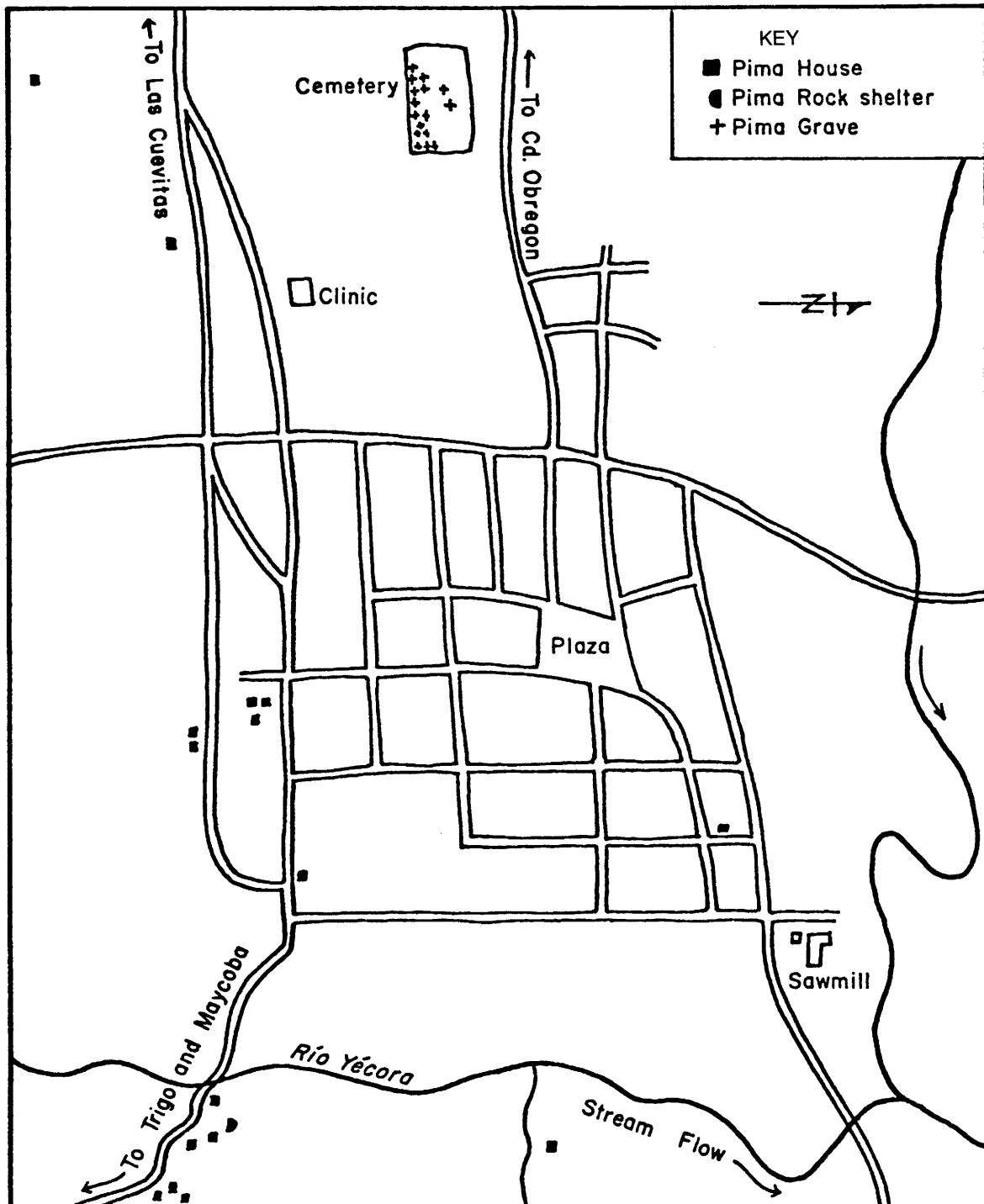


Fig. 5.3. Sketch map of Yécora, Sonora, showing locations of Pima dwellings, 1967.

5.3). In the ranching town of Yécora live approximately 1500 *blancos*, and just 16 Pima families representing a total of 54 persons. Better than a third of these spend most of the year working at nearby sawmills, returning to their small, one-room houses on the periphery of the town only during important fiestas, when laid off from work, or when they become ill and require the services of the local doctor. The others are dependent on the local *blancos* for jobs. Seven families usually maintain some kind of a garden each year

near their dwellings, while three families cultivate from half an acre to several acres on distant ranchos.

The Pima residents of Yécora have not been fully integrated into the town's sociopolitical structure. Except for a few who originally come from Mulatos or Yepachic, they are all former inhabitants of the Maycoba area, and it is as citizens of this community that they view themselves. The issues affecting Maycoba continue to concern them, but as their stay in Yécora lengthens they tend to participate less

and less directly in Pima political affairs. About eight families have not visited Maycoba for ten years or more. These are primarily older persons whose children have married and moved away. Most of the younger families still make the effort to have their children baptized and registered in Maycoba rather than in Yécora, in order to preserve what tenuous legal claims they might have to ejido lands.

All the Yécora Pima, with the exception of a single family, share common ties through descent and marriage. Here, as elsewhere both within the Maycoba ejido and outside of it, the core of most family groupings is an association of siblings, usually consisting of brothers but also including sisters and sisters' husbands. These critical linkages are eventually extended downward across generations with the addition of offspring and their families. Whenever there is a budding off from the bilateral kindred as the result of migration, the common pattern is for the families of siblings to relocate together in a new town or sawmill, where they form an adaptive unit. Interaction is most intense within this group, and the obligations of reciprocity are strongest between its members.

Although the Pima do not constitute an occupational class in Yécora as they do in Maycoba, some of the jobs they undertake, such as cleaning corrals, driving cattle to market, and working as domestics, are little sought after by the poor, landless *blancos*. For other jobs that require little skill but a strong back, including work as a plowhand, well digger, fence stringer, and carter of firewood, the *blanco* employers can always find willing persons, non-Indians as well as Indians. At least this is true so long as the prevailing wages are being paid in cash. Some *blancos* prefer to offer staples at inflated market prices as wages, with the result that only Pima will accept employment.

One of the few ways in which the Yécora Pima can cooperate among themselves in subsistence activities is for an individual to use his contacts with a *blanco patrón* in order to obtain employment for relatives. Thus, a rancher with a bean crop to be picked and threshed may give the job to a trusted Pima whom he regularly favors with work. If more laborers are needed, the hired Pima helps recruit other Indians. In terms of kinship ties, first consideration is given those who belong to allied sibling groups. Other Pima are added from among more distant kin until a full complement of workers is attained.

Where reciprocity operates most effectively is in the redistribution of income. Within the above-mentioned sibling groups members are partially protected against the vicissitudes of wage work. If the wait between jobs is protracted and rations are in extremely short supply, a person can turn to others of the same or allied sibling groups for help. Gifts seldom include money but usually consist of whatever extra food items the donor families happen to have on hand at the moment.

Mutual assistance is a notable feature of the alliances sometimes formed between a married Pima and his single brother or brother-in-law. The nuclear family and the added-on member inhabit the same dwelling and maintain a common stock of food, which is prepared by the wife. If either of the wage earners is out of work, the other helps with his pay. Such an alliance constitutes a unit of produc-

tion and consumption organized around a single hearth, much like similar kin associations found on the ranchos. These alliances may remain intact for several weeks or for several years and may be reformed a number of times. On the rancho, where mutual assistance compacts are instituted for the purpose of carrying out agricultural activities, a widowed parent customarily joins the family unit of the oldest married son or daughter, but this is less often the case in *blanco* communities, where subsistence is based on wage work and involves a great deal of spatial mobility as frequent shifts must be made from one job to another.

Maintaining relations with Maycoba kinsmen is an economic necessity for several Yécora families, inasmuch as they regularly plant *a medias* in conjunction with persons who permanently reside on ranchos in the Maycoba area. Beyond these considerations, the adult Pima residents of Yécora feel strong attachments to the place of their birth and youth. Many of their close relatives still live in Maycoba, and personal contacts are continued by visiting back and forth. The *yecoratos* are most likely to show up in Maycoba for the October 4th feast day of San Francisco, the town's spiritual patron. Celebrations associated with Easter also attract Pima from many points outside the ejido. On these occasions, the *maycobeños* are expected to offer shelter and a small amount of food to their visiting relatives, although so many demands may be made on their hospitality that preferential treatment is necessary. The host is inclined to help first the families of his own and his wife's siblings, as well as immediate lineal and collateral kin in son's and father's generations. *Compadres* are also strongly obligated to share the hospitality of their homes. It is very much to the advantage of the Maycoba Pima when they can obligate visitors from Yécora, since the rancho dweller frequently needs to travel into or through the town of Yécora in order to find temporary employment or buy supplies at prices lower than the Maycoba store owners can afford to offer.

THE SAWMILL

Another type of Sierra settlement that regularly attracts Pima migrants is the sawmill. For a number of years prior to 1965, the largest employers of Mountain Pima were the Yécora mill and another at the Chihuahuan town of Talayotes, located approximately 25 miles south of Maycoba. When local timber became exhausted, operations were moved to Las Cuevitas and La Tijera on the high ridges to the west and northwest of Yécora. Most of the Indian workers are former residents of Maycoba, although Pima from Mulatos and Yepachic have worked at the mills from time to time. Tarahumara and Warihio Indians from areas adjacent to the Mountain Pima have also been hired, but their stays are usually of short duration. The length of time that individual Pima have continuously remained at either Las Cuevitas or La Tijera has varied from a few weeks to two years.

With La Tijera operating at full capacity during the latter part of 1966 and early 1967, Pima Indians constituted about 20 percent of a 150-man work force. In December of 1967, when production had slowed down and half the men had been laid off, there were 14 Pima nuclear families account-

ing for 21 laborers. Relatives attached to these families included four single males, which brought the total number of Pima workers to 25. In July of 1965, at the much smaller sawmill of Las Cuevitas, there were just nine Pima families with 12 working members. Most of these left later in the year, and the mill shut down completely in 1966. Seven families returned to Las Cuevitas in December of 1967, when work again became available and layoffs of steady employees began at La Tijera. At these sawmills, the number of Pima relative to the *blancos* initially tended to decrease with the termination of the least skilled jobs. This trend was later reversed when hours became so reduced that only Pima were willing to accept part-time employment.

The Pima workers at La Tijera and Las Cuevitas can be divided into three groups of nearly equal size on the basis of subsistence and residence patterns. One group comes directly from the ranchos of Maycoba. Sawmill work is for them an intermittent occupation that supplements their agriculture. The preparation and sowing of their fields usually keeps them away from the mill during the late spring and early summer months. In the fall months of October and November, they are back on the rancho in order to harvest the crops. July and August are slack periods at the sawmill if the rains are heavy, and thus the rancho Pima are more likely to seek employment at a sawmill during the winter and early spring. Members of this group also attend the fiestas of Maycoba with great regularity, even when they stand to lose valuable pay by being absent from their jobs. So long as the number of jobs offered exceeds demand, a Pima can work for a short while, return to his rancho, and then a month or so later show up at the mill confident that a new position will be open. As work becomes scarce, those taking unexcused absences are quickly terminated. Consequently, the rancho Pima are among the first to be laid off.

A second group of Pima maintains residences in Yécora but work at the sawmill so long as they are able. Unlike the rancho Pima, they cannot readily fall back on subsistence agriculture when the lumbering camps close down. It may be possible for a few of them to go into partnership with a relative who has land to cultivate, but the rest must either rely on the local *blancos* to employ them or travel outside the area in order to obtain work. Jobs available to Pima in the Yécora area are, even in the best of times, too few to satisfy everyone. For this reason, some of the younger adult males make the long, 165-mile trip to the lowlands around Ciudad Obregón in order to hire out temporarily as agricultural laborers.

The Yécora Pima who seek employment in the lowlands are very much like a third group of sawmill workers who have no permanent place of residence but move from job to job as the need arises. These highly mobile laborers oscillate between the lowlands and the Sierra, working for a while out of some *campo* or *colonia* until the heat and the humidity of the Obregón irrigation district drive them back to the mountains. *Campos* are small settlements of agricultural workers much like the migrant labor camps in the United States. *Colonias* are agricultural towns, a majority of whose residents perform the same sort of work as those of the *campos*. The fertile countryside around Ciudad Obre-

gón is dotted with these two kinds of settlements. Recent arrivals in the lowlands seldom visit the city itself unless they have relatives already established there who will provide temporary shelter and assistance in finding work.

The spatial arrangements of Pima dwellings at the Sierra sawmills reveal the basic ethnic differences in the populations. The Pima tend to congregate near each other and away from the *blancos* (Figs. 5.4, 5.5). The Tarahumara and Warihio strangers who sometimes apply for work at the mills take up residence near the Pima. Thus, the critical distinction is between *indito* (Indian) and *blanco*. The latter live mostly in one- or two-room houses of pine planking that are rented from the company for a nominal fee. The Indians prefer to avoid even this small expense, and they gather board scraps from the lumber yard in order to erect their own houses.

As a general rule, the closeness of kin ties that exist between Pima families working at the sawmills is reflected by the proximity of their dwellings. Within the Indian living areas, smaller clusters form on the basis of the same sibling group relationships that are so important elsewhere. The kinds of reciprocity described for the Yécora Pima also apply to the sawmill populations, whose job insecurity and low pay make cooperation between families a necessity. The average wage paid a Pima sawmill worker in 1967 was 23.35 pesos per eight-hour day for a six-day week. Detailed yearly income data were provided by three sawmill workers who labored slightly less than ten months in 1967, a maximum for all Pima then working in the mill. A 12-month work year was made impossible because of temporary layoffs during unusually heavy snows and summer rains, as well as the time devoted to fiesta celebrations. The largest amount earned by a Pima was 6024 pesos, or \$481.92 (U.S.), with lesser amounts earned by others according to their time on the job. The income of Pima combining work in Yécora with subsistence agriculture, estimated from only partial data on four families, averaged \$288.00 (U.S.), or about ten pesos per day. The income of the rancho Pima is quite variable, but generally less than for those who depend primarily on wages. Balancing out some of the differences in income between these occupational groups is the cost of living, which is highest at the sawmills and lowest on the ranchos. It must also be remembered that the sawmill Pima face long periods of unemployment after the mills have closed down.

THE CIUDAD OBREGÓN AREA

At various times during the year, the *blanco* ranchers cull their herds and drive cattle marked for slaughter down out of the Sierra to towns in the eastern foothills. From there the cattle are transported by truck to packing houses in lowland cities. The shipping point used most often is Tezopaco, which is about 65 miles from Ciudad Obregón (see Fig. 1). The herding is done mostly on foot by Pima Indians and poor *blancos*, who are paid 15 to 20 pesos per day, plus three days' pay for the return trip to Yécora. It takes two weeks to reach Tezopaco with a herd of 90 head. At the end of the drive, most of the Pima turn around and begin trekking back to the Sierra without seeing anything of the city.

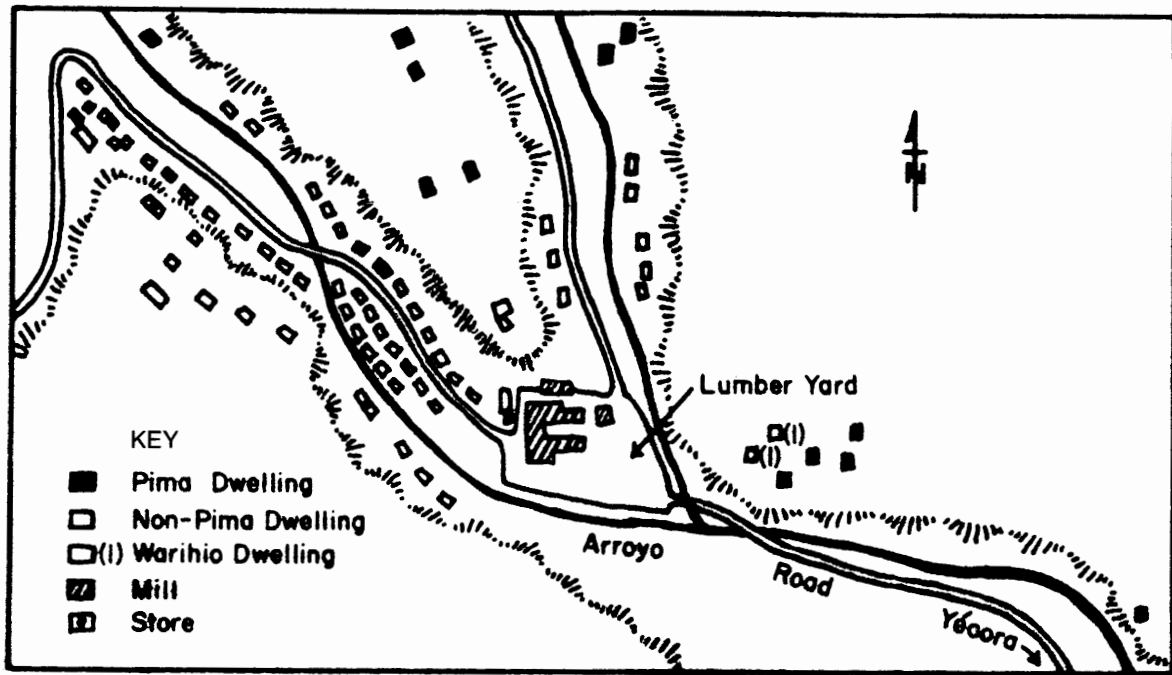


Fig. 5.4. Sketch map of La Tijera Sawmill, 1967.

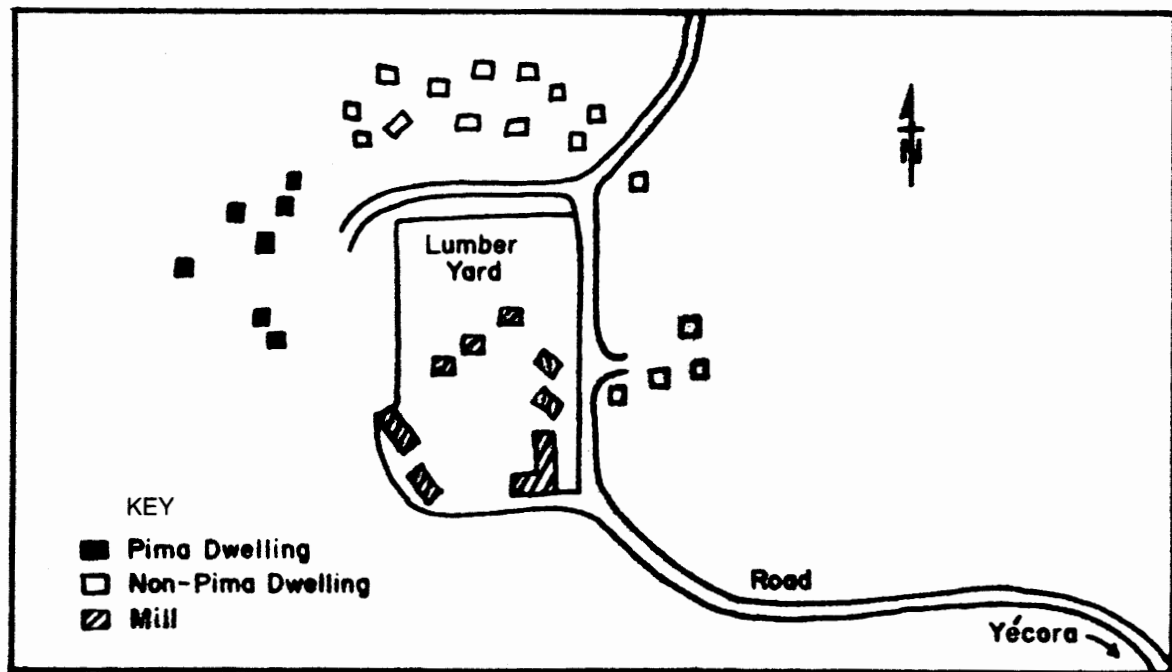


Fig. 5.5. Sketch map of Las Cuevitas Sawmill, 1967.

From April through June, cotton growers in the lowlands hire field hands to irrigate their crops. Thirty pesos are paid for a 12-hour day lasting from 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. The hiring of cotton choppers occurs in May and June at the wage of 25 pesos a day. Cotton pickers are in demand from August to early October and receive from 0.26 to 0.32 peso per kilo of cotton, depending on whether it is the first, second, or third picking. Mature workers sack between 120 and 150 kilos in a day's work. Tomatoes are ripe in June, and those doing the harvesting are paid on contract (0.50 peso for each box), or on a straight wage basis (20 pesos daily). The same rates apply to the picking of green chile, radishes, and other vegetables. Maize is irrigated in October (same pay as for cotton), and is harvested in January. The workers harvesting maize receive two pesos per sack, and are able to fill from seven to fifteen large sacks a day. A very few persons can find work as masons' helpers on construction projects in the city. For this type of work the daily wage is 20 pesos, but there is always a surplus of labor and the best opportunities for finding work are in the agricultural areas.

At least 50 Pima men who reside in Yécora or Maycoba have had experience working in and around Ciudad Obregón. For several years (1965–1968), between eight and ten Pima regularly traveled to the lowlands every four months or so in search of employment. They sometimes joined a cattle drive, but, often lacking such an opportunity, they hitched a ride on a truck or walked the entire distance. Others are more occasional in their visits, undertaking the difficult trip only when economic conditions in the Sierra are unusually depressed. In the three-month period from June through August 1965, 19 Pima passed through or out of Yécora on the way to seek work in the agricultural industries of Obregón. Several of the more experienced field hands were prepared to travel a circuit of Sonoran towns and cities where the peak work seasons occur at different times. For instance, they would begin picking cotton around Navjoa, move north to the cotton fields in the region of Esperanza and Ciudad Obregón, move north again to Empalme, and end up in the vicinity of Bahía Kino or Hermosillo. Because of a very deficient rainfall, 1965 was a poor year for both growing crops and pasturing livestock. Wage work was scarce in the Sierra, and many were not bothering to plant. During the summer of 1967, 14 Pima were recorded as making the trip to the lowlands with the intention of staying a month or more if work was obtainable. Recovery from the previous two years of drought was not yet complete, but many more Pima were staying home to plant. The sawmill of La Tijera was at the same time recruiting more workers. Between June 1 and August 31, 1968, the number of Pima passing through Yécora on the way to Ciudad Obregón and surrounding areas increased to 29, including three families who lost their jobs when La Tijera ceased operations. While these data are not conclusive, they indicate that the temporary migrations of Mountain Pima into the Sonoran lowlands are strongly affected by economic conditions in the Sierra.

The Mountain Pima who travels alone to the Ciudad Obregón region is an exception. In the above sample of 62 seasonal migrants, only nine were unaccompanied by at least one other Pima. Besides the obvious benefit that com-

panionship offers in allaying loneliness and estrangement, there are other ways in which joint expeditions facilitate adjustments to living and working patterns in the lowlands. One or more of the Pima traveling together may have relatives permanently settled in the area who will provide a place to stay until other arrangements can be made. If not all of the Pima migrants find work, those who do will help the unemployed meet basic expenses. It is to be expected, then, that Pima would choose as their traveling partners persons with whom they share close social bonds. Particularly important in this respect are intra-generational relationships within the bilateral kindred such as that of sibling, sibling-in-law, first cousin, and *compadre*.

Because a Pima family may move back to the Sierra after a long stay in the lowlands, it is difficult to identify those who have made a lasting adjustment outside of Indian society. For this study, Pima who had lived the last three or more years in lowland urban areas and expressed no interest in returning to the Sierra except for short visits were regarded as having been absorbed into the socio-economic class structure of white society. Of the 45 Pima known to have established year-round residences in the lowlands as of 1968, 35 persons belonging to 13 families could definitely be said to meet these criteria. These included three Pima men who had married white women and two Pima women who were the wives of *blancos*. Hinton (1959: 29) has reported that 20 Pima families formerly lived in the vicinity of Ciudad Obregón. The discrepancy between my figures and those of Hinton probably reflects both a difference in residency criteria and the variable character of Pima migration patterns.

Pima moving into the Obregón Irrigation District have shown a preference for the same kinds of kin associations formed by those who shift residence in the Sierra. At the agricultural town of Los Hornos (see Fig. 5.1) are located the families of two brothers and their first cousin. The cousin is also *compadre* to one of the brothers. Three other Pima families live at Colonia Yaqui. Again, two of the family heads are brothers, and the third is their brother-in-law. Two *compadres* have established family residences at a rural *campo* near Esperanza, but only one family actually lives within the city of Obregón.

The reception accorded by these persons to visiting relatives from Maycoba and Yécora is illustrated in the following example. The single Obregón family resides in a rented (50 pesos a month) two-room dwelling located in one of the newer neighborhoods, which shows a great deal of mix in the wealth of different families. The Pima house is a wooden affair built against a brick warehouse and reached by an unpaved alley drained on one side by an open sewer. At the rear of the house is a ramada that affords an additional cooking and sleeping area in warm weather. During the nine-month school years of 1966–1967 and 1967–1968, the wife's young nephew (her sister's son) came from Yécora and stayed with this family. The boy's mother was not receiving regular support from her absent *blanco* husband, and the care given the boy was greatly appreciated. While in Obregón, the boy attended the local public school, something that he was not willing to do in Yécora because of harassment from the *blanco* children. From 1966 to 1968, other persons temporarily attached to the family were the

wife's brother and half-brother. These two were capable of a man's work, being 16 and 20 years of age, and contributed regularly to the family's income. The additional money was critically needed when the family head was drinking heavily or when the older son, who was just 14 years old, could not find full-time work. At various times, the brothers traveled to other parts of lowland Sonora to look for work and see new sights, always returning after a month or so to their sister's family in Obregón. Another brother of the wife spent most of 1966 with her family, leaving a wife and child of his own in Yécora. He went back to the Sierra in the spring of 1967, dividing his time between Yécora and the sawmill of La Tijera. The following May he returned to Obregón and the family of his sister. A month later his wife and child made the trip to Obregón and stayed with his sister's family until separate quarters could be found. Another resident of Yécora, a brother of the family head, stayed two weeks with the family in 1968.

The Pima who host relatives from the Sierra can rely on their guests to reciprocate if ever asked. The former are quick to compare unfavorably the heat and flies of the *tierra caliente* with the salubrious climate of the *montañas*. They frequently speak of returning to their highland homes for the Easter or October 4th fiestas, but this is rarely done because of the cost of bus transportation and the time spent away from work. Nevertheless, the Obregón Pima take an interest in the affairs of their relatives in Maycoba and Yécora. Visitors from these places are welcomed for the news they bring from the Sierra, and for the service they render in taking messages back with them.

SOME CONCLUSIONS ABOUT MOUNTAIN PIMA ASSIMILATION

One of the assumptions made in the introductory statement was that the process of Mountain Pima assimilation could best be understood as a series of adaptive responses to a shifting ecological situation. The most important influence for change has been the competition with non-Indians over land resources. The competition forces on the Pima new patterns of land utilization, the adoption of nonagricultural occupations, and the intensification of certain exchange patterns by which wealth is redistributed in Indian society.

Patterns of reciprocity among the Mountain Pima vary according to the residential and occupational context. On the ranchos of Maycoba, where subsistence is based on agriculture, exchange relations between persons of different generations often reflect the Pima tenurial system. Greater amounts of land and numbers of draft animals are controlled by the older Pima, whereas the younger adults are in a position to earn a wage income that can be used to buy seed and provisions. The mechanism of reciprocity makes it possible for closely related Pima to achieve a proper mix of these different factors. The rules of inheritance as they pertain to land and livestock also insure that the male head of the family will be cooperative with his agnatic kin. Residence after marriage is usually established in the same general area as the husband's parents, and the resulting proximity of male patrikin further facilitates their regular interaction and frequent reciprocity. Thus, considerations of kinship, tenure, utility, and residence make the rancho

an important focus of exchange. Almost all the Pima have consanguineal, affinal, and fictive kin outside the local area, and on these linkages are built additional contractual agreements with persons in other ranchos and settlements. In this manner, the exchange networks are expanded to include ever larger numbers of Pima.

In Yécora the Pima have fewer opportunities for cooperating in subsistence activities. The small number of families who still allocate a part of their time to agriculture must maintain reciprocity obligations with their rancho kin. But a majority of the Yécora Pima rely entirely on wage work, and their contacts with Maycobeños occur mostly in the trading of hospitality. Family alliances, insofar as they imply a pooling of income, include only very close kin such as father-son or sibling dyads. Other kinds of cooperation based on intra-generational relationships are also common among highly mobile families who depend on cousins and *compadres* for help when establishing themselves in a new community. Judging from recent occupational trends, the ability to use the obligations of kinship as a means of relocating in an area with a good job market will become critically important for a majority of the Pima.

Since the late 1950s, outmigration of the Mountain Pima has accelerated. More of the younger men from Maycoba are making tentative work contacts far from home. After a period of oscillation between rancho and place of employment, a small percentage of these seasonal wage workers eventually transfer residence to a *blanco* town such as Yécora. This signals a major occupational adjustment, since those quitting the rancho become day laborers who have at most a secondary reliance on agriculture. Contract work is more readily obtainable at the *blanco* settlements, and if jobs are scarce locally, a Pima has easier access to other centers of employment than if he were on some isolated rancho. A socially mobile Pima can then proceed in one of two directions. By severing relations with other Pima and acquiring a *blanco* style of living, he may attain non-Indian status as a member of the *clase humilde*. However, this is a very difficult achievement, requiring considerable time for one's Indian origins to be forgotten. The more practical alternative is for a Pima to take up residence in or near a lowland urban center where he can merge immediately into the lower classes, which already include many migrants from the rural hinterland. Before a Pima's adaptation to the *tierra caliente* is complete, he often returns to the Sierra when opportunities for work are good, but in depressed times the move is always back to the city or lowland farm.

In order to see Mountain Pima migration trends in proper perspective, some comparison should be made with the non-Indian population. Immediately following the closing of the Yécora sawmill in 1961, at least a third of the town's 3000 *blanco* residents moved away. Most of those who left originally came from Chihuahua and other parts of Sonora specifically for the purpose of working at the mill, so a significant decrease in population was predictable. However, Yécora also lost a number of its native sons, and the exodus was continuing in the late 1960s. The younger people and many older persons see their future as lying in urban Mexico. Absentee landlordism in both Yécora and Maycoba appears to be on the increase, as those who can afford it leave their ranches and stores to live in Ciudad Obregón for most of the year. The children of the economi-

cally advantaged must continue their education beyond the sixth grade in Ciudad Obregón for lack of educational facilities in the Sierra. These students usually pursue occupations in the city on completion of high school, rather than return to Yécora or Maycoba. In the case of large families who own successful stores or ranches, one or several sons are expected to take over the business of their father while the other siblings seek careers in the lowland. Members of the *clase humilde* are also leaving at a rate exceeding that of the Pima. Some of the poorer *blancos* occasionally accept seasonal jobs on commercial farms in the lowlands, but they more often enter the urban occupational structure as semi-skilled workers. This the *blancos* can do because of practical training in mechanics, trucking, storekeeping, masonry, and the like.

Since the *blancos* start out with more saleable work experience and have the additional advantage of greater sophistication in the national culture, geographic and social mobility is much easier for them than for the Mountain Pima. Another factor inhibiting the Pima from permanently resettling outside the Sierra is their dependence on a common system of reciprocity. This system consists of many family-centric exchange networks that are overlapping so as to form a more general pattern of integration. Individual families can better cope with problems of subsistence, particularly in crisis situations, when they can rely on receiving assistance from others. Removing themselves from the society of relatives and friends thus entails certain costs that an already impoverished people find difficult to bear. When there is no alternative, it is possible for several related families to gain some measure of security by invading the lowland together. Once established, they provide a contact point for other Pima wishing to migrate.

The Mountain Pima have been very tenacious in the face of powerful counterforces, as is evidenced by the small number of persons who have left the Sierra homeland. Pima society is anchored in Maycoba, and what happens there will determine its future. Attachment to the land of Maycoba, coupled with the hope that Indian tenurial rights will ultimately be protected, encourages a strong sense of solidarity among the Pima despite political factionalism. Traditions supporting Indian claims are well circulated, and there is often optimistic talk about the impending expulsion of the *blancos*. However, harsh realities will eventually dispel delusion. The Mountain Pima are too few in number for the federal government to give their problem priority. It could happen that before final litigation is completed most of the Indian grantees and their heirs will have disappeared from the ejido.

REFERENCES

- Brugge, David M.
 1961 History, Huki and Warfare—Some Random Data on the Lower Pima. *The Kiva* 26(4): 6–16.
- Hinton, Thomas B.
 1959 A Survey of Indian Assimilation in Eastern Sonora. *Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona* 4. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Lumholtz, Carl
 1902 *Unknown Mexico* (Vol. 1). New York: Scribners.
- Mason, J. Alden, and David M. Brugge
 1958 Notes on the Pima Bajo. In *Miscellanea Paul Rivet: Octogenario Dicata, 31st Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* 1: 277–98. Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico.

6. SOME PROBLEMS IN THE ANALYSIS OF THE NATIVE INDIAN POPULATION OF NORTHERN NUEVA VIZCAYA DURING THE SPANISH COLONIAL PERIOD

William B. Griffen
Department of Anthropology
University of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff

PURPOSE AND PROBLEM

The present paper is an attempt to bring together the few data on the aboriginal population during the Spanish colonial period for one small area of central northern Mexico—that part of the present-day state of Chihuahua in the region of the lower river valleys and some of the intervening desert country.¹ Aside from some occasional published figures on the province, called Nueva Vizcaya before Mexican independence (for example, Porras Muñoz 1966: 257), or on more specific local areas and sites (Bancroft 1884: 597–601, 657, fn. 39; Tamarón 1937: 121–27, 139, 148–66), there exists little concerning the demographic picture of the native population during the era of Spanish-Indian contact, which lasted some 250 years. Even Carl Sauer in his “Aboriginal Population of Northwestern Mexico” (1935), summarizing considerable documentary research, did not extend his analysis into this region, although Kroeber (1939) touched upon the demography of the area in a very general way. Bancroft (1884) is one of the few published sources and is the only one whose presentation contains statements limited to central Chihuahua with a breakdown on specific sites; most of his analysis is confined to Bishop Tamarón’s material from the early 1760s, although he gives some figures for the early 1790s also. The present summary attempts to include a few additional data that have accumulated since Bancroft’s time, some from unpublished sources such as parish records, and to point up some problems of evaluation.

TRIBAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS

Geographically, the focus is on the region of roughly the lower drainages of the Florido and Conchos rivers, between the Tarahumara on the west and the desert country to the east. In the south it begins in the Parral district, which can be considered the smaller portion of a wedge-shaped expanse of territory that broadens out northward to include on the west the Santa María and Casas Grandes rivers and on the east the confluence of the Conchos with the Río Grande—an area generally called La Junta.

Note: Basic research for this paper was done under National Science Foundation Grant No. GS-5.

1. Because of lack of space and of certain resources, a discussion of possible estimates of the aboriginal contact population, as suggested by Dobyms (1966), is omitted. I plan on completing such a discussion in the near future.

Tribally or ethnically, the area covers on the southern limit a small portion of Tepehuan country, and north of this a region called La Conchería in the 1600s. The latter included all of Concho territory, so far as this can now be determined from the historical sources, and a good part of what for ease of presentation can be considered simply Suma-Jumano country, with quite indeterminate boundaries on the north. Except for the La Junta missions at the Río Grande-Conchos confluence, there are no relevant census figures that apply to this northern population, although some persons or groups did move southward eventually to become the statistics of later counts. This census material can only be approximate since a sizeable portion of the census data comes from Franciscan missions, which occupied only certain points of contact in all of the territories mentioned and a small portion of the Tarahumara country on the west.

THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE

All the direct evidence for population in this region comes from the 1700s, and most of this from the latter half. Consequently, anything that is said or implied concerning the earlier years can only be a subjective guess, which, of course, should be confined within some definable limits. This paper does not attempt to estimate the Indian population for earlier times in the colonial period or at the time of contact, but presents the evidence for the eighteenth century and then points to a few factors that should be taken into consideration in such evaluations.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MISSION POPULATIONS

It is in the 1700s that the only population counts of individual sites precise enough for systematic comparisons occur. These counts fall into two groups: one covers the settlements at La Junta in 1715, 1747, and 1765; the second takes in the Franciscan missions outside La Junta and one Jesuit mission, that of Santa Ana de Chinarras, on four occasions—1765, 1789, 1793, and 1816–1817. Taken together these figures afford a glimpse of a part of the aboriginal population in the northern zone of Nueva Vizcaya, by this time quite heavily settled with hispanicized persons (AGN 1816; AHP 1715A; BL 1746, 1789a, 1789b; Bancroft 1884: 597–601, 657; Tamarón 1937: 121–27, 139, 148–66).

To begin with the Franciscan missions outside La Junta and the Jesuit Chinarras mission, the first census is that

taken by Bishop Tamarón in the early 1760s. This yielded a total of 3,386, including 74 people at the Chinarras establishment. Of the ten Franciscan missions counted, four possessed 2,012 individuals, or about 59 percent of the total. By ethnic identity the latter people were without question Tarahumara—Santa Isabel, San Andrés, and Bachiniva had always been Tarahumara, and the fourth mission, Babonoyaba, had become Tarahumara during the 1600s. Moreover, other information for this period indicates an increasing occurrence of Tarahumara at almost all of the other missions—Atotonilco, in the Parral district; San Francisco de Conchos, north of this; Santa Cruz de Tapacolmes; Julimes; and San Gerónimo near Chihuahua City. It can be said that at this time at least two-thirds of the population of the Franciscan missions were probably Tarahumara and something like 1,000 persons or less were non-Tarahumara. This reflects an invasion of Tarahumaras into non-Tarahumara—that is, mostly Concho—country, a process that had been noted before this census by some colonial writers.

By the time of the 1793 census, 28 years later, the total had dropped to 2,024, a decrease of 1,362 persons or 40.2 percent, an average of a little less than 49 (48.6) people a year. Twenty-four years afterward, in the 1816–1817 counts, the population had dropped to 1,612, a loss of 412 individuals or just under 20.4 percent, slightly more than 17 (17.2) persons per year. In summary, the overall decrease from 1765 to 1816–1817 at these central Chihuahua missions totaled 1,744 people, slightly less than 52.4 percent.

At La Junta, the picture is somewhat different. Of the three counts on record, the earlier two were taken by expeditions to that spot in 1715 and in 1747. The last one, made in the early 1760s by Bishop Tamarón, is the only one that overlaps with the non-La Junta counts cited above. In 1715 there were 1,819 people at La Junta. Thirty-two years later, in 1747, some 1,384 (or possibly slightly more) persons were reported there, a drop of 435 individuals or 23.9 percent, almost 14 (13.4) people a year. In another 18 years, by 1765, only some 787 persons remained there, a decrease of 597 individuals or 42.8 percent, slightly more than 33 (33.2) people a year—and a little more than three times the rate for the earlier period. Clearly, at this increasing rate of depopulation it would not be many years before the area would be depleted of aborigines, and, indeed, these missions were not censused again in later Franciscan or other counts.

To summarize, in the mid-eighteenth century the La Junta towns were losing people at a faster and faster rate, reaching a percentage (about 3.30 percent per year) that was, by very rough calculation, about twice that for the other missions farther south (1.73 percent per year) at approximately the same time. Since these calculations are only approximate and are based on what are probably rather poor census data, their comparison should not be pushed very far. However, from all currently available information, the La Junta missions did indeed become defunct within at least 20 years after 1765, and they are omitted from the 1789 census. At the same time, not only were the remaining missions farther south losing population at a lower rate, but this rate itself slowed down during the last quarter-century of the colonial period. In other words, while the La Junta pueblos became

practically devoid of people in the 1700s (a trend that is also supported by some scanty presidio parish records from the same place), the Indian mission population farther south was reportedly diminishing at a slower and slower rate, which could be interpreted as a trend toward stabilization.

INTERPRETATION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MATERIAL

The above census counts reflect processes of assimilation and of migration, as well as of some biological extinction, even though 200 years had passed since the first Spanish settlement in the area and though the shock of contact had already taken its major toll.

For assimilation, there is considerable evidence that Indians were moving out of their missions to become hacienda workers and sometimes dwellers in Spanish towns, as well as that intermarriage was taking place with non-Indians, as reflected in the church parish records. Regarding migration, mention has already been made of the movement of Tarahumara into missions in what was originally northern Tepehuan or Concho country. This included the movement of Tarahumara from the Jesuit missions into the Franciscan Tarahumara missions. At the same time, however, there was some migration of the people at La Junta into the eastern Franciscan missions, notably to San Gerónimo and Nombre de Dios (both near Chihuahua City), and to a lesser extent to Santa Cruz de Tapacolmes and Julimes (both south of Chihuahua City). This trend is supported both by general statements of writers of the period and by church parish records from these places, and it continues a pattern going back to the 1600s, whereby both individuals and groups of La Juntans took up permanent residence in Spanish-controlled territory down into the Parral district. This is not the only direction in which these Jumano-speakers moved and had been moving, however. An unspecified number also migrated southeastward to Coahuila, making up part of a group from the mission town of Julimes, at that time named Julimenes (Kinnaird 1958: 151, 188; Morfi 1958: 195–96; Oconor 1952: 106; Portillo 1887: 317–18), and others went eastward to the Texas province where some, at least, eventually joined Apaches (Bolton 1911).

Of the earlier Concho population in this territory, where the original thrust of Franciscan missionization efforts had been made and where during this period of the eighteenth century there were some four or five active mission sites, little can be said at this time. In view of the already noted high number of Tarahumara and La Juntan at the time of the first comprehensive census of these missions in 1765, it would seem that there were very few Concho Indians at these places, possibly no more than several hundred.

In view of Tarahumara and Jumano migration and the virtual extinction of Concho at this time, it goes without saying that these eighteenth century figures reflect the final stages of Spanish-Indian contact in this lower river valley region of central Chihuahua. The little demographic information for non-mission sites during the last half of the eighteenth century indicates a slight Indian population, from a few to ten percent or so. Where ethnic identification is given, it is often Tarahumara or, much less frequently, La Juntan; otherwise, it is very often listed as Sonoran,

Sinaloan, or more specifically Yaqui, although occasionally Apache are mentioned. Concho at these places are conspicuous by their absence (Griffen 1979).

SOME FACTORS IN THE ANALYSIS OF THE PRE-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POPULATION

One question that almost inevitably accompanies the presentation of material such as the above is, to what extent can the trajectories and rates of population decline and migration be projected backward? Of course, the directions and rates of change reflect the conditions under which populations live, and are the result of isolable processes—sociocultural, ecological, and the like—by which they adapt to the conditions. While any assessment of physical environmental factors is beyond the scope of this paper, some of the cultural or social structural variables that can be gleaned from documentary sources will be mentioned. As long as the present scarcity of direct reports on population and native ethnography exists, such sociocultural factors—as they become better known through future research—will be important in setting limits to what are inevitably subjective evaluations.

Judging from the general pattern of contact in the Americas (Lipschutz 1966), it is reasonable to believe that the nonimported native population of Chihuahua was higher at contact times than during the eighteenth century. Fortunately, some evidence from local sources, although circumstantial in the sense above, exists for supposing a higher number from an earlier time of Concho, Jumano, and Suma. The same argument can be used for assuming a higher borderland Tarahumara population.

This evidence runs more or less as follows. The Spanish demand for labor was rather high, although it fluctuated with periods of expansion of mining and ranching activity. While this demand apparently increased after 1630, with the development of the Parral and other mines, both Concho living north along the lower Conchos River and the La Juntan had already been slave-raided for laborers by the very early 1580s (Hammond and Rey 1929: 52, 55, 60). Evidence from the hostilities of the mid-1640s and after indicates that both groups were well involved in the Spanish labor system by this time, and that this system had at least some of the usual aspects of Spanish compulsion and was called on occasion *encomienda* or *repartimiento*. References to these people working on Spanish holdings during the mid-1600s are numerous and while they usually fail to mention numbers, more than 1,000 persons called Concho were reported living in the general farming district of San Bartolomé in 1630, before the Parral mining boom had really gotten underway (Porras Muñoz 1966: 277–78). At Parral, the name “Concho” is overwhelmingly common in comparison to other ethnic names in the church records until the mid-1680s. At the same time, there is evidence that the Indian population suffered some reduction in numbers as a consequence of disease, overwork, and the like.

From sometime in the early 1600s until around 1690, the sources refer to a kind of formalized Indian administrative province that the Spaniards called La Conchería and for which they appointed Indians as governors. In other words,

there were enough local natives around so that it was necessary or expedient to establish a formal administrative unit for their management.

It was through this structure that much of the recruitment of Indians as laborers and as auxiliary military personnel took place. However, after the 1684 general revolt, in which Concho, Jumano, Suma, Jano, and others took part, references to La Conchería cease rather quickly. In effect, the death of the Conchería administrative unit is correlated with a noticeable drop in the occurrence of Concho Indians in the fragmentary San Bartolomé church records, rather paralleling the demise of the Suma population to the northwest in the Casas Grandes district. While there is little additional information on this at present, one thing seems clear—there was a very marked shift in Indian-Spanish relationships between the mid-1600s and the first census of 1765.

In the earlier period, a number of Indians lived in small settlements and rancherías, which were semiautonomous but were tied to Spanish society by appointed Indian officials and by labor and military duties. Later, as the situation changed, a proportionately much smaller number of Indians (compared to the culturally non-Indian population) lived, detribalized and partially acculturated, as low-caste people in Spanish towns, as hacienda laborers, and as mission Indians at the Franciscan establishments. From the view afforded by administrative documents (though this may be a biased view), the most rapid time of transition—that is, the fastest rate of alteration in Spanish-Indian relationships—occurred in the two decades or so after the 1684 revolt, possibly in large part as a direct consequence of that revolt.

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

Mid-eighteenth century materials must obviously be used with considerable care in the evaluation of earlier periods—an argument for much more intensive historical investigation into the contact structure of these earlier years. An analysis of this contact situation should, however, serve to set limits on the generosity permitted in estimates of former populations, including those in accounts of the early expeditions. Nevertheless, because of the great incompleteness of the Spanish administrative records, archaeological and geographical investigations will also have to be carried out before much will be known of the population, general settlements, and subsistence aspects of the contact and colonial history of this area.

REFERENCES

Documents

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, D.F.

- 1816 Misiones 11. Estado abreviado de las Misiones de esta Provincia de N.S.P.S. Franco de los Zacatecas; Año de 1618, Año de 1817, Año de 1818. Lista de los conventos vicarios y Misiones q cumieron a cargo de la Provincia de N.S.P.S. francisco de los Zacatecas y se han entregado a los Mnros Pres obispos en la Secularizacion hecha de orn del Rey N.S.

Archivo de Hidalgo del Parral, Parral, Chihuahua.

- 1715A G. 134. Administrativo, Diligencias practicadas con motivo de la orden para que vuelvan los indios que estaban en el Valle de San Bartolome a sus pueblos de la junta del rio del norte, y contradiccion que hicieron los labradores del valle.

Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

- 1746 AGI: Audiencia de Guadalajara 191 (67-3-51). Superior Gobierno. 1746. Testimonio de los autos fijos a ynstancia del R. Pe fr Juan Miguel Menchero, sobre varias providencias que pido Pa el Restablizm, to de las Misiones del Rio de la Junta en el Gobierno de el nuevo Mexico y demas q dentro se expresa.
- 1789a H. H. Bancroft Collection. Mexican Manuscripts, Misiones #431. Estado que manifiesta las Misiones de este Obpado de Durango segun las Noticias comunicadas por los Curas y Misioneros a quienes se pidieron. Durango, 10 de Marzo, 1789. El Obpo de Durango.
- 1789b H. H. Bancroft Collection. Mexican Manuscripts, Misiones #431. Estado actual de las Misiones que tiene a su cargo esta Provincia de N.P.S. Franco de los Zacatecas. Durango, 13, de octubre, 1789. Fr. Antonio Ferndo Martinez, Mintro Proal.

Publications

Bancroft, Hubert Howe

- 1884 *History of Texas and the North Mexican States* (Vol. 1). San Francisco: The History Company.

Bolton, Herbert Eugene

- 1911 The Jumano Indians in Texas. *Texas State Historical Quarterly* 15.

Dobyns, Henry F.

- 1966 Estimating Aboriginal American Population. *Current Anthropology* 7(4): 395-416.

Griffen, William B.

- 1979 Indian Assimilation in the Franciscan Area of Nueva Vizcaya. *Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona* 33. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Hammond, George Peter, and Agapito Rey

- 1929 *Expedition into New Mexico made by Antonio de Espejo, 1582-1583*. Los Angeles: The Quivira Society.

Kelley, J. Charles

- 1952 The Historic Indian Pueblos of La Junta de los Rios. *New Mexico Historical Review* 27(4).
- 1953 The Historic Indian Pueblos of La Junta de los Rios. *New Mexico Historical Review* 28(1).

Kinnaid, Lawrence

- 1958 The Frontier of New Spain, Nicolas de LaFora's Description. *Quivira Society Publications* 13. Berkeley: The Quivira Society.

Kroeber, A. L.

- 1939 *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lipschutz, Alejandro

- 1966 La despoblación de las indias después de la conquista. *América Indígena* 26(3): 229-48.

Morfi, Juan Agustín

- 1958 Viaje de indios y diario del Nuevo Mexico. *Viajes y viajes por Norteamérica*. Madrid: Aguilar.

Oconor, Hugo de

- 1952 *Informe de Hugo de Oconor sobre el estado de las provincias internas del norte, 1771-76*. Texto original con prologo del Lic. Enrique Gonzalez Flores; anotacion por Francisco R. Almada. México: Editorial Cultura.

Porras Muñoz, Guillermo

- 1966 *Iglesia y estado en Nueva Vizcaya (1562-1821)*. Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra.

Portillo, Esteban L.

- 1887 *Apuntes para la historia antigua de Coahuila y Texas*. Saltillo.

Sauer, Carl O.

- 1935 Aboriginal Population of Northwestern Mexico. *Ibero-Americano* 10. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Tamarón y Romeral, Pedro

- 1937 *Demostación del vastisimo obispado de la Nueva Vizcaya*. Biblioteca Mexicana de Obras Inéditas 7, 1765. México: Antigua Librería Robredo, de José Porrua e Jihos.

7. TEPUSILAM AND CHUL: A COMPARISON OF MEXICANERO AND TEPEHUAN MYTHOLOGY

John Hobgood

Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Philosophy
Chicago State University

and

Carroll L. Riley

Department of Anthropology
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

An important factor in the cultural history of the north and west of Mexico has been the influence of Nahuatl-speaking Indians who have migrated from Tlaxcala and other regions of the south (Fig. 7.1). The colonial history of Mexico contains many accounts of the use of Nahuatl-speaking Indians, not only for the colonization of northern Mexico but also for similar enterprises in Guatemala (Sherman 1970: 24) and to a lesser extent in Guam and the Philippines (Cuevas 1943).

After Cortés and especially after the northern interior of Mexico was opened to Spanish exploitation in the mid-sixteenth century, large numbers of Tlaxcalan, Mexican, Otomí, Tarascan, and other Indians were resettled in the north (Powell 1952: 216). Central Mexican Indians were also moved early in time to the west coast; for example, they were with Coronado as auxiliaries (Hammond and Rey 1940: 8). In the Mixton war of 1542 Mexican Indians were brought in considerable numbers to the Jalisco area—30,000, according to some accounts (Bancroft 1886: 505–6)—and some doubtless stayed. In the next two or three decades Nahuatl- and Tarascan-speaking Indians were in great demand for the mines of Zacatecas, Durango, and Chihuahua. From various accounts it is clear that many of these Indians were imperfectly Christianized (see, for example, the comments of Dunne 1944: 32).

In northeastern Mexico the establishment of numerous centers such as Tlaxcalilla near San Luis Potosí, the Pueblo of Guadalupe near Monterrey, and San Esteban de la Nueva Tlaxcala next to Saltillo (Morales 1949: 84–86) are indications of the influence of the Tlaxcaltecan as colonists. Parras was founded with a large contingent of Tlaxcaltecan Indians (Robles 1931), and farther west the barrio of San Juan Bautista de Analco was founded next to the Villa of Durango (Gallegos 1960).

1. The study of Tlaxcaltecan colonies and their relations with the Spaniards and the northern tribes is especially feasible because a great mass of archival materials on this subject is available. An extensive investigation into the archives of the state of Coahuila and the municipal archives of Saltillo would be of great value in tracing the Tlaxcalan settlement of the Saltillo and Parras areas. The fact that the Ayuntamiento (town council) of San Estebán de la Nueva Tlaxcala was not absorbed into the Ayuntamiento of Saltillo until 1837 (Morales 1949: 84–86) indicates that the separate identity of this community was a political reality until well into the republican period. Apparently, the old Spanish guarantees of the Tlaxcaltecan land base were in effect until the time of Juárez, and the chiefs of San Estebán still functioned in the mid-nineteenth century (Gibbs 1863).

The possibility that Nahuatl-speaking peoples lived in the north and west of Mexico before the conquest has also been suggested because of the ease with which the Nahuatl speakers with Nuño de Guzmán communicated with natives of southern Sinaloa. Sauer and Brand (1932: 57), however, feel that Nahuatl was a *lingua franca* in this area, widely understood but not the general speech of the country. Whatever the actual situation, there was certainly much contact of Nahuatl speakers with west Mexican Indians even before the relocations of the Tlaxcaltecan that occurred in the colonial epoch. More importantly the recent work of J. Charles Kelley and associates in the northern interior of Mexico makes it clear that there were pre-Columbian penetrations of high culture into north and west Mexico—a penetration that began at least by the early centuries A.D. (Kelley 1971). Of course, it is not known what the linguistic affiliations of these pre-Columbian Mesoamericans were—Nahuatl, Tarascan, and Otomí are all possibilities, and perhaps other languages as well. There is documentation of Otomí settlements as far west as the Colima area at conquest times, and they may have extended even further to the west (Carrasco 1950: 43). Of course scattering of Nahuatl and even Nahuatl names on the west coast of Mexico is not firm evidence of pre-Spanish settlement of that region by such speakers. It does suggest, however, that considerable postconquest settlement of “Mexican” Indians occurred either as planned settlements or spontaneous undirected ones. In any case, a knowledge of one or the other Nahuan dialect (perhaps due to pre-Columbian *pochteca* activities) does seem to be common on the coast at least as far as the Piaxtla River in central Sinaloa (Sauer and Brand 1932: 51), and this could have been an important factor in spreading Mexican religious ideas of the kind we discuss below for the mountain areas.

The major points here are that Mesoamerican influences of one sort or another had been penetrating northern Mexico for many centuries before the Spaniards came, and during the first century of Spanish rule there were various moves, both planned and unplanned, of sedentary Indians, especially Tlaxcalan, into northern Mexico.¹ The possibility of religious ideas flowing from Mesoamerica to the north was present on a wide time horizon.

A very important enclave of Nahuatl-speaking Indians is located near San Pedro Jícora in the state of Durango. This group, called “Mexicaneros” by their Tepehuan neighbors,



Fig. 7.1. Map showing Tlaxcallan, Southern Tepehuan, and Mexicanero settlements in northern Mexico.

had preserved a rich Nahuatl mythology at the time they were visited by Preuss in 1907. Today the Mexicanero living near the abandoned village of San Pedro Jicora are only about 60 in number, according to the latest information obtainable. The pivotal importance of the Mexicanero was brought out through the publication of Konrad Theodor Preuss's work *Nahua-Texte Aus San Pedro Jicora in Durango* (1968). The close relationship of many Mexicanero myths with Aztec mythology was pointed out by Preuss. When Preuss's student Elsa Ziehm revisited San Pedro Jicora, she found the town itself abandoned and was very disappointed to find that knowledge of the mythologies had almost died out among the villagers over the last 60 years.

In our fieldwork among the Tepehuan² we obtained accounts of the Ixcaitiung and the Chul, the Tepehuan cultural hero and his wife. At that time we speculated on the rela-

tionship of the Ixcaitiung to Quetzalcoatl and the Chul to Tezcatlipoca and Coatlicue (Hobgood 1968: 401-11; Riley and Hobgood 1959: 355; Riley 1966: 819).

Several of the myths collected by Preuss reveal that variants of the same myth are found among the Mexicanero and the Tepehuan. A comparison of Tepehuan and Mexicanero myths give additional insight on both groups as well as on their possible relationship to the Aztecs or other Mesoamerican peoples.

The Mexicanero story of how Tepusilam pursued others and then was eaten at the banquet is very close to the Tepehuan account of how the Chul was destroyed. The story of Tepusilam is given by Cruz Reyes.³

Once upon a time there was an old woman
who ate people.

No one who wandered about was safe any more,
because the Old Woman ate people.

She appeared to the wanderers in this way:

In the form of a woman she seduced the men.

They trusted her,
yielded to her, flirted with her
and performed a certain action.

When he had fallen asleep,

2. We wish to thank the Research Committee of Chicago State College for the support they have given to work by Hobgood in northern Mexico.

3. The Tepusilam texts are taken from Preuss (1968: 119-23 *et seq.*), the Chul texts from our fieldnotes. Harvey Edelberg and Margaret Faulwell translated the Mexicanero materials from German to English.

when the man slept in her embrace,
 the old woman gently expanded.
 In his sleep the man felt
 her slowly expand.
 Then the man stood up quickly
 and went away.

Once upon a time this woman met a man.
 He deceived her because he knew her.
 He took his pleasure with her
 and after a while the woman fell asleep.
 The man noticed this,
 stood up quickly,
 heated the axe that he had with him,
 and laid it next to her ear.
 The man straightened himself up and ran away.
 After a long time the Old Woman awoke
 and looked around: no one was there.
 She followed him to where he lived.
 Then she saw the man sleeping on the roof.
 She called to him.
 "My little brother sleeps well," she said.
 He did not answer, because he was afraid.
 Therefore she shouted
 and then entered the house.
 Then she jabbed him with her stick,
 turned him over and over,
 until her relative fell from the roof.
 Fine.
 She grabbed him, in order to kill him.
 The other man, who slept with his brother,
 awoke:

"What are you doing with my older brother?"
 "Na," she answered,
 "I am bringing him to me, in order to eat him.
 Because he has deceived me."
 She killed him and ate a piece.
 Half was left over.
 She threw his head away.
 Then she sings, dances and sings some more.
 After she had danced, she went away.
 Along the way she ate the remaining piece.
 She ate it up completely,
 but after she was finished she was still hungry.
 "I wonder if that was the Old Woman?"
 the younger brother said thoughtfully.
 She went on and pondered:
 "Where will I find something else to eat?"
 Therefore,
 I will go to a woman
 and then eat the woman."
 The Old Woman changed herself into a man,
 went to the woman,
 called to her and said:
 "I am she, come out
 so that I can talk with you."
 The woman came out, he went on ahead.
 They kept on in that way
 so that they would meet at a place.
 When the woman came to the man
 he said: "Here you are."
 "Yes," she answered.
 The woman sat down.
 The man came closer and took hold of her.
 Then they flirted with one another.
 The woman soon became bored.

"I would like to go," she said,
 "I will not sleep here in any case.
 I would be reproached.
 I would rather sleep at home."
 Therefore, the woman went home.
 Shortly thereafter the man appeared there.
 "Little sister, are you asleep?" he asked.
 He shouted, but she did not want to answer.
 She feared the relative, who called to her.
 "Come on down," he cried.
 "After all I will not eat you."
 The woman was afraid of him
 and did not answer.
 Then he entered the house
 and looked around.
 No one was there.
 He looked on the roof: she lay there.
 Then he jabbed her with his stick,
 turned it over and pulled on it.
 Then the relative fell down.
 "Aha, here you are," he said,
 seized her and threw her on his head.
 Then he danced behind the house,
 singing, he turned behind the house,
 then he left.
 He carried his relative on his head.

It is said, that she also ate children,
 who remained alone when one went away.
 When the parents came back,
 the child was no longer there.
 Only a track was to be seen.
 Once
 they arranged a village banquet.
 In order to invite her, they went
 to the place where she lived,
 and asked her to come to the banquet.
 She didn't want to come.
 The messenger came back and reported.
 Then they sent still another.
 He left, greeted her, invited the grandmother
 and explained to her why he had come.
 They began the banquet,
 and still no one had brought her along.
 Then they pondered:
 "What are we going to do?"
 They gave each other counsel.
 There was one, who said:
 "Now we want to send the Kolibri
 [hummingbird];
 he should invite her."

They called the Kolibri and said:
 "Go call the Old Woman
 to come to the banquet, she is to help us,
 our grandmother is to dance."
 Then one man said:
 "We will get her
 only after we have made her drunk.
 That is the only way one can bring her;
 otherwise she won't come."
 Then they provided agave wine
 and gave it to Kolibri.
 He set out and took the wine along.
 Near the house of the grandmother
 he pulled out a flask
 and took a drag,

went up to the house of the grandmother
and said:
“Little grandmother,
would you like a drink of wine?”
He offered her the wine and they drank.
Soon he noticed she was becoming drunk.
Then he invited her.
“Let’s go to the banquet,
your relatives are celebrating a banquet.”
The old woman was already somewhat drunk
and cried:
“Na, then let’s go!”
She packed.
She packed her spindle,
fleece and wadding,
large wads.
She filled an old net with these things,
loaded up
and said:
“Now we can set out.”
Staggering they set forth.
Along the way she became drunker.
She had taken a grating bowl along,
which she now threw away.
They went a bit further.
She threw away her balls of thread.
In so doing she had lost all of her arts and tricks.
She arrived without anything at all,
went to her relatives and greeted them:
“Hey, little brothers, how are you?”
She greeted everyone, she was so drunk.
Then they also gave her wine,
and she became even drunker.
Then she danced.
Getting drunker and drunker she staggered.

Then, good night, she threw herself down.
The people immediately gathered
and ran for wood
in order to burn their grandmother.
They piled the wood.
“Now set fire to it,” ordered one.
They set fire to it, it burned.
They lifted the Old Woman, ach,
and threw her into the middle of the fire.
There she remained for a while,
then she burst;
exploding, her liver spurted out.
They pulled her out
and made soup out of her.
Then they began to eat.

Her husband had not seen where she had gone.
Now he went looking for her.
He asked and was given information.
According to his information his wife
had passed by here.
“That is good,”
He followed her trail
and reached the banquet place.
He arrived just as they were eating
and greeted them all.
They immediately offered him soup.
He sat down and ate.
After he had eaten he asked:
“Who can give me information about
my wife?”

He remained there.
Then he started back and went a short way.
Then a bird sang and announced:
“What are you looking for, your wife?
You ate your wife.”
“I wonder if that is true?” he thought;
turned around and went back
and demanded her bones.
The bones were given to him.
He danced with them and beseeched them,
and immediately the Old Woman arose new
and magnificent.
She threatened:
“Now I will devour my relatives,
I will leave none behind.
Why have they dealt so with me?
They have set fire to me!”
“Haven’t I always told you,
you should not snatch away your relatives?”
So spoke her husband.
At those words she became furious:
“Now I will eat them.”
Meanwhile her husband had also become
furious,
he gave her a kick and pushed her away.
She disappeared into the earth.
She reemerged in the sea.
Her husband climbed to the peak of a cliff,
lay down and looked waiting
to the place where the sun sets.
He looked for his wife
but she never appeared again.
He has been lying there ever since.

Daniel Flores of Joconoxtle, Durango, gives the Tepehuan version of this myth:

One time a boy went on a trip with his little
brother.
Later, the two were still lingering on the trail;
when it was just beginning to get dark,
a young girl also arrived that looked like the
girlfriend of the biggest boy.
She said, “I am coming, too,”
and came over to where the boys were.
She had brought a bag full of thick corn cakes.
They began to heat the corn cakes for supper.

Later, when it finished getting dark,
they went to bed.
They spread out their blankets to sleep.
At midnight,
the youngest brother awoke and saw that his
brother
had been completely covered by the ear of
the girl,
which had grown to great size.
That is because it wasn’t his girlfriend that he
had in bed but
the Chul!

The little brother shouted, “Get up, brother,
or the devil will swallow you!”
The brother got up quickly.
Then he put a branding iron and a plowshare in
the fire.
The plowshare got red hot,

and later he put it on the big ear of the Chul.
The Chul didn't even wake up,
but snored more with the hot branding iron,
as if she liked hot iron.
Then the brothers left and returned running at
midnight.

But on the road,
the littlest brother got tired.
Then his brother helped him to the top of a tall
tree and continued running down the trail.
Later, he arrived at his house and told his
family and all the people what had happened.
Then they barricaded him inside the church
so the saints would help him.
And the people were standing all around
the church
guarding in the night so the Chul wouldn't
come.

Then, in the morning when it got light,
they uncovered the door of the church,
but there wasn't any sign of the boy inside;
they only found some intestines.
There was nothing but blood in the church;
this the people saw when it got light.

Later then,
the Chul went back to the tree where the
younger brother was hiding.
The Chul walked along with a leg over her
shoulder
that belonged to the big brother.
And the Chul said to the little boy,
'I won't do anything to you.
Go home.

I've only harmed your brother who
followed me.
That is why I have his leg here on
my shoulder,'
and the little boy climbed down from the tree
and ran home.

The Chul was making mischief in many places.
The people wanted to be rid of her.
This was her end:
there was to be a mitote.
The people ordered that the Chul be invited to
the mitote.

So the butterfly went to call her and said,
'You should come to the mitote,'
and the Chul said, 'What did you say?
I don't hear you.
Come closer and tell me.'
Then the butterfly came closer and told her,
and the Chul said,
'I still don't hear you.
Come up a little closer.'

So the butterfly came right up to the ear
of the Chul to give her the message,
and the Chul captured her with her hand and
ate her

[because she didn't want to go to the mitote].
When the butterfly didn't appear,
the people sent the hummingbird.
When the hummingbird came to the Chul,
she said,
'You should come to the mitote.'
The Chul said to her,
'What did you say?

I don't hear you.
Come closer and tell me.'
And the hummingbird came closer and told her.
And the Chul said,
'I still don't hear you.
Come up a little closer.'
Then the hummingbird came right up to the very
ear of the Chul to say,
'You should come to the mitote,'
but she went away again very fast and the Chul
did not have time to grab the hummingbird.

Then,
when it got dark late in the afternoon,
the Chul appeared on the edge of the mitote
grounds.
Then right away they gave her a big cup and
then a big swallow
of venom that the people had made from five
big pots of wine.

But it wasn't wine;
it was the juice squeezed from spiders,
scorpions,
and other poisonous animals.
They gave her a swallow, and a little while later
they gave her another.
Then the Chul also began to dance [the mitote].
Then they gave her another swallow,
and she said,

'Bring me a dancer to dance with.'
And they brought her some little dogs
[which she threw over her shoulder as she was
accustomed
to with the dancers she was going to eat while
dancing the mitote].

And the dogs dirtied on the Chul.
And there the Chul was dancing, and the little
dogs just
lifted their heads,
and their ears flopped

[with the movements of the dance].
Then the little dogs disappeared
[the Chul ate them],
and the Chul wanted more.
And they brought her more dogs.

Later,
the Chul asked for more girls to dance with.
Then the dogs dirtied her again and got away.
Then,
during the night,
the Chul got drunk and went to sleep.
She slept there by the side of the dancing
ground.

And later they killed her.
The people put the firewood that was there all
around the Chul,
and they set it on fire.
They set it on fire, and the wood burned,
and the Chul cooked.

Later,
after she was cooked,
they made her in the form of a food
that is called stew [*chuina*].
Chuina is nothing but corn dough and meat
fixed like a heavy corn meal soup.
Then they cooked her good,
and the next day in the morning,

the husband of the Chul came.
 And they served him a big earthenware bowl
 of *birria*.
 Taking some,
 they served some to the husband of the Chul,
 and he began to eat.
 And later,
 a bird stopped in front of him and said to him,
 "You alone are going to eat your wife."
 And the man said,
 "Well, what is this bird saying?"
 And again,
 the bird said,
 "You alone ate your wife."
 Then he said again,
 "What is this bird saying?"
 Then he looked in his bowl containing the food
 made out of the Chul,
 and he found one of her fingers.
 And he said,
 "Ah, they have killed my wife!
 You have to gather together her bones for me."
 Then the people gathered together the bones,
 and he sat down by an anthill
 [and sang]
 to make the bones dance around the edge of the
 anthill.
 Then part of the earth opened,
 and the Chul started coming out again from
 below the earth.
 The Chul said,
 "Ah, what heat!"
 He then asked [his wife, the Chul],
 "Why do you eat my children?
 Why do you eat the people?"
 Her husband asked this,
 and she answered,
 "Now I intend to do it even more;
 because they have made me angry,
 "No!" said her husband,
 "Then I won't let you out!"
 And he gave her a kick in the head.
 As the Chul was just coming out of the earth,
 she went inside again and didn't come out
 until she came to the other side of the world.
 Now they say that she is on the other side of the
 sea in the Great China,
 and that there she is tied up with a chain.
 She is the one that makes all of the silk
 that comes from the other side of the sea.
 She dyes the silk by cutting off people's heads
 and hanging them upside down over the silk,
 so that their blood will dye it red.
 The people remained at the mitote ground
 eating.
 The wife of the Chul stayed there also,
 but now they say that she is the iguana.
 Perhaps the Chul was the devil and nothing
 more.

Another Tepusilam myth tells how Tepusilam followed
 the older brother and devoured him. It also cites many of the
 events mentioned by Daniel Flores:
 Informant: Gabriel.

Once upon a time there was a woman,
 she had a *papagei*.

Then a man came and asked her for the *papagei*.
 But she would not give it away.
 Then the woman left,
 and the man also left, overtook her,
 and asked again for the *papagei*.
 "How much do you want for the *papagei*?"
 "Really, I'm not selling him."
 "But I like the *papagei*,
 that's why I'm asking you for it."
 "Well if you really like him,
 let's sleep together,
 after that I will give you the *papagei*."
 "All right, let's go to sleep."
 They slept.
 His younger brother sat close by and watched.
 The woman slept and snored
 so that all the world could hear
 that she was sleeping.
 Then the little brother noticed
 how she was trying to crush him [the man] with
 her breasts.
 Then his little brother awakened him.
 He awoke and they ran away.
 The sleeping woman remained behind.

They ran and ran.
 The lad began to tire
 and said to his brother:
 "I am tired."
 "Then stay here in the tree;
 I will run to the village and tell them
 that the animal is approaching, so that they will
 help me."
 The lad remained behind.
 Then the animal awoke, followed them,
 came to where the lad was.
 When it saw him, it cried: "Here you are.
 You can remain there,
 I don't want to catch you,
 I am pursuing your brother
 because he has deceived me.
 You will see,
 soon I will carry his leg past here."
 Then it ran on.
 There in the village
 many people surrounded the house.
 Then they saw it approaching,
 it carried candles at its knees.
 Then they no longer saw it.
 It had sunk into the earth
 and surfaced again in the house.
 The men stood around for a long time outside;
 they did not know where the animal was.
 In the morning they spoke among themselves:
 "Open the door and get him out,
 the animal is probably not coming."
 They opened the door and looked inside:
 there lay his head!
 The rest it had eaten.
 And they had not noticed
 when it had broken in.
 It had killed him and devoured him.
 His leg, however, it had carried away.

When it passed by the lad,
 it called: "Do you see?
 I am bringing your brother.

Why did he deceive me?
 If he hadn't deceived me,
 I wouldn't have treated him so.
 Then I wouldn't have devoured him.
 But he deceived me, so I ate him.
 Here I am bringing him now.
 Look at your brother,
 you will never see your brother again.
 I am bringing him here
 so that you never deceive.
 I am carrying his leg with me.
 His head remained back there.
 Go visit your brother,
 he remained in the house, greet him.
 You will never see him again.
 I am taking him along."

The similarities in these three myths suggest that they have a common source in Mesoamerican mythology, though it is not entirely clear whether the Tepehuan story

4. There is a curious account in the report of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (1944) that may relate to this same being. In their travels somewhere in south central Texas, Vaca and his companions heard the following story:

These Indians and the ones we left behind told us a very strange thing, which from their account may have occurred 15 or 16 years ago. They said there wandered about the country a man, whom they called Bad Thing (*Mala Cosa*), of small body and with a beard, although they never could see his face clearly. Whenever he would approach the house where they were, their hair would stand on end and they began to tremble and then it seemed in the doorway of the house there would then appear a burning torch. That man then came in and took hold of anyone he chose, and made three cuts in the lower

derives from the post-Columbian Jícora settlers or whether both draw from some pre-Columbian prototype. Preuss (1968: 72) identifies the old woman⁴ as the earth monster:

The carrying of candles at her knees is a reminder of the Aztec Earth goddess who had eyes and fangs at her joints. The descent into the earth identifies Tepusilam as the earth goddess. In alligator form she is like the Cipoelli. We find one scene from the Tepusilam myth represented several times in the old Mexican illuminated manuscripts: Xochipilli, with a foot torn off by Cipoelli, which carries the foot in its jaws.

In view of Preuss's interpretations it would be valuable to do a more detailed analysis of both Mexicanero and Tepehuan mythology, using textual and iconographic studies of materials relating to and representations of Coatlicue and other central Mexican deities.

abdomen with a sharp flint knife, as broad as a hand and two palms in length, and thrusting his hand through the cuts pulled out the entrails, cutting off a piece more or less one palm long, which he threw into the live coals. Afterwards he made three cuts in one of the arms, the second one at the place where people are usually bled, and twisted the arm but reset it soon afterwards. Then he placed his hands on the wounds, and they told us that they closed at once. Many times while they were dancing, he appeared among them, sometimes in woman's dress, and other times as a man, and whenever he wished he would seize the hut or house, go up with it and then fall, crashing down with it. They also told us how many a time they gave him food but he would never eat anything, and they asked him where he came from and where he had his home, he pointed to a cleft in the earth and said his home was there below [Cabeza de Vaca 1944: 46].

REFERENCES

- Bancroft, Hubert H.
1886 *History of Mexico*, Vol. II, 1521–1600. San Francisco.
- Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar Nuñez
1944 *Naufragios*. Mexico.
- Carrasco Pizana, Pedro
1950 *Los Otomíes*. Mexico.
- Cuevas, Mariano
1943 *Monje y marino: La vida y los tiempos de Fray Andrés de Urdaneta*. Galatea, México
- Dunne, Peter Masten, J. S.
1944 *Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Gallegos C., José Ignacio
1960 *Durango Colonial, 1563–1821*. Mexico: Editorial Jus.
- Gibbs, George
1863 Note on the Dispersion of the Tlascaltecas. *Historical Magazine* 7 (3).
- Hammond, George P., and Agapito Rey
1940 *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition 1540–1542*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Hobgood, John
1968 The Ixcaltung or Ruling Man and The Chul: A Tepehuan Epic. *Verhandlungen des XXXVIII Internationalen Amerikanistenkongresses*, Stuttgart-München, Band II.
- Kelley, J. Charles
1971 Archaeology of the Northern Frontier: Zacatecas and Durango. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, Vol. 11, edited by G. Ekholm and I. Bernal, pp. 768–801; R. Wauchope, general editor. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Morales, Sergio R.
1949 El Nahuatl de los Tlaxcaltecas de San Esteban de La Nueva Tlaxcala. *Tlalocan* 3: 84–86.
- Powell, Philip W.
1952 *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Preuss, Konrad T.
1968 *Nahua-Texte Aus San Pedro Jicora in Durango*. Erster Teil: Mythen und Sagen. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Riley, Carroll L.
1969 The Southern Tepehuan and Tepecano. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, Vol. 8, edited by E. Vogt, pp. 814–821; R. Wauchope, general editor. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Riley, Carroll L., and John Hobgood
1959 A Recent Nativistic Movement among the Southern Tepehuan Indians. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 15: 255–60.
- Robles, Vito Alessio
1931 *Francisco de Urdiñola y el Norte de La Nueva España*. Mexico: Imprenta mundial.
- Sauer, Carl O., and Donald D. Brand
1932 *Aztatlán. Ibero-Americana* 1.
- Sherman, William
1970 Tlaxcaltecas in Guatemala. *Tlalocan* 6.

8. THE CEREMONIALISM OF THE TEPECAN INDIANS OF AZQUELTÁN, JALISCO

J. Alden Mason

Edited and with Notes by Phil C. Weigand¹

INTRODUCTION

The data diffidently presented herein were gathered during a five-month residence at the village of Azqueltán² in northern Jalisco, Mexico (Fig. 8.1) during the winters of 1911–1912 and 1912–1913, when I was a Fellow from the University of Pennsylvania to the International School of Mexican Anthropology. Shortly thereafter I published several reports on the ethnography, language, and folklore, and a large series of prayers in text, but for more than 50 years I have been unable to find the time to present the ceremonial aspects of the religion.³

The Tepecan (formerly spelled Tepecano) are an isolated group of the Southern Tepehuan of Durango, from whom they differ only slightly in language and culture. Few northern Mexican groups have been more neglected. Carl Lumholtz (1903: 123–25) met a few members of the tribe and devoted a few pages to them. Only Hrdlička (1903: 384–440) spent a short time with them and published his observations.⁴ Even in Hrdlička's time, acculturation to the peon pattern had gone far; in my day, ten years later, very rarely did I hear the language spoken; today, doubtless, it is never used, and it is probably decades since any religious ceremony has been observed.⁵

In 1913, the field of uninvestigated people was so great that no one thought of specializing in any cultural subject. Nor was acculturation considered a suitable field for inves-

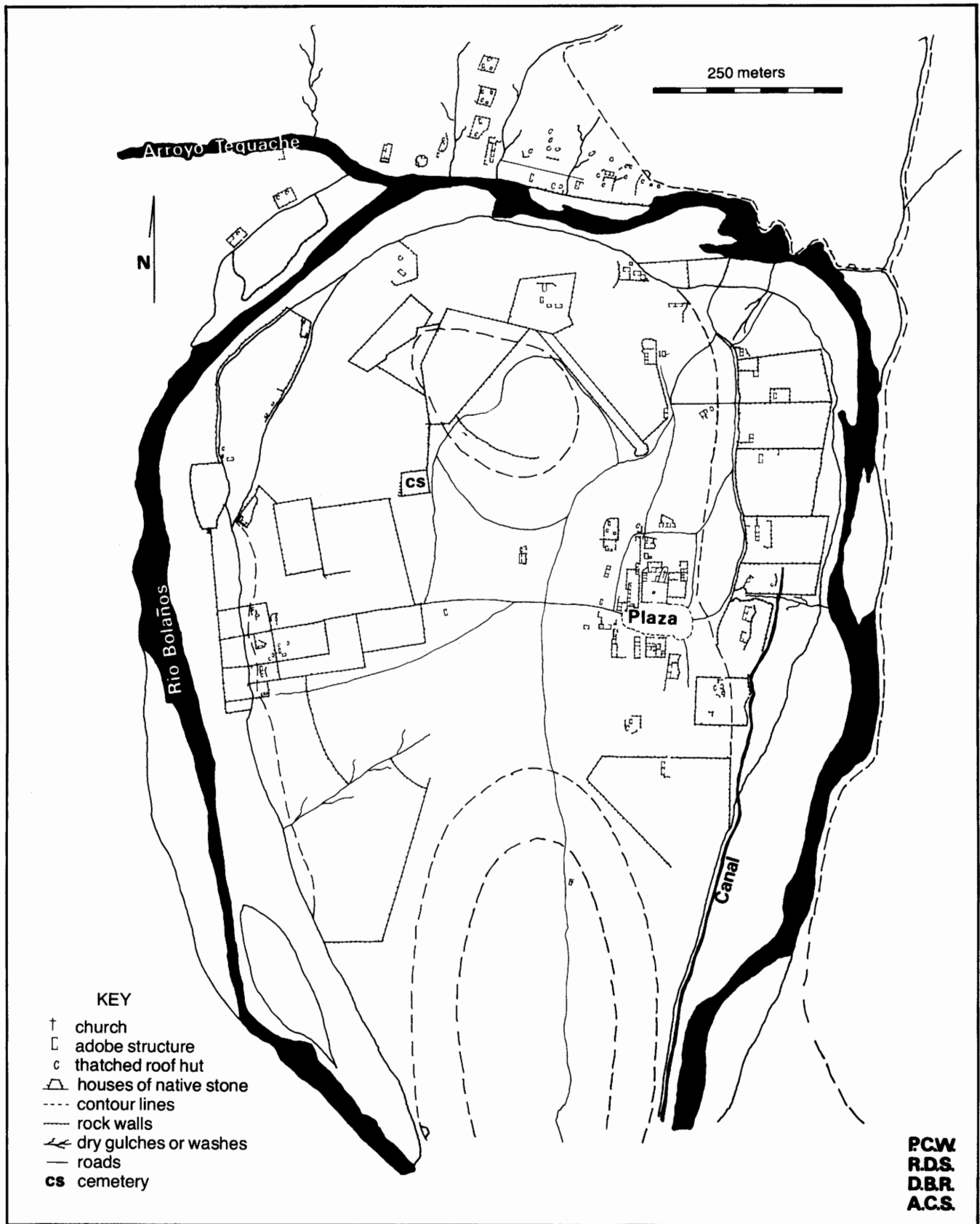
tigation. The research student was expected to reconstruct the culture as it was before European contact. If new in the field, he had to learn the medium of communication (Spanish) as he went. With a culture being supplanted, remembered only by the old and conservative groups, and often disputed by several equally qualified, the opportunities for misinformation and misunderstanding were great.

However, the ceremonialism of the Tepecan should be of some importance in that they are the southernmost group of the Piman-speaking natives, and in close contact with the higher cultures of Mesoamerica. It must be admitted that evidences of the influence of the higher southern Mexican cultures on the Tepecan are very slight because it is thought that the Tepecan were a relatively recent incursion from the northwest of Mexico.⁶

The basic material for the study of Tepecan religion and ceremonialism is my "Tepecano Prayers," a collection of 37 traditional prayers in native text and translation, with a few descriptive notes (Mason 1918). Slight—and to my mind less than deserved—attention has been paid to them. Possibly specialists have been waiting eagerly ever since for my commentary—but I doubt it. Since the major part was native text, it was presumed to be exclusively of linguistic importance (as the text actually was). The translations, however, were and are of considerable ethnographic interest. For several reasons they seemed to be of less importance than they actually are. The general impression was, I think, that they were too "ladinized" to have much value except for acculturation studies. I maintain that the content is much less affected by Christianity than generally believed, and that the texts are of great importance in showing a blend of religious traits from Mexico and the southwestern United States—traits such as the Chichimec and other invaders from the north may have carried to the Valley of Mexico.

Much of this feeling with regard to the prayers was doubtless originally caused by the nature of the translation used. Since they were prayers generally addressed to divinities, I put them in a Biblical cast, using traditional diction such as "thou art." The use of "thou," "thee," "thy," and "thine" is certainly most advantageous in esoteric writing where grammatical number is not obvious. The majority of the prayers begin with the words *A Dios* or *adios* in the text. I translated most of these "To God," but I feel now that the translation of *adios* in its other sense of "Greetings! Hail!" would have been better and closer to the original. Also, both in text and in translation, I sometimes used "Lord" and "Lady" in translating "father" and "mother." The

1. After a brief visit to Azqueltán in 1966, I began a correspondence with Dr. Mason, and we exchanged ideas about and photographs of the middle Bolaños Valley. In early 1967, Dr. Mason sent me his unpublished manuscript and notes on Tepecan ceremonialism for my comments. When we met in Philadelphia in September, 1967, we discussed the manuscript at length and agreed to expand it into a comparative study of Tepecan and Huichol ceremonialism. I had the manuscript copied with his permission and we each began to work independently. Dr. Mason's unfortunate death in 1967 interrupted this project. Rather than completely rewriting the manuscript to follow our former plans, I am presenting it here as he wrote it, in his memory, with only minor editorial changes and notes added.
2. Azqueltán is also commonly known as Ascaltán and Ascatlán (see Velázquez 1961: 11).
3. See the References for Mason's bibliography on the Tepecan and Tepehuan (taken from Satterthwaite 1969: 873–79).
4. The only work carried out at Azqueltán since Mason's fieldwork has been by Jones (1962) and myself (Weigand 1970).
5. Vocabularies can still be collected, although they are noun oriented. Some interest in the old ceremonial patterns still exists, especially among the aged, but virtually no one practices the older rites. Only some occasional offerings are still left at the old mitote dance patios.
6. Sites in the Azqueltán region of the middle Bolaños Valley, such as Cerro de Colotlán, were reported by the Spanish as being in active use at the time of the Conquest (Weigand 1970). The exact character of the rituals was not documented, but fully developed Mesoamerican ceremonial patterns certainly did exist.



Drawn by Phil C. Weigand and Robert Shadow

Fig. 8.1. Preliminary map of San Lorenzo de Azqueltán, 1971.

ensemble must have given to many, at first glance, an impression of slight value for any study of aboriginal religion or ceremony.

The value of the prayers for linguistic work was not very great either. The phonetics were amateurish and it was the first appearance of the language in print. The translation was largely guess work, because of my considerable ignorance of the language and slight familiarity with the Spanish medium. And, despite my protests, when the translation took more than a line, the excess was put under the leftmost word. I can but dream without hope that some time in the far future, when Uto-Aztecan philology is as well-known as Indo-European today, some expert on Tepehuan will discover the beauty and ethnographic value of these prayers.

Most of the 37 prayers were given me by my principal informant, Eleno Aguilar, a middle-aged member of a religiously conservative family. One was secured from his father, Francisco Aguilar, and a few from the High Priest or *cantador*, Rito de la Cruz. The similar format of all, from whatever source, indicates that they are truly traditional and ritual. All were translated by Eleno. The prayers fall into a number of classes according to subject, not form. The first 13 pertain to the four calendrical ceremonies, the fiestas of Rain, Elotes (green corn), Pinole (dried corn meal), and Milpa Cuata (two-eared corn); to preparing the dance patio; and to the opening and closing of the ceremonies. A group of four refer to the use and protocol of the ceremonial patio; ten refer to curing, witchcraft, and the water spirits; and another ten are rather miscellaneous.

The great majority of the prayers begin with the word *adios*, referred to above, which probably should be translated "Hail!" or "Greetings!" Then generally follows the title of the deity or dieties importuned, usually in the first person possessive. Most common by far is "My Father," and a very common dedication is "My Father, My Mother, My Morning Star." This trinity cannot but be connected in the native mind with God the Father, the Virgin Mary, and Christ. In only one prayer is Mother mentioned first (before Morning Star), and only in one is Morning Star prayed to alone. In three of the four prayers to prepare the patio for a ceremony, the prayer is to the *Gúia* (Guide), a star that rises before the Morning Star; the latter comes second in the dedication, followed by Father and Mother. In addition to the more common dedications (Father, Mother, Morning Star, and *Gúia*), a few invocations are made to the water spirits (the *chanes*), to Death, to the Maize Goddess, and to the Intoxicated Woman, as well as to local demigods; a few others are addressed to human persons, individually or in groups.

God, of course, is a purely Christian, postcontact concept, prominent in the Tepecan theology of today but integrated in a vague way into the older religion. All queries as

to his nature were of course answered from a purely Catholic point of view. No other name, common or proper, except *Díos* was recorded for the major deity. The word *díos* occurs in all the prayers except Prayer 12, the "Call of the Milpa Cuata," and Prayer 30, to beg permission to hunt deer. Many or most of the prayers begin with the word *adios* or *adiosum*⁷ and it is difficult to determine whether this is the phrase of greeting or means "To God." Generally it is followed by "My Father," but sometimes by other words that would seem to make it apparent that *adios* is merely an opening salutation. The *adios* opening is almost universal in the first thirteen prayers concerned with the four yearly ceremonies. Many prayers also end with some phrase containing *díos*, and meaning "God bless you" or some similar invocation. However, there are frequent instances in the texts of phrases such as "God, My Father, My Mother, My Morning Star," with God apparently conceived as three separate entities. The influence of the Catholic trinity may obtain here. Instances of the word *díos* used in connections other than the above are rare.

All but a few of the prayers contain — and generally commence with—the invocation "My Father," less often "Our Father." It is frequently or generally followed by "My Mother, My Morning Star." The stem /o'k/ is the only one employed for this paternal relationship, natural or metaphorical. The concept may be entirely Catholic and recent; there is little doubt that the present identification is with the Christian God. However, the association with the sun, doubtless the original meaning, is almost certainly present in the aboriginal mind. Although this association is never specifically recognized in the prayers, with the exception of one passage, "Our Father Sun, Cloud, Plume, Fetish," the identity of Father with the Sun was submitted by informants.⁸

The Father is conceived of as residing in the ceremonially important east, where men are created. He is often seated on the clouds, where he is beseeched for health, forgiveness, and other boons. The Sun guards us by day, and frees us from illness. It is mentioned as such, however, only once in all the prayers. The Father is father of the Corn Maiden (Prayers 6 and 10), and therefore father-in-law of her husband, Toloache; the Morning Star, and Fire, elder and younger brothers, are his sons. He dispatches Death to visit mortals, and he speaks the Seven Words (commandments), which the hills repeat. The mixture of pagan and Christian theology in the above may not be easily separable.

The nature of the woman or goddess called "My Mother" or "Our Mother" in invocations is difficult to determine. The title seems never to be used in an invocation except when associated with "Our Father," and a single deity with both male and female nature may be implied. At present, of course, she is associated with the Virgin of Guadalupe. A few prayers identify her with the "Green Woman" and the /uvi'kam/ (womankind?). Probably she was originally a lunar goddess, and her identity with the moon was stated by the informants, but the moon is never mentioned in any of the prayers. Her possible marriage to Father Sun was never stated or intimated, except for independent statements to the effect that both were parents of the Morning Star, with whom she guards mankind at night.

7. The *-um* or *-æn* suffix is commonly added to many words ending in *-s* throughout the area by Indians and *vecinos* (mestizos) alike, especially when these words appear at the end of sentences or phrases.

8. The association of Father and Sun is prevalent among the neighboring Huichol, and, indeed, so many such similarities exist in their respective ceremonialisms that the two groups must have been closely related for a long period of time prior to the Conquest and during the colonial period as well.

One point in which the prayers differ fundamentally from Catholic pattern is that she is never individually beseeched for favors.

The *lucero* or Morning Star, /ciu'k/, is a major deity. Many or most prayers commence with the invocation, "My Father, my Mother, my Morning Star," and the same association is often found elsewhere. The name is certainly connected with that for "elder brother," /cic/, and the Morning Star is considered to have this relationship to mankind. Informants called him the son of the Moon Mother, with whom he guards mankind at night, as well as the son of the Father, though these relationships seem to be nowhere stated in the prayers. Fire is his younger brother. The *lucero* is mentioned in two-thirds of the prayers, generally in invocations and almost always in association with any or all of the deities Father, Mother, and Guide. He is begged for forgiveness and beseeched to grant health. Though naturally generally associated with the east and its green color, he is twice called the color yellow. Prayer 31, "To Rid the Ranch of Scorpion," is addressed especially to him, as the arch-enemy of these vermin. In Prayer 17, reference is made to his Father's having sent him hither. Although this prayer does not show unusually strong Catholic influence, the analogy with Christ is obvious, and this identity seems to be generally felt. He was also once identified with San Antón Tierra. In several prayers the suppliant threatens to complain to the *lucero* about the chanes, and to beg him to sicken them if they trouble him.

The Guide, /subidat/, identified as a small star that rises a little before the *lucero* or Morning Star, is evidently of less importance. It is mentioned in a number of the prayers, but always in association with the *lucero*. Some or all aspects of God, Father, and Mother are generally mentioned in the same association.

Little worship thus seems to have been paid to the heavenly bodies as such. In the prayers the sun is specifically mentioned only once, the other uses of the word /tonor/ referring to "days." The moon, /meaat/, is never mentioned. The Morning Star is an exception, since the name for the body and the deity seem to be identical. The stars also are entirely ignored in the prayers.

A group very frequently mentioned in the prayers is the /gikorak/. The stem is /gi-, "great, big," with a classificatory suffix. The word is always used with the first plural possessive prefix, "our," and in the prayers was generally understood as meaning in effect "Our /manes/." Whether the spirits of the dead is meant is uncertain; one indication is that the word is often accompanied by /wipshimdam/, which might be translated "on the earlier road," or "who have gone before." However, it is possible that the group may consist of the trinity Father, Mother, and Morning Star. The word was variously translated "Our Fathers of the sky," "Our Fathers and Mothers of the Heavens," "The Images," and so on. They are conceived of as seated in the heavens, sometimes on a seat and "beneath the green east," watching over us and extending to us their hand. The /chienles/ are their faces, and the clouds, patios, and other ceremonial objects and phenomena are theirs. Death guards their torches (Prayer 22), and the chanes guard their cloud (Prayer 23).

A demigod of the west is "Man of the Pines" (Ocotes), /huhu'ktio't/. He is mentioned in Prayers 5 and 29, "To Commence the Fiesta of the Elotes," and "To Reap the Milpa Cuata." In the former he replies to the North, and in the latter he, together with the demigods of the other cardinal points, is beseeched to grant permission to reap the Milpa Cuata. "Bead-men," /coso-ptio't/, are mentioned twice in the long *perdon mayor*, Prayer 2. They are gray and white, pertaining to north and south. The "Man of the East," /ciciartio't/, is apparently mentioned only once in the prayers. A "Flower (Peyote) Man," /hioci'ktio't/, is mentioned in Prayer 35, "To Gain a Sweetheart," where he is beseeched to lend his aid.

Though mentioned only once or twice in the prayers and not further identified, there seem to be other personalities connected with the cardinal points. They are designated by the names for north, west, and south, plus the extensive characteristic or "abstractive" suffix /kam/ (/vavari pkem/, /hurni pkem/, /ogipeskem/; "Northerner, Westerner, Southerner"). They are mentioned together, as in Prayer 1, are presumed to speak, and evidently are regarded as feminine, the dialectic translation having been "la del norte, del poniente, del sur."

The same suffix is used three times with the word for "woman" as /uvi'kam/, but it was always translated merely as "woman." Twice the word is followed by the phrase "who is our mother." If a definite personality is indicated, it is even less clear cut than in the preceding cases. In one case (Prayer 36) she is characterized as a "Green Woman" (east), in another context (Prayer 2) she is associated with the black west, and in a third (Prayer 35) she is an intoxicated woman. According to informants she is—or is represented by—the woman who grinds peyote at all the fiestas for the attendants to drink; she wears a hat with feathers, and ear ornaments.

Possibly to be identified with the above-mentioned "Northerner, Westerner, Southerner" are the *vivientes* or "dwellers." These are the guardian spirits of the sacred patios or dance grounds that surround Azqueltán and they are in two groups, near and far. Those to the west are the strongest, protecting from the wolves of the mountains, while those to the east merely protect from the Mexicans. At several of the patios there are stone figures, generally fragmentary, and often identified as wolves, which are (or represent) the *viviente*.

THE CHANES

The /chan cikam/, the name said to be an abbreviation of /tenchaniados/, is a mythical water snake with horns who inhabits springs and pools of water. The snakes always travel in pairs, male and female, and love to ride through the clouds, arching themselves through the heavens, tails in one pool, heads in another, visiting with friends in the latter place. In this guise they appear as the rainbows. The chanes (sacred objects) are of different colors—or else each is varicolored. All their possessions are green. Watermelon leaves are their chimales, and beds of reeds their cornfields. The chanes are vicious and will bite and sicken one with malaria, headache, and other illnesses. Therefore, when

drinking from a pool or spring, a native always cups water into his mouth with his hand rather than sucks from the surface. When making a new house, he places small transparent "water" beads and a *jacara* (gourd) full of pinole gruel at the place where water will be secured, to placate the snakes, and throws the pinole to the four cardinal points. He makes a chimal and a *bastón* with heron feathers and has the pagan priest cleanse him with them. He then leaves them at the spring while reciting a prayer (Prayer 23). There are also prayers to cure one made ill by *chanes* (Prayer 24), and a prayer to cause them to flee from the vicinity (Prayer 25). These are spoken by the priest-doctor towards the west, whither the *chanes* are supposed to depart. In these prayers, the *chanes* are apparently conceived of as keeping house in their pools, for their household implements—saucers, jars, griddles, and pitchers—are mentioned. They seemingly have an intimate connection with the Morning Star, since, in all three prayers, the Morning Star is called upon to control, sicken, and dispel them.

It is possible that there are also terrestrial *chanes*, for those described above were termed *chanes del agua*, but if so, they are unimportant, for no description of any other type was secured. They are also called "water bulls" (*toros del agua*), doubtless because of their horns.

The chan is one element of Tepecan demony that has a definite connection to the south. The relationship to the pre-Columbian Aztec Tlalocs and Maya Chaacs is rather obvious. Moreover, in the Oaxaca region today there is a belief in *chaneques*, mischievous dwarfs who live behind waterfalls and cause sickness. They carry bolts of lightning in the form of serpents in their hands (Covarrubias 1957: 57). The belief may have been brought to the Tepecan region by the Tlaxcaltec migrants from the south.⁹

Sacred, mythical lakes, */vamir/* (plural, */vapamir/*), played a role in Tepecan religion. They are frequently mentioned in the two longest prayers, those that seem the most complete as well as the most aboriginal in pattern. These are Prayer 2, the *perdon mayor*, "To Commence the Fiesta of the Rain," and Prayer 36, "To Secure a Bride." In each, the cardinal points are taken up in order. They are probably

incomplete, since each lacks a lake at one of the cardinals, but between the two, beautiful green, gray, black, and white lakes are mentioned at east, north, west, and south respectively.¹⁰ Seven beautiful lakes are also mentioned, but this number may be an influence of Catholic theology.¹¹

The pattern of the major prayer refers to lakes at each cardinal point from which arise clouds full of lightning and from which health is drawn. Each is guarded by a seated protector—the Gray Beadman (north), the White Beadman (south), and the */uvi'kam/* goddess (west). In the bridal prayer, a single lake is mentioned at each point, green, black, or white. Health-giving clouds with rain and lightning arise from them. The girl wanders sorrowfully around them, seeking her parents, and finally arrives at the white southern lake.

The hills seem to have a sacred nature *per se*, like the lakes, and especially sacred are those that have shrines, particularly those with patios where ceremonies are held and the mitote danced. Several of the latter are at archaeological sites with masonry architecture. On some of the patios there are broken stone figures that are considered to embody the *viviente* demigod of the site. The most important of the patios or shrines are in the cardinal directions from Azqueltán, and in two rings, the near and the far. The near ones are Cerro de Colotlán (the most important of all), Romerillo, La Pata, and Caracól; the distant ones are Mirador, Encanto, Cantaro, and La Leona. The mitote patio consists of a circular dance ring about 50 feet in diameter, within which are stones for the central fire and for seats for the principal partakers. To the east, outside of the ring, is the stone altar on which the ceremonial paraphernalia are placed.¹² God speaks the seven sacred words in the sky and the hills respond with the same words. This is doubtless Christian influence.

CHIMALES

The chimal is a small, flat, square object made by turning or twisting thread or yarn around small sticks crossed at right angles. Under different names it is found sporadically from the Pueblo region of the southwestern United States to Peru, probably always with a ceremonial significance. The local name comes from the Nahuatl */chimalli/* (shield), and the name signifies its ceremonial nature. It is of special importance in the religion of this region, for instance among the Huichol, who say it represents the eye of God; among the Tepecan it represents his face, or the face of other gods. Quantities of tiny chimales were sold to me before I realized that they were being made for that purpose. They were of yarns of curious colors, frequently several different colors on the same chimal, and the significance and symbolism of the colors was explained to me. Later I was told that the colors had no significance, that only the large ones placed on altars merit the native name */kavar/*, and that it represents God's face only when fastened to a ceremonial *bastón*. A statement that white chimales serve individuals, colored ones the whole group, is suspect.

As the name signifies, the chimal is a defense, repelling illness, war, and evil. It is not selective, however, and repels anything in its vicinity, so that care must be observed in its use. It is never placed near water—which is always a

9. The heavy colonization of the Bolaños Valley by Indians from Central Mexico, especially the Tlaxcaltec, in the early colonial period, is partly documented by Velázquez (1961).

10. The southern lake, as with the neighboring Huichol, is the now drying Laguna de Magdalena, where Tepecan and Huichol parties used to leave offerings and trade for the magic mushroom and quartz crystals. The western lake is the Pacific Ocean. The eastern lakes are the now dry or drying *lagunas* of eastern Zacatecas, some of the springs of which are still visited by Huichol *peyoteros*. The northern lake, as with the Huichol, is more problematical, and no specific location can be offered.

11. The Huichol also refer to these seven beautiful lakes, and I agree with Mason that this is probably a colonial influence. The Chapala, Cajititlán, Atotonilco, San Marcos, Zacoalco, Atoyac-Sayula, and Zapotlán lakes are the specific areas in question.

12. The Tepecan mitote patio is similar to the Huichol */kalihúeh/* plaza, except that the latter has maintained its architectural form. The east side of the Huichol plaza has the */túki/*, the circular, semisubterranean structure that contains the altar for the ceremonial paraphernalia. Both the mitote patio and */kalihúeh/* plaza seem to be simplified versions of the elaborate circular ceremonial structures such as that excavated by Hrdlička (1903) and J. Charles Kelley at Totoate, a site in the Bolaños Valley about 40 km north of Azqueltán. The Cerro de Colotlán site and many others are similar in appearance to Totoate.

desideratum—and is never made until toward the end of the rainy season, as it would repel the rain. The *chimales*, fastened to short, thick sticks, are placed at the altars in the sacred patios, either at calendrical ceremonies or by individual suppliants. In ceremonies at least, certain ones represent the sun, the moon, and so on. The moon is identified today with the Virgin of Guadalupe, and other *chimales* are associated with El Niño de Dios and other Catholic concepts. An invalid takes a chimal to a sacred patio to pray for health. Numbers of old chimal sticks were observed at every shrine visited; they must not be removed therefrom, though the sticks of old ones may be laid in a heap nearby. A large chimal is said to be placed sometimes with five black beads and pinole water to repel the bad *aire* (malevolent winds). Squashes serve as the ceremonial *chimales* of the corn, protecting it.

In the prayers, the chimal is always spoken of as representing faces, though a single one is generally mentioned. It is described as repelling illness and heat, as protecting and cleansing. The *chanes* are spoken of as protecting themselves with their transparent chimal. Generally the ceremonial arrows are mentioned in the same phrase, less often *bastones* and *jícaras*.

BASTONES

Although the ceremonial *bastón* (/iaktur/) is frequently mentioned in my field notes, the name does not occur in any prayer, indicating that it is not a sacred object *per se*. Unfortunately, I have no unequivocal statement of its nature and appearance, but have always remembered and visualized it as a short stick with cotton bound to it. The cotton represents the clouds. Presumably a chimal was generally tied to it. It might therefore be merely the stick for a chimal, which would explain its absence from the prayers. However, the notes refer separately to *chimales* and *bastones* as though they were of different natures, and sometimes, at least, used independently.¹³

The primary purpose of the *bastón* seems to be for the ceremonial cleansing of persons, that is, ridding them of illness and sin. Presumably they are waved over the individual, with certain ceremonial practices, after which they are deposited at one of the many sacred altars; some apparently are taken there as offerings, as payments for benefits besought or received.

A father cleansed his children with *bastones* in January and September after a fast of 10 or 15 days and then deposited the stick at the Cerro de Colotlán. According to one notation, he did this every five years; according to another, all the natives cleansed themselves thus twice a year. A *bastón* is stroked over the entire body of a new-born baby, and the stick then placed in a sacred patio. When being used to cleanse someone from illness caused by a *chan*, the *bas-*

tón is decorated with heron feathers and later placed by a spring. The *bastones* are also placed at certain sacred sites for the protection of domestic animals and stock. They resemble closely the prayersticks of the Indians of the southwestern United States. At every Tepecan Indian sacred patio, quantities of them are observed; like *chimales*, they may not be removed but may be gathered into neat piles.

ARROWS

Ceremonial arrows, /umi/, are short thin sticks with small feathers attached to one end, and large pendant feathers of the eagle or red-tailed hawk hanging a short distance below. The lower end, by which they are held or stuck in the ground, is pointed. Naturally they are potent symbolic and ritualistic weapons, protecting the people and offensively repelling illness and other evils. Their principal use is in cleansing persons from sickness, witchcraft, and similar ills, especially at religious ceremonies. They are also employed, however, when begging favors of the gods, are stuck in the ground around a patient during a curing ceremony and around the altar at religious ceremonies, and are placed at the sacred hill altars together with the other sacred objects as payments for benefits.

As observed at the Pinole Fiesta (Mason 1912a: 44–50), a few arrows were stuck in the ground in front of the altar, while others, lying on the altar, were taken, used in the ceremony, released, and used again at the close of the ceremony to ritually cleanse the participants. Four of the arrows represented the cardinal points, and one placed near the fire was said to guard it while the fire-tender went to gather wood.

Arrows are mentioned in most of the prayers, often in connection with *chimales*. The reference is almost always to “thy [that is, God’s] arrows,” which repel illness and heat; being cleansed with arrows is a frequent theme. White and gray arrows are mentioned for south and north respectively, and green and black ones probably represented east and west. The more frequent reference to gray may be connected with the identification of arrows with coolness and health, characteristics that the Tepecan attribute to the north.

PLUMEROS

In contrast to the *bastones*, the *plumeros* (generally as plural, /ciwordat/; singular /civo’t/) are frequently mentioned in the prayers but only occasionally in my field notes, where they are described as the feathers of arrows to help prevent illness. They may be some definite feathered ornament work in the sacred ceremonies. In the prayers, the *plumeros* are closely associated with health and coolness; health and rain come from them. White and gray plumes are mentioned, and presumably there are green and black ones for the other cardinal points. Five plumes are mentioned once.¹⁴ Permission to make them is asked of the gods.

JICARA

A *jícara* (/havu/) is a hemispherical gourd bowl. Ceremonially, *jícaras* are employed to hold small fetishes,

13. Among the Huichol, the shields and *bastones* are conceptualized as separate objects. Although tiny shields are often attached to *bastones*, they very often are used independently.

14. The fifth *plumero* probably represents or guards the fire or the center of the universe. It is therefore conceived of as a fifth cardinal direction, as among the Huichol. There is a question in Mason’s data as to whether the *plumeros* and heavily feathered arrows are in fact different categories of ceremonial objects.

peyote or pinole water, or similar objects or materials on the altar at ceremonies, or on sacrificial altars as payments to the gods. Some are plain, but the finer ones are ornately decorated, and often completely covered inside, with designs made of small glass beads, *chaquira*, set in beeswax. The beads in the *jícara* represent the clouds in the sky. Occasionally small animal figures of beeswax are fixed inside. *Jícara* manufacture and use is probably more highly developed among the Huichol. Bead *jícaras* are placed in vital or sacred places as offerings to the gods in return or in supplication for favors, as in hilltop shrines to beg riches or permission to hunt deer, in *coamiles* (dig-stick fields) to prevent crows from eating the corn, near the water to placate the *chanes*, in the center of the ranch to rid it of scorpions, and so on. *Jícaras* are infrequently mentioned in the prayers, and the term generally refers to the actual material objects. On the altars in ceremonies, filled with water, they represent the sacred lakes. In at least one instance *jícara* seems to refer symbolically to the womb. There are said to be no red beads in the *jícaras* used at the Rain Ceremony, since the rain is cold.¹⁵

FETISHES

Probably in aboriginal days every adult man had a collection of fetishes, /*cidukam*/, which protected him, and their cult was doubtless much more developed than in 1913, when only a few of the older men possessed them. A man would keep any small peculiar object that seemed to him to have some resemblance to some natural phenomenon, deity, or other religious concept. These objects represented such phenomena and possessed some of their magic power. Pebbles and other stones of peculiar shape or color, small archaeological objects, especially those made of shell in the shape of animals and the like, and modern imported objects of uses unknown to the natives composed the majority of those that I saw.¹⁶ Among the last class were such objects as glass marbles and glass cruet-stoppers. The most potent fetish of the *cantador mayor* was a marble of transparent greenish glass with white flakes in the interior. Ignorant of its purpose, to him it represented and influenced the rain.

Fetishes were of course kept carefully guarded, in a box or *jícara*, until wanted. Apparently, on indicated occasions, the owner would take them—or certain of them—out, and speak or pray to them, begging favors. In 1913 they were seen mostly on the altar at the calendrical fiestas in their gourd cups or *jícaras*. Probably those thus shown were the personal collection of the *cantador mayor*, but they were

said to belong to, and protect, the entire pueblo. One informant gave the information that, after every ceremony, the *idolos* spent three days visiting the sacred patios at the cardinal points. Fetishes are rarely mentioned in the prayers, and then generally in begging permission to place them on the altar in ceremonies.

OTATES¹⁷

Otates (/buburu/ [?]), sticks with knobs resembling horns, probably represent the heads of deer, as they do among the neighboring Huichol. They are placed in the hills when hunters begin to beg permission from the gods to go on a deer hunt. A fast accompanies such ceremonial begging and the hunt itself. *Otates* with red eyes are held by the *cantador* toward the east; those with the black eyes are held toward the west. *Responderos* hold arrows to the north and south during the begging ceremony. The informant Eleno, however, doubted the details of the section of the ceremony about the cardinal directions.

PEYOTE

Peyote (*Lophophora williamsi* or *Echinocactus*) is a most important element in Tepecan religion, as in that of all the natives of the Sierra Madre Occidental. It is a god, and was also termed “maize;” it is a protector of the Indians and helps to bring the rain; it relieves one from tiredness and aids the memory. “Rosaries” of peyote buttons are worn at some ceremonies. Each *cantador mayor* is supposed to go on the search for peyote—which does not grow in the Tepecan region—at least once, probably at the time of assuming office; thereafter he may purchase it, probably from the Huichol. Rito de la Cruz made the journey about 12 years before my visit to Azqueltán, or in about the year 1900. The nearest place where peyote can be secured is near Cerro del Venado and Las Camuzas, about eight days’ travel east of Zacatecas. The round trip requires just a month—five days to Zacatecas, eight to the peyote region, five days’ hunting, and the return journey. The trip was made about the middle of September. No food is eaten while traveling, and bathing is also forbidden.

On arriving in the peyote region, payments are left. Peyote bought from the Huichol is paid for with money, but payment for gathering live peyote is, of course, of a ceremonial nature and consists of *jícara* with beads, small mirrors, and the like. The *jícara* is said to be peyote. A large *jícara* is placed on the ground, with beads and other payments in front of it. Facing the east, a prayer (now forgotten), was recited. The hunter sees a figure of a deer, but it is peyote and not a deer. They hunt for five days, each day in a different direction, and a prayer is recited each afternoon, a final prayer being said upon departure.

On return to Azqueltán, about October 24th, a peyote fiesta is held immediately in one of the patios. Peyote is given to everyone present, and there is the usual ceremonial singing and dancing all night. The next morning the *cantador* may have his first meal and bathe, but after that he must fast another 20 days to give thanks.

Peyote, probably generally as an infusion, plays a very prominent part in Tepecan religious ceremony, doubtless at

15. The immediate temptation is to associate red beads with “hot,” which would be an undesirable opposite to cold rainwater. Red, however, can also symbolize blood, and the blood from sacrificed animals, the Huichol maintain, should not be diluted with rainwater.

16. A quartz crystal was in the /*cidukam*/ shown to me in 1966 in Azqueltán. The Huichol explanation is that only through such crystals can the voices of the gods be directly heard by entranced shamans. The best crystals are thought to be those from the Magdalena and Etzatlán region.

17. In Mason’s manuscript the entire section on *Otates* was in note form. I offer this paragraph only as a possible rendering of the meaning of the abbreviations and notes. I am fairly positive, though, that the rendition is accurate because Mason and I did have a chance to discuss the section in 1967.

all the calendrical ceremonies and probably in many less formal activities. At the ceremonies participants are sprinkled with peyote water.¹⁸

SEATS

The divinities, at least the /gikorak/, are conceived of as seated on benches (*bancos*), /atocker/, as is frequently mentioned in the prayers. This seat is occasionally identified as a bead, /soso'B/, which may be qualified as green, white, or pretty. In one instance seven seats are specified. The green and white seem not necessarily to pertain to east or south.

GRASS THICKETS

The *escobal*, or thicket of broom-grass, /bahak/, evidently has some ceremonial significance, though apparently an esoteric one now not well understood. It is mentioned in several prayers, especially in the long Prayer 36, "To Secure a Bride." Here she is mentioned in connection with green, gray, and white *escobales*, pertaining to the east, north, and south; probably the western black was inadvertently omitted. In the "Cry of the Milpa Cuata," Prayer 12, the Stranger runs out from the yellow broom-grass. The color, yellow, is obviously properly descriptive, not ceremonially assigned.

PETATES

A large flat area is thought of as a mat (*petate*) or carpet. Most important in this concept, of course, is the surface of the earth, very frequently referred to in the prayers as "On thy [or your] green *petate*." Scorpions are beneath the *petate*. In this sense the carpet is always green (or blue), though in one or two instances of use with the colors of the cardinal points it becomes white or gray (apparently never black). The *petate* of the water spirits (*chanes*) is naturally transparent.

Allusions to a white *petate* are also frequent, though far fewer than to green. Connotation suggests that the white *petate* is the clouds, especially the white rain clouds of the rainy season. "In" or "beneath" are the common locatives, in accord with the sense. However, the white *petate* may also refer to a southern region.

DEATH

Dead adults (Fig. 8.2) were buried under the house with their belongings—such as the blanket, bow and arrows, and knife of a man, or the metate, muller, and ollas of a woman—but with no ceremonial objects. The house was then deserted but not burned; it was not deserted on the death of children.¹⁹ The widower let his hair grow long, braided down to his waist. It was formerly believed that the

dead would be reborn or revived after 30 years. The soul goes to the sky, but the body becomes a whirlwind and flies about sickening people. Death has the form of a woman; this doubtless shows some relation to the Nahua death goddess, Mictlancihuatl.

COSMOLOGY

The universe is something like a tower or a spiral staircase, with seven heavens, one above another, five above and two below the earth. In May the sun travels through all seven heavens, in December only through five, a shorter journey. The world is decorated with clouds as a *jícara* is with beads. Angels are in the clouds, which also represent the shrouds of the dead. God is in the east where, in the eastern clouds—or in a lake in the clouds—all of us were created. The rain clouds rise from a sacred lake to the east. Rain drops are the tears of unborn children there. Lightning flashes are dancers, and thunder is God's firecracker. All hot things, like fever, are bad; all cool things, such as rain and water, are good.

SACRED NUMBERS

While only four cardinal points are recognized, and zenith and nadir were ignored, five was obviously the ancient sacred number. In ceremonies, actions are generally repeated five times, and groups of five objects are enumerated. In the ceremonial prayers, however, seven outnumbered five by almost three to one. This almost certainly may be ascribed to Catholic influence. Many phenomena, heavens or skies, clouds, and "words" are enumerated in groups of either seven or five, without obvious criteria for distinction. Three-fifths of these refer to the "beautiful heavens" (skies), and in 90 percent of these cases "seven beautiful heavens" are mentioned. Two of the three noted instances of five refer to green (blue?) skies, a characterization generally omitted. Other enumerated objects are about evenly divided between five and seven. There are four mentions of seven clouds, and six of five clouds; three of seven "words" and two of five "words;" one each of seven lakes, thrones, and forms; one of five plumes. Many of the instances of five occur in the two longest texts, Prayers 2 and 36.

CARDINAL DIRECTIONS

East is the most important of the cardinal points, the first in order, and it and its color, green or blue, are mentioned more frequently in the prayers than any of the others. The green *petate* (mat or carpet), symbolic of the verdant earth, is especially frequent. The green east is specifically mentioned several times, and other phenomena and objects—sky, clouds, lake, field of broom-grass, ceremonial patio, bench, vestments, gourd *jícara*, bead—are at times characterized as green, as is the demigoddess called the Green Woman, /tido uvi'kam/. The east is evidently personified by a woman. The major divinities are apparently conceived of as residing in or pertaining to the east, or "beneath the east," and the great blessings, health, rain, and coolness, are formed or created in the east and come or are sent from there.

18. The peyote-maize-deer symbolism is much better preserved among the Huichol, although it is obvious from Mason's account that the Tepecan and Huichol symbol patterns are very closely related. See Myerhoff (1968) for an account of the Huichol pattern.

19. Even in 1913, a formal *Campo Santo* had been in use for a long time. While burial under the houses was the ideal pattern, it no longer was the most common one, as Mason recalled during our 1967 interview.



Photo by Robert Shadow

Fig. 8.2. Funeral in Azqueltán.

The color ascribed to the north is /vaviar/. My informant was a little uncertain how to translate this, considering yellow but finally settling on *pardo*. *Pardo* was translated as gray throughout the prayers, but brown would certainly have been a more accurate translation. The direction and the color are evidently not of great ceremonial importance, as /vaviar/ is used almost exclusively in the two longest texts, Prayers 2 and 36, where the cardinal points are considered in much detail. In these there are references to gray (brown) skies, lake, broom-grass, mat or ground, plumes, and Bead Man. In these and two other prayers there are also references to gray ceremonial arrows. Otherwise, north, /vavarin/, is ceremonially unimportant, and mentioned merely in series with the other cardinal points. The northern denizen, /vavaripekam/, is mentioned several times in the prayers. The names for north and for its color are evidently closely related.

The west, /hurnip/, and its color, black, are of very little

ceremonial importance. The name is from a verbal root signifying descent, and meaning primarily "sunset." The "Westerner," /hurnipkam/, is mentioned twice in the prayers, but otherwise the references are confined to routine in series with the other cardinal points. Black skies, clouds, and lakes are mentioned. In contrast to the east, the west is male, personified by a man.²⁰

South and its color, white, apparently stand next to the green east in ceremonial importance. Allusions to white ceremonial objects in the prayers are relatively frequent. As with the other cardinals, references are most frequent in the two longest texts, Prayer 2 for the Rain Ceremony, and Prayer 36, "To Obtain a Bride," where, in the sections pertaining to the south, white skies, clouds, lakes, fields of broom-grass, ceremonial arrows, plumes, beads, and the Bead Man are mentioned. In six other prayers, the white altar cloth, mat or carpet (for earth or sky), *corral* (graveyard), chimal, and star fetish are noted. South itself, /ogipas/, is rarely if ever mentioned in the prayers except in serial allusion to east, north, west and south. The Dweller in the South, /ogipaskam/, is mentioned once or twice. It was also claimed that the cardinals are characterized by certain birds—the eagle of the east, the macaw of the north,

20. By contrast, west is of utmost importance to the Huichol as the homeland for the fire god and for the great singer-curiers that taught the Huichol their ceremonialism. See Weigand (1972, note 8) for one such coastally oriented myth.

the parakeet of the west, the duck of the south, and the hummingbird of the zenith.²¹

CORN

Corn, in all of Mexico and most of Latin America, is the staple food, the most important element of life, and hence of the greatest religious and ceremonial importance. If the Rain Fiesta or ceremony is included, 15 prayers out of the 37 are related to corn, 12 of them specifically to corn in sowing, harvesting, or different phases of growth.

Corn or maize is the daughter of Father Sun. The plants bearing two ears, the milpa cuata (twin), are especially prized, and considered the mother of corn. The seeds of the milpa cuata preserved from the preceding harvest are sown first, possibly with some idea of heredity. Sowing is done after the first heavy rain in late May or June, most frequently by the *coamil* method of punching a hole with a sharpened pole and dropping seeds in. A fast of five days must precede sowing, and the prayer to sow corn, Prayer 28, is recited. Beads are put as payment in the four corners of the field and in the center, and pinole meal is sprinkled on the stones of the field altars.

CALENDRIAL CEREMONIES

There are four ceremonies that are celebrated annually at definite calendrical dates. These dates are selected according to the normal annual, seasonal progress of growing corn. Apparently in all cases, two ceremonies were performed about a month apart. The notes are faulty on this point, but "ending" services were generally given about a month after the main ceremony, it seems.

The four calendrical "fiestas" are of the Rain, the Milpa Cuata, the Elotes, and the Pinole. These are held at one of the larger patios, with a dance ring for dancing the mitote, a central fire burning brightly, a chief priest or *cantador mayor* and several *ayudantes* and *responderos* seated within the circle, and an altar to the east. The *cantador* sings all night to his drumming on a taut bow string, singing generally five very long songs with simple tunes, and quantities of permutations on a simple verbal theme. Meanwhile the others dance the mitote around the ring in a counter-clockwise direction.

While preparing for a fiesta the *cantador* takes no food, and drinks no water till mid-afternoon. Others are said to bathe with *amole* roots preceding the fiestas. At a smaller fire to one side, there is always a woman with a large

feathered hat and ear ornaments grinding peyote and preparing other things needed. She is identified with the Green Woman. Cotton for chimales is donated by all the participating families.

The Fiesta of the Rain

The Rain Fiesta is the most important ceremony of all the Indian groups of Northern Mexico, if not of all Mexico. The purpose, of course, is to entreat the deities to send abundant rain for the crops. It had not been held at Azqueltán since about 1904.²² The *cantador* and his *responderos* fast from April 1st to 10th; washing oneself and sexual intercourse are also said to be taboo. On the afternoon of April 5 the *cantador*, *respondero*, and three aides go to the patio at Monte Grande, where the *cantador* recites a prayer (Prayer 1) asking permission to arrange the place. He wears a string of parakeet feathers and a string of beads around his neck for the ceremony. He then arranges the altar with its cloth, feathered arrows, *bastones*, chimales, peyote, and other ritual paraphernalia, and lights the central fire. Soon after darkness he takes his place on his seat and recites the prayer to open the ceremony. This is the longest of all the Tepecan *perdones* and is called the *perdon mayor* (Prayer 2). It must be learned by shamans and all aspiring to that prestige. It is especially long and repetitive, with permutations of key verbs and persons with the cardinal points, and similar ritual. The words of the songs are said to be the same for all fiestas, but the tunes for the Rain Fiesta are different.

After finishing his prayer, the *cantador* seats himself facing the east, inverts a gourd, and on it places his tightly strung bow, the string uppermost, his foot on the grip. Preparing two short sticks he commences to sing, drumming on the bow string. With occasional short intermissions he sings and drums from dusk till dawn, while the communicants dance the mitote singly around the fire in a counter-clockwise direction. There are a number of songs, generally five; since the Rain Fiesta is the most important of all, it is probable that the principal song is (or was) the one of which parts were recorded by Hrdlička and me. Like the prayer, it is very long, with much repetition of some sections, and endless permutations of key verbs and names; it is divided into four or more principal parts addressed to the four cardinal points. Five times during the night, at certain words, the assistants throw water from jícaras to the four cardinals (each of the five participants had brought a bottle of water). The last song is /tonori/, to the sun. Soon after dawn the singing ends, the *cantador* recites the third prayer (that for permission to leave), the sacred ritual paraphernalia are packed up, and the fiesta is over. As in all fiestas, participants leave by a different entrance than that by which they have come, making the last circuit in the opposite—clockwise—direction.

My field notes are equivocal as to the time when, after the ceremony, one of four men journeyed to the sacred Cerro de Colotlán to leave there for the deities two or three arrows, jícaras, chimales, and a *bastón*. The other men went to the patios at Cerro La Pata, Cerro La Leona, and Monte Grande. The *cantador* remained at the patio guarding the fire until their return, when all slept at last. All made five ceremonial circuits of the mitote ground and recited the *perdon mayor* on arrival. It was also reported that the mitote

21. All of these birds are of sacrificial importance to the Huichol also. The hummingbird was extremely important, and the blood from its heart was of central concern in several now rarely performed ceremonies.

22. The Rain Fiesta was held only once again after Mason's fieldwork, about 1921, and not all of the people of the defunct *comunidad* participated. A few people even today maintain that it should be held again. While many older and nearly defunct ceremonies are now being revived among the Huichol, the Tepecan seem far too acculturated for such revivals. For example, the Día de la Bandera fiesta was held at the Huichol pueblo of San Sebastián Teponahuastlán in 1969 after an 18-year lapse. Since the loss of *comunidad* status for Azqueltán during the Díaz period, acculturation has proceeded very quickly.

is repeated on May 5, to give thanks, but without depositing the sacred objects at Cerro de Colotlán. The May ritual is held at Cerro La Pata. All fires must be carefully extinguished, as the hot rising smoke would interfere with the rain. For the same reason, no red beads are used in the jícaras and other paraphernalia.

The Fiesta of the Elotes

The fiesta of the green corn, or *elotes*, is said to have been held at Cerro Mezquital on September 5 and October 5. Except for the prayers, and probably the song tunes, it apparently differs in no important respect from the Rain Fiesta. The *cantador* must wash himself clean, and must fast from the first of the month to the tenth according to one statement, or for the entire month according to another, also observing strict silence. The *cantador* recites a special prayer on arrival at the patio, asking permission to hold the ceremony. Like the other two similar prayers of the Milpa Cuata and the Pinole, it is addressed to the Gúia and the Morning Star before the Father and Mother. This and the opening prayer contain little of note and might belong to any fiesta. The closing prayer is more interesting, speaking of the corn daughter of Father and Mother, and giving thanks for permission to roast and eat her.²³

The main actors in the Fiesta of the Elotes are the *cantador* and his *respondero*, and two children representing the Morning Star and the star that rises just before it. On the altar to the east, in addition to the usual paraphernalia, there are five cooked ears of corn, probably still warm, though boiled some hours ago; the *cantador* eats none. Several times during the night, the *lucero* takes the five *elotes* from the altar and offers them to the four winds, replacing them on the altar. The standard songs used at the other three fiestas are sung. When the morning star appears, the *lucero* offers the *elotes* to the cardinal points again, and he makes the five ceremonial rounds of the mitote; he then places the *elotes* on the altar. As soon as the sun rises, all sit and eat. The *lucero* eats two and the other three eat one apiece. Chimales representing the sun and moon are displayed on the altar.

The Fiesta of the Pinole

The Pinole Fiesta is one of the lesser ones, celebrating the pinole, or dried corn meal. It may be considered as finishing the season. Probably because not much preparation is required, it was still being celebrated when I was in Azqueltán in 1913; I was able to attend it on January 13, since it had been postponed from the regular date of January 5 (see Mason 1912a).

The patio or dance ground is a flat place on an eminence roughly circular, about 30 feet in diameter and cleared of all stones and plant life. At the periphery is the circular path for the dancers; toward the east it becomes elongated, like the neck of a pear, to encircle the altar a few feet outside of the ring. This altar is a rough structure of rude stone, about five feet wide and a foot in height, roughly circular and flat on

top. In the center of the ring a fire is kept burning, and at a radius of about seven feet is a ring of seven large stones, partly sunk in the earth, that serve as seats for the principal participants. Outside the dance ring is another and larger fire for the comfort of the populace. A white embroidered cloth known as a *tapexte* is erected as a background to the altar, on which are placed beaded jícaras, chimales, fetishes, ritual arrows, *bastones*, peyote, and other objects of sacred ritual. All communicants make five ceremonial counterclockwise circuits of the fire and pause before the altar to recite a prayer before taking part in the ceremonies.

To open the ceremony, the *cantador* offers peyote water to the four cardinal points, accompanied by a prayer. Then he removes from the altar several of the ceremonial arrows with pendent eagle feathers, and, seating himself on one of the seats, faces the altar to the east. With two assistants on either side, each with an arrow, they all together point the arrows to the four cardinal points (first east, then north, west, and south) while reciting a standard formula. Holding the arrows toward the east on return, the *cantador* then recites the long *perdon mayor*. The arrows are again pointed to the cardinal points and returned to the altar.

Then, taking his tightly strung bow, he places the grip part on top of an inverted gourd as resonator, holding it in position with one foot, the string uppermost, and drums upon it with two small sticks. Thus he drums and sings with short intermissions until dawn. Five songs with intermissions occupy about 10 hours. Meanwhile the rest of the communicants dance individually counterclockwise around the fire, each with individual patterns of steps. After the conclusion of the songs, all are given pinole to eat. The *cantador* and his helpers then begin to bring the fiesta to a close by pointing the arrows in the four cardinal directions, and uttering a prayer, just as before the commencement of the singing.

The *cantador* closes the fiesta by purifying all present. He takes a basket from the altar and from it distributes to all a few small *chuales* or tamales made of black corn. One he breaks into six parts, throwing one to each of the cardinal points, one to the zenith, and the last one to the middle of the group of men. Then, standing at the altar with a cup in which several pieces of peyote are floating, he waves a ceremonial arrow with pendent eagle feathers over the head of each person, ending the motion with a stroke to each of the cardinal points and the zenith, thus exorcising all sins and troubles to the ends of the earth. With an eagle feather, he then sprinkles peyote water from the cup over the heads and in the hands of each, and the rest of the water is sprinkled over the altar, the seats, the fire, and the attendants. The Guardian of the Fire applies the last few drops of peyote water to the *cantador*. When the five ceremonial circuits of the patio are completed, all leave and the service is ended. On reaching the altar on the last circuit, the men reverse and retrace their footsteps, going in a clockwise direction to the northern entrance to the patio. The women do not step in front of the altar this last time, but wait until the men have turned and fall in at the end of the procession.

The Fiesta of the Milpa Cuata

The milpa cuata—both Aztec (Nahua) words, *milpa* meaning ‘cornfield,’ *cuate* ‘twin’—is a corn plant that

23. At this point in the manuscript, Mason added some handwritten notes that record some of the ritual paraphernalia used during the fiesta: two chimales, one representing the Sun and one representing the Moon (Guadalupe); two arrows; one jícara; and *idolos* on the altar.

bears two ears. Thus giving double production, it is a prized object, worthy of veneration and worship. It is considered male; all the usual corn plants are female. While probably not exclusively a Tepecan or Tepehuan concept, the celebration of a special fiesta in its honor seems to be a Tepecan peculiarity.²⁴ Its celebration entails some unusual features, including an extra fourth prayer or "call." At harvest time each man gathers his stalks with a special prayer (Prayer 29), binds them together, and fastens them to his house roof. Many of them were brought to the fiesta. Like most Tepecan fiestas, that of the Milpa Cuata is celebrated twice, on March 5 and March 10. This is at about the peak of the dry season. It is held in a cave or rock shelter, the first one in the *patio mayor* of La Pata, the second in the *patio menor* of Mezquitil. The *cantador* must fast from February 15 until the fiesta. All participants are said to have bathed before partaking in the fiesta.

The Milpa Cuata fiesta requires another man to take a prominent part in it; he is called in Spanish the *dueño* (master, owner). It is his duty (*cargo*) to supply the venison later consumed and much of the milpa cuata. Probably for that reason the fiesta had not been celebrated at Azqueltán for about four years. The two deer must be caught in a net, not shot. The entire deer is cooked, boiled, including the head. At the fiesta the *dueño* wears a *plumero* of heron (*uracal*, bluejay?) feathers and carries his machete prominently, but he does not form one of the five usual principals at a fiesta. He also is supposed to have fasted for a month. He is constantly accompanied by a small boy dressed to represent the Morning Star.²⁵

The *cantador* is said to fast for 30 days before this fiesta. At the altar are sheafs of milpa cuata and *chuales* made of venison and corn dough. The *dueño* makes three little figures of corn dough and places them on the altar; these are in the form of hares or rabbits, mother and daughter. Deer meat is cooked at a fire outside of the mitote ring. At five times during the night the sheafs of milpa cuata are lifted with rejoicing, carried to the four quarters, and there raised on high. It is probably that the *dueño* gave his call also these five times. Also during each of the songs the *lucero* carries the milpa cuata around the five ceremonial circuits of the

dance ground. This cry is short, beautiful, and so different in feeling from the others that I repeat it here:

Come, brethren! Come cleansed and with your sandals donned. Let us listen to the stranger who comes running. He comes running from out of the yellow broom-grass. He comes speaking from the slopes of the dark hills. Beautifully arrayed with his plumes he comes running. He carries his bow and arrow; and likewise his wrist-guard. Then, having listened to him who comes running and speaking from afar, let us go hence. Yea!

Then he himself starts to run, eastward, with all in pursuit. Possibly he is imitating the deer. Those who overtake him pretend to fight with him. The first man seizes his *plumero* and runs five times around the mitote circuit with it.

Then all return to the patio to eat the deer-meat */chuales/*. The man who got the *dueño's* *plumero* gets the largest hare figure; the next, the next largest; and so on. No salt may be eaten until the end of the fiesta. Meanwhile, at daybreak, the sheaf of milpa cuata has been broken open and husked by the *lucero*. Pinole water is sprinkled on everyone.

SONGS

All ceremonies are accompanied by long songs, lasting an hour or more. These are sung by the *cantador*, his verses repeated by his *responderos*. Despite great endeavor, I could secure no song in even partial form, or in any form out of which a regular order could be derived. Most of the songs were too imperfectly remembered and the meaning of a number of the important words seems to have been forgotten.²⁶ All songs have a regular pattern, however, consisting largely of interminable minor changes rung upon a main theme. The songs at most of the fiestas seem to number five, the last one of which is to the sun.

The song most remembered is, of course, that of the Rain Fiesta. This was partly copied by Hrdlička (1903: 424–25), and begins:

Hā-va-ū tu-tā vi ka-ma ši-hanj-du

Like me, he was unable to get a translation; I never learned what *šihanjdu* means. The phrases refer to the beauty of the clouds, the clouds like feather down, the green fields, the voice (thunder), the lightning, and the health-bringing rain.²⁷

LEGENDARY HISTORY

The ancient territory of the Tepecan, it is claimed, extended to Malacate near San Cristóbal de la Barranca, to the south, and to Sierra de Morones near Colotlán to the east. It included all the barranca of the Río Colotlán and extended a little beyond that town. To the north it extended to Mezquitic. The inhabitants of San Pedro Nostic and Monte Escobedo were Mexicans.²⁸ Mezquitic, Colotlán, Monte Escobedo, Salitre,²⁹ Huejucar, Talcuazaba, Momox, Tlaltenango, Cicacualco, Tepocitlán, Tepachitlán, Santa María del Teul, San Juan del Teul, Estanzuela, Florencio, and San Cristóbal de la Barranca all were Tepecan. Santiago, Totatiche, Temastián, Chimaltitán, Bolaños, and Huejucar were Mexican, as were Acazpulco, Cocuazco, Huilacatitlán, Huejotitán, Camotlán and Apozalco.³⁰

24. This ceremony used to be held by at least some Huichol groups, but I never could ascertain with certainty when it was last performed.
25. There is a possibility that these small boys were sacrificed during the ceremonies in preconquest times. A Huichol myth I collected in San Sebastián contains such a reference.
26. In many contemporary Huichol ritual songs, the retention of archaic vocabulary and phrases complicates the song patterns.
27. Here Mason referred to appended music for the main theme of this song; this section of the manuscript is missing.
28. They were Tlaxcaltecan in this case (Velázquez 1961), although occasionally they have been called Mexicaneros.
29. Salitre is now called Villa Guerrero and is the head of the municipio of the same name. Azqueltán is located within this new municipio.
30. Some of these place names are repeated twice, that is, as both Mexican and Tepecan. However, no real confusion exists since many Mexicans were settled in Tepecan towns after the Conquest and thus these towns can have mixed Indian traditions (Velázquez 1961). Some that Mason mentions as solely Mexican also had Tepecan roots. Others, especially Tlaltenango and San Juan del Teul, may have had Tepecan residents but were Cazcan towns. In addition, the Spanish thought that the Tepehuan of the Colotlán region were distinct from the Bolaños Valley Tepecan, although this may only reflect the fact of the formers' rather early acculturation.

The boundary was more or less a straight line from Zacatecas to Colotlán, then by the Sierra de Morones to a point called Malacate near Mezquital del Oro, to San Martín, and to Azqueltán. It never extended west of the western hills of the Bolaños Valley. Totatiche was called /vapaktam/ (place of reeds), and Temastián /gogartam/.

The nearest Huichol village is Maguey, six leagues to the west; La Cienaga is the most distant.³¹ The nearest Cora (/ku'ur/) are at Mesa Nayar and Jesús María, four and a half days' travel. Their languages are different both from each other and from Tepecan. The Tepecan resemble the Cora more than they do the Huichol.³² Other Tepehuan are to the north, six days' journey, in four pueblos, Santa María Ocotán (the largest), San Francisco de las Jícaras, Joconostle, and Marihuata. Their language differs only slightly, mainly in accent, from that of the Tepecan, and is understood perfectly. Few Tepecan had visited that region, but my principal informant, Eleno Aguilar, had gone there in his youth. According to him, they spoke too fast.

There were in 1913 probably less than 100 Tepecan, about half of whom could speak the language; most of the children did not speak it.³³ When the first Spanish priests came to convert the Tepecan, the majority of them resisted and fled to the north. The region to the south, near Teul, was abandoned. The emigrants are now at Santa María Ocotán, San Francisco, and Teneraca. My principal informant claimed that others migrated far to the north, to a Río Colorado. The *cantador mayor* denied this, claiming that the Río Colorado people are different; this probably refers to the Northern Tepehuan.³⁴ The abandoned regions were occupied by Mexicans, Tlaxcaltecas for the most part. Soon after the northern migration, a great plague wiped out the majority of those who remained, and the remnants gathered in the northern part of their former habitat, around San Pedro Nostic, Temastián, Acapulco, Huilacatiltlán, and Cocuazco.

Twice the *mecos* (Chichimecas) came from Santa María Ocotán, seeking to get possession of a sacred image of San Lorenzo. The first battle began at San Juan Soltán and fighting continued as far as the Cerro de la Vivora. At the Cerro

de Colotlán, the priests were singing and sacrificed an unbaptized child to the sun. The sun came down, appearing as a stone wolf. It devoured the child and stood still, making the *mecos* intoxicated on a white hill so that they fought with each other and were defeated. When the sun returned, he left his image there in the form of the stone wolf that is still there. The victorious Tepecan made cairns of stone, three at the Cerro de Colotlán, others at San Juan Soltán, a stone for each dead *meco*.

The first pueblo in the neighborhood of Azqueltán was San Juan Soltán, or /isolta búpustám/, about two hours' journey from Azqueltán. San Juan appeared there. Most of the inhabitants died of cholera and the new village of Azqueltán (/tótonartám/) was founded. The Spanish named it San Lorenzo de Azqueltán since San Lorenzo appeared in a *nopalero* (clump of nopal cacti) on the site where the church is now (Nahua: Azqueltán, "place of *azqueles*," a small biting red ant, because the people were so numerous). There are 12 *sitios de ganado mayor* (cattle) around Salitre,³⁵ and twelve *sitios de ganado menor* (goats) around Azqueltán. About the year 1900 half the population of Azqueltán, some 40 persons, left the town because of poverty and the high price of corn, and emigrated south about three days' journey to San Pablo on the Río de Alicia near Pochotitán.³⁶

The natives always refer to themselves as Tepehuan, and the name Tepecan or Tepecano is unknown to the majority of them.³⁷ In my first report on them, therefore, I referred to them as the Tepehuan of Azqueltán. On my second visit, one of the patriarchs of the group surprised me by informing me that the true name of the tribe is Tepecan. Unconverted, unbaptized natives, principally those of earlier days, are termed *mecos*, probably an abbreviation of *Chichimecos*, but the term seems to be also applied to the Southern Tepehuan, who are Christianized. The Aztecs are thought to have passed through this region in their migrations. They came with an eagle from the west. At every place where the eagle alighted they painted a lake with a painted eagle in the middle of the lake. First they founded Ocotán, but there was not sufficient room, so they went to Temastián and did the same. On the Mesa at Temastián and the Mesa de las Golondrinas there are remains of pueblos. The Tepecan believe that in the middle of each ruin is an eagle with a snake on a *nopal*, laid in the pavement. To each cardinal point there are two streets, well paved, lined with foundations of houses. The Mexicans also settled above Villanueva. Then they went to Mexico City, found sufficient room, and settled there. The eagle is thought to be still alive there. The Indian King (*el rey indio*) still lives in Tlaxcala, the great headquarters of the Indians; he is king of all the Indians. He never dies, for he is not a Christian of this world.

FOLK DANCES

Several of the popular secular folk dances were known to the Tepecan. The *Mecos* and the *Bailadores* were performed, probably by visiting groups, within the last few years. The *Bailadores* dance with palms and plumes and made a prettier show than the *Mecos*. There were six different steps and tunes: (1) *Santa Cruz*; (2) *Travaderas* (dancing by catching the toe of one foot behind the heel of the other); (3) *pisados abreviadas*; (4) *pisadas muy aprisas*; (5)

31. The old *comunidad* of Azqueltán directly bordered the Huichol *comunidad* of San Sebastián. Now, *vecinos* have colonized most of the mountain areas between the two. One ejido (Amoles) and several large rancherías exist in the mountains. At Barranca de Tules, a semiactive Cristero group still operates and occasionally raids the Azqueltán region for cattle.

32. In outward appearances, especially in behavior toward *vecinos* and in dress, this statement is true.

33. In 1966, there were about 225 in the village on both sides of the Río Bolaños, about 15 of whom could still speak Tepecan, although only fragmentarily at best.

34. This Río Colorado could be the one near the town of Chalchihuites, Zacatecas, where Southern Tepehuan were settled at the time of Conquest. See Kelley and Abbott (1966) and Weigand (1968) for a discussion of the archaeology of that region, and Riley and Winters (1963) for a discussion of the possible archaeological roots of the Tepehuan.

35. Salitre, now Villa Guerrero, is still a major cattle center for the region, and goats are still very important in the economy of Azqueltán. Many Azqueltán residents, though, have moved or are moving to Villa Guerrero as they step out of the *campesino-peon* roles into those of cattle owners, merchants, or store operators. Azqueltán is a low prestige residence area.

36. Many of these migrants returned to Azqueltán, Mason recalled.

37. The nickname *cano* is occasionally used.

vívora (a jump with one foot); (6) *el muerto* or *tecolote*. My notes do not indicate clearly whether these steps were for the Mecos or the Bailadores dance. Los Danzantes and Los Pastores depict scenes typical of the birth of Christ. Los Pastores was danced by a group of Tepecan on Epiphany Sunday, January 7, 1912.

CURING

Although anyone may practice curing, it is said that to become an accomplished *curandero* one must fast for seven days every Christmas for five years, then go to the church and beg health, wisdom, memory, and understanding, and light a candle for María Santísima. There were said to be several good Tepecan *curanderos* in 1913.³⁸

The patient is laid on his back and the doctor stands at his feet. He blows tobacco smoke to the cardinal points and recites a prayer. Then he blows smoke on five parts of the man's body, hands, feet, and forehead, and strokes the body toward the ailing part. He sucks vigorously five times at this place and extracts an object such as a worm, a small stone, or a piece of wood. If blood accompanies it, the man has been sickened by the dead, if only spittle, by the *chanes*. Smoke is blown on the afflicted part five times and the cure is effected. The object is palmed and made to disappear. The *curandero* then cleans his mouth well and recites another prayer, facing west. If the first treatment is unsuccessful, it is repeated every third day, reciting a different prayer each time.

The *curandero* bathes and then fasts for seven days, and in a dream he learns whether the patient is ill from natural causes (including God) or through witchcraft. Feeling the patient's joints also helps the *curandero* in his decision. If it is witchcraft, he gets four arrows and a *bastón* and places the arrows in the ground around the prostrate patient—above the head, below the feet and at either side of the head. Then he takes the one to the left of the head and carries it to the foot. Taking one in either hand, he raises them to east, north, west, south, and zenith, and bends over the man. He recites the appropriate prayer, makes a ceremonial turn around the patient, blows on him, and replaces the arrows, two at the head and two at the feet. He goes to the right side, bends over and sucks, then continues to the head to see the cause of the illness, spitting in his hand. He repeats this five times, returning each time counterclockwise around the man and reciting the prayer. Then he raises all the arrows, two in each hand, and gives the man a final cleansing with them all. A good *curandero* can sometimes cure a patient in three suckings, extracting such things as nails from the joints. If not, the treatment is continued every three days.

BLACK MAGIC

In order to bewitch an enemy antagonist, to harm him with cunning, one makes use of the dead. To bewitch a person so that he may come to an end soon, one makes a

doll or figure of cotton and carries it to the graveyard to bury it. This is done on Monday at midnight after fasting. A candle of suet is cut into five pieces, and every Monday midnight, after fasting, a piece is lighted at the head of a corpse. On the fifth Monday, when the last piece is flickering out, the cotton figure is given five blows with a black river stone. Then the bewitcher runs away quickly before the candle goes out. Soon, little by little, the enemy sickens, and he dies at the end of five months.

Another method of bewitching is to make a figure of cotton with head, arms, legs, and mouth, wrapping it with raveled threads from shrouds. Five spines are stuck in the heart and others to the head. Soon the culprit falls ill with stomach trouble; his heart decays and he dies. Or, one makes a figure of clay and buries it at noon in a nest of ants, after fasting until that time, praying to the souls of the dead and saying the creed seven times. A bit of a wax candle is lighted and when that goes out the ants swarm out. In five days the man is covered with pimples, boils, and wheals, and soon he dies. In addition, in order to get revenge on a foe who can be harmed in no other way, one gets a bone from the right hand of a dead man and hides it behind the enemy's house, or clandestinely sticks it in the straw roof of his house where no one will see it. In the night he will see a black bulk, and the following night a dreadful specter caterwauling behind the house. The frightening apparitions will continue until the bone is removed, and, if it is not, all the occupants of the house will soon die of fright and of fear of noxious animals, of serpents, of centipedes, of *vinegrillos* (vinagaroons), of tarantulas, of spiders, of *capulinas* (a variety of spider) and of scorpions.

There are two methods of acquiring the love of a reluctant woman. The lover makes two figures of cotton and binds them to a dead man's bone with white, red, and black silk threads. At any hour the woman may come running and weeping to him. Or the lover may merely take a suet candle to the cemetery at noon and light it there. The girl will soon agree.

To beg riches of the hills, a man fasts seven days for María Santísima. While fasting, he goes to church at night with a candle worth two *reales*, lights it, and recites the traditional prayer. After finishing this fast he rests and eats for two or three days, bathes, and then fasts for 40 days. Then he goes to one of the sacred patios, taking a gourd decorated with beads and with some larger beads as offerings. There he recites the prayer again. He fills a water gourd with water and carries it to his cornfield where, while reciting the prayer a third time, he pours some water at the four corners and in the middle of the field. Then he sows his corn and soon becomes very rich. Every five years, on May 5, he repeats the rites. Naturally, he never goes to confession.

To beg riches of the Devil, one must fast seven days for María Santísima. He takes a candle worth two *reales* to the church to beg permission. Then he takes his suet candles to the church graveyard and illuminates the holy cross there, for the souls of the dead. Next, after fasting 40 days for the Devil, he goes to the Arroyo de la Víbora; placing the lighted candle in his anus, he stands on his head until it goes out, and he cries five times, "Friend Devil: Come out here; I want to see you." Soon the Devil appears in the form of a

38. There was only one man who would say that he was a *curandero* in Azqueltán in 1966, though of course there may well be more. The Huichol *curanderos*, however, especially those of San Sebastián, have tremendous prestige now and probably also had before.

bull, and they begin to practice bullfighting. At the fifth pass the Devil changes into a curate. Then the man begs him for wealth. The Devil takes him to his abode. The Devil gives him a rope which is really a snake, with which he ropes in turn a cow, a bull, a mule, a mare, a pig, and a turkey; all are so fierce that he has to let them go. Then he is given five *carbones* (lumps of charcoal). He is told to make a little case and put the carbones in it. At night he can hear the noise of the money pouring, and in five days the case is full. He then begins to search for money in the hills and finds it everywhere; in three years, he is very rich. He lives 30 years and goes to Hell. Meanwhile, he goes to Mass but not to confession.³⁹

REFERENCES

- Covarrubias, Miguel
1957 *Indian Art of Mexico and Central America*. New York: Knopf.
- Hrdlička, Alěš
1903 The Region of the Ancient Chichimecos, with Notes on the Tepecanos and the Ruin of La Quemada, Mexico. *American Anthropologist* 5(3): 384–440.
- Jones, J.
1962 Tepecano House Types. *The Kiva* 27(4): 24–27.
- Kelley, J. Charles, and Ellen Abbott
1966 The Cultural Sequence of the North Central Frontier of Mesoamerica. *36th Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Actas y Memorias* I: 325–44. Sevilla.
- Lumholtz, Carl S.
1903 *Unknown Mexico* (Vol. II). London: Macmillan.
- Mason, J. Alden
1912a The Fiesta of the Pinole at Azqueltán. *The Museum Journal* 3: 44–50.
1912b Four Mexican-Spanish Fairy-tales from Azqueltán, Jalisco. *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 25: 191–98.
- 1912c Los Indios Tepehuanes de Azqueltán. *Report of the Escuela Internacional de Arqueología y Etnología Americanas*, pp. 19–20.
- 1912d The Tepehuan Indians of Azqueltán. *Proceedings, 18th International Congress of Americanists*, pp. 344–51. London.
- 1914 Folk-Tales of the Tepecanos. *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 27: 148–210.
- 1917 Tepecano, a Piman Language of Western Mexico. *Annals of the New York Academy of Science* 25: 309–416.
- 1918 Tepecano Prayers. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 1: 91–153.
- 1920 Practicas Goeticas entre los Tepecanos. *Ethnos* 1: 86–87.
- 1922 The Chief Singer of the Tepecano. *American Indian Life*, pp. 203–36.
- 1948 The Tepehuan and the Other Aborigines of the Mexican Sierra Madre Occidental. *América Indígena* 8: 288–300.
- 1959 The Tepehuan of Northern Mexico. *Amerikanistische Miscellen, Festband Franz Termer, Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg* 25: 92–96.
- Myerhoff, Barbara
1968 The “Deer-Maize” Peyote Complex Among the Huichol Indians of Mexico. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Riley, Carroll L., and Howard D. Winters
1963 The Prehistoric Tepehuan of Northern Mexico. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 19(2): 177–85.
- Satterthwaite, Linton
1969 John Alden Mason 1885–1967. *American Anthropologist* 71(5): 871–79.
- Velázquez, María del Carmen
1961 Colotlán. Doble Frontera Contra los Barbaros. *Cuadernos del Instituto de Historia, Serie Histórica* 3. Mexico.
- Weigand, Phil C.
1968 The Mines and Mining Techniques of the Chalchihuites Culture. *American Antiquity* 33(1): 45–61.
1970 Possible Historical References in Huichol Legends to Río Bolaños Sites and La Quemada. Ms., SUNY at Stony Brook, New York.
1972 Cooperative Labor Groups in Subsistence Activities Among the Huichol Indians. *Mesoamerican Studies* 7. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Museum.

39. Dr. Mason had originally intended to write a concluding section to the manuscript, but he never did. He wanted to place the Tepecan ceremonialism in the context of that of the Tepehuan and other north Mexican groups and to draw comparisons between them and the United States southwestern pueblos.