Under Mt. Zempoalt6petl Highland Mixe Society and Ritual

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by

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Introduction

This is an ethnographic account of the highland Mixe society of Oaxaca, Mexico, based on 24 months of fieldwork I conducted from January 1973 to January 1975 in the villages of Tlahuitoltepec and Ayutla. This mountainous state, situated in the southeast of Mexico, is densely populated by Indians whose traditional societies and cultures are destined to be changed by the impact of modernization programs promoted by Mexico. The Mixe are one such ethnic group. They have remained relatively unknown, overshadowed by the Zapotec, their economically and culturally dominant neighbors. "The invincible people who never surrendered to the Spaniards" and "the Indians who practice sacrifice" have been labels applied to the Mixe. In the 1960s and early 1970s, when the government began to focus its Indian policy on the ethnic groups in the "regions for refugees" [AGUIRRE BELTRÁN 1967], the Mixe became the problem Indians [see VILLA ROJAS 1971 : 234] and began to attract the attention of anthropologists as well as the government agencies.

Some 70,000 Mixe Indians [NOLASCO 1972: Cuadro 2], who call themselves the *ayuuk*, inhabit northeastern Oaxaca, subdivided into highland, midland and lowland Mixe. Several highland Mixe villages are dispersed deep in the mountains of Oaxaca, in the shadow of some 10,000-foot Mt . Zempoaltépetl (*ipxyukp*, "20 summits"). The Mixe of this locality, where I did my fieldwork, believe that "Rey Kondoy," their culture hero, who is believed to live in Zempoaltépetl [MILLER 1956: 109], will rush to their children whenever they need help. In 1973 and 1974 a road was being extended to the villages at the foot of Zempoaltépetl. The mountain sides were dynamited, and the resultant landslides caused fear and anxiety among the Mixe, who thus became aware of the challenge posed by the New Age to their traditional way of life that had evolved under the sacred mountain from time immemorial.

When the road was opened, the Mixe expressed their sense of insecurity, saying, "Rey Kondoy got angry in the cave of Zempoaltépetl." They did not dare to say that Rey Kondoy, who is regarded as an invincible hero, would protect his children. Initially they were unable to analyse their situation, but gradually they decided to confront the impact of modernization. It happened that I was conducting fieldwork among the highland Mixe during these years, and I decided that it was of the utmost importance to provide an ethnographic account of the Mixe during this critical period of their history.

Among literature on the Mixe [BALLESTEROS y RODRÍGUEZ 1974; BEALS 1945; MILLER 1956; NAHMAD 1965; SCHMIEDER 1930; and some articles], this is the first study based on intensive fieldwork. I intentionally write this monograph as an

ethnographic account, since a detailed description of the Mixe community is urgently required to fill a gap in Mesoamerican ethnography. Although the previous studies provide valuable information on this ethnic group, the Mixe are relatively unstudied compared with the neighboring Mitla and Yalálag Zapotec, superbly documented by Parsons [1936] and de la Fuente [1949] respectively. Considering the increasing impact of the modern Mexican society, I believe that little time remains for the documentation of highland Mixe society and culture. While describing Tlahuitoltepec (hereafter Tlahui) and Ayutla, I have endeavored to include as many data as possible on the relationship between the Mixe and the Zapotec, another gap in the ethnography of Oaxaca. The economic dominance of the Zapotec over the Mixe is treated in Chapter 3, and throughout the monograph, I have tried to note the social and cultural influences of the Zapotec on the Mixe.

My main purpose is to provide an ethnographic description of highland Mixe social organization and rituals, and to document the process of change that they are undergoing. My fieldwork was carried out in the communities of Tlahui[1] and Ayutla, both of which are "corporate communities," though not "closed" any more [see WOLF 1957]. To construct a model of the highland Mixe community I use the civil-religious organization and the fiesta system as principal factors, for several reasons.

Mesoamerica, unlike African tribal societies and East Asian peasant societies, lacks any solid supra-family kinship organization like descent groups or corporate kin groups which function to bridge the family and the community. G. M. Foster's model for the social structure of the Mexican peasant community of Tzintzuntzan, the *dyadic contract*, applies to the non-Indian (*mestizo*) peasant village, as Foster himself points out [1961: 1173, 1963: 1280], but not to the Indian peasant communities like those of the Mixe. A sense of contract in the social and ritual contexts is still underdeveloped in Mixe society, and the dyadic contract is a model of the society toward which the Mixe will evolve in the long run. In the Indian community we find polarization between social relations at the family level, including kindred and

1. The choice of Tlahui to represent the traditional highland villages was based on the following reasons: There are nine peripheral communities in the Mixe highlands: Metepec, Huitepec, Yacochi, Mixistlán, Chichicaxtepec, Tlahui, Tamazulapam, Tepantlali, and Tepuxtepec. I chose Tlahui because it shows tenacity of tradition despite its proximity to Ayutla, whereas the villages deep in the highlands are not always traditional (Chichicaxtepec, for example, is more mestizoized than Tlahui owing to frequent communication with Yalálag, a Zapotec market center.); Tlahui is an open-type village which admits outsiders (Tamazulapam, for example, although adjacent to Ayutla, is a closed-type village which makes the access of outsiders difficult.); Tlahui has a reasonable concentration of population in the center of the municipio, where a fieldworker can make daily contacts when unable to visit remote ranchos (Metepec, Huitepec, Yacochi, Mixistlán, and Tepuxtepec do not fulfill this condition.); Tlahui is the parish center, with a resident priest whose presence guarantees the regular practice of the annual rituals of folk Catholicism; in 1973 and 1974 Tlahui was free from any political disorder (Mixistlán, for example, was in turmoil owing to disputes between two factions struggling for the legitimacy of the municipal title.); and, finally, I had also to study Ayutla and therefore needed a village which could be reached on foot without much difficulty, regardless of weather conditions.

compadrazgo relations, and the community level, whose bulwark is the civil-religious organization established in Colonial times for community administration and management of the annual Catholic fiestas [CARRASCO 1961]. The civil-religious organization, as the pivotal indicator of the Indian community structure, has been carefully described and discussed [CÁMARA 1952; NASH, M. 1958, 1964; TAX 1952; WAGLEY 1949; WOLF 1959, to mention only major authors].

Recently, five authors have extended our understanding of the same organization. Cancian [1965] analyses the highly stratified religious cargo system of Zinacantan. Rus and Wasserstrom [1980: 466–472, 475] explain the hierarchical Zinacantan cargo system as a product of the forced response of the Zinacantecos to the needs and offers of the Chiapas economy dominated by plantation interests. In the late nineteenth century many Zinacantecos were forced to live as itinerant peddlers or as peons on cattle ranches in the Grijalva River valley, and their *cofradia* system, which needs a great number of adult members, collapsed; in response, the personal sponsorship of fiestas began to take form, and it became elaborate, as in its current form in the early twentieth century, when Zinacantecos had to switch from working on plantations to becoming sharecroppers of the land held by ranchers, thus acquiring the higher income necessary to afford the expenditures for the fiestas. Smith [1977] discusses the decline and transformation of the fiesta system in response to the economic change in Guatemalan Mayan communities, and Warren [1978] discusses the changing Indian identity, partly as a transition from the civil-religious hierarchy to the new order. The stratified model of the Zinacantan religious cargo system helps me to set up the Mixe model of the fiesta economy which supports the civil and religious organizations.

What characterizes Tlahui in its social organization is that the civil and religious organizations are interwoven with the "egalitarian" fiesta economy, in which expenditures are distributed evenly so that particular members of the community are not economically overburdened. This contrasts strongly with the hierarchical prestige economy reported as typical in the Zinacantan center, where the hierarchical ordering of religious cargos runs parallel to the degrees of prestige attained by sponsoring religious fiestas [CANCIAN 1965]. The egalitarian fiesta economy is so closely matched with the highland Mixe economy in the peripheral market villages that the *mayordomias*, the individual sponsorship of the Catholic fiestas, have only barely caught on in Tlahui and the other highland Mixe villages.[2]

With the civil and religious organizations as a framework for ritual activities, the people of Tlahui enrich their community life with the annual cycles of religious fiestas, the rituals of the officials, and still-experimental national fiestas. On the other hand, family and individual rituals are practiced by the family, kindred, and *compadres*, and their ritual processes move between the two poles of Mixe sacrifice complex and Catholic rituals.

In contrast to Tlahui, Ayutla, the central market village, is the only highland

2. In the 1930s Yacochi had only one mayordomo, Tepuxtepec two, and Tamazulapam two [BEALS 1945: 79].

village that had a considerable number of mayordomías prior to 1962. Between 1933, when Beals conducted his fieldwork, and 1973–74, when I undertook field studies, the civil organization became separated from the religious one, and the mayordomías were transformed after the model of the egalitarian fiesta economy of the Tlahui type. While making this modification, Ayutla presents a delicate balance between its inclination for the mayordomías and the egalitarian fiesta economy. In other words, Ayutla oscillates between the two models of the fiesta economy. This oscillation cannot be understood in the context of the Tlahui–Ayutla relationship. Leach [1954] tries to understand the Kachin *gumsa* model as a structural variable between the *gumlao* and Shan models. In the same way, the Ayutla model can be understood only as a variable between the egalitarian Tlahui model and the Mitla Zapotec model of the competitive mayordomías [PARSONS 1936: 192–200, Chapter 6], although they are much more modest than those in Zinacantan [CANCIAN 1965]. I point out this viewpoint as a possible way of interpreting the mayordomías in Ayutla. However, in this monograph, which is focused on Mixe ethnography, I do not discuss the Zapotec model but try to delineate the change of the fiesta system and the civil-religious organization in Ayutla in its relation to Tlahui.

Ritual changes accompanied this social organizational change in Ayutla. I attempt to describe and comment on how the changes in rituals emerged: decline of family and individual rituals, strong influence of the missionaries on the religious fiestas, simplification and secularization of the religious fiestas, politicization of the rituals of the officials, and advent of national fiestas.[3]

I conducted field research as follows. On December 12, 1972, the day of Guadalupe, I visited Ayutla for the first time, and on January 15, 1973 I began to live there and continued the fieldwork in the Mixe region until January 15, 1975, so that I could cover the two annual cycles in Tlahui and Ayutla. In Ayutla the family of *Nan*. Petronila Ramírez Olivera kindly offered me a corner of their single room, which enabled me to learn many things about Mixe life which otherwise would have escaped my notice. After six months I was well-adjusted to Mixe life and prepared to extend my study to the remoter villages of the highlands. My first visit to Tlahui was early in February 1973. In September 1973 I first visited the other villages past Tlahui deep in the highlands. After November 1973 my main interest centered on Tlahui. In December 1973 I traveled back and forth between Ayutla and Tlahui to observe and participate in the rituals in both villages. I lived in Ayutla, but I spent many days and nights in Tlahui and often traveled to Metepec, Chichicaxtepec, and Mixistlán. Since I traveled only a few times to the middle and lower elevations inhabited by the Mixe, my knowledge of this ethnic group is limited to those of the highlands. Participant-observation is the technique I used for the fieldwork. Since my knowledge of the Mixe language was not beyond the elementary level, data were

3. Throughout this study, owing to my limited fieldwork, the civil and religious organizations and the community rituals are relatively well-covered, whereas kinship, family, and individual rituals remain rather unexplored. Native curing and pilgrimages, in particular, are left for future study.

acquired using Spanish and the assistance of young bilingual Mixe. My second visit to the Mixe region took place in 1976; from October 1–9, I stayed in Tlahui to obtain further data required for the completion of this monograph.

Throughout the book, transcription of Mixe terms follows Spanish pronunciation, which may not be ideal, but it is used in preference to the transcription given by the Summer Institute of Linguistics [1966], which proved too complex for present purposes. I used the editing style, used widely in Mesoamerican ethnology, of minimizing italics for words of another language. Thus, I eliminated the italics for the Spanish words that most English readers are able to handle, and for the more specialized Spanish words after the italics have been used once and established.

I was ambivalent as to the choice of using real names or pseudonyms for the villages, but I chose the former for the reason that in Mesoamerican monographs pseudonyms have rarely been used.

Most of this monograph has already been published as articles and reports in various journals and bulletins, either in Japanese or occidental languages, and they have been revised to be included in this monograph. Many years have passed since I left the Mixe region. I know that too much is left to be studied, but I publish this monograph, hoping that it will serve as a portrait of the Mixe in the difficult early 1970s.

Part 1

Setting

Chapter 1

Mixe Highlands and the Outside World

The state of Oaxaca, located in Mexico's narrowest southeast "neck," with a coastline facing due South, is noted for its high ratio of Indian population. Comprising 15 linguistic groups, the Indians usually live in the isolated, underdeveloped "regions for refugees" [AGUIRRE BELTRÁN 1967], and the Mixe are one of these groups.

The Mixe region (Fig. 1) is situated in the northeast sector of the state of Oaxaca, the capital of which is about 500 kilometers from Mexico City. From a corner of the Oaxaca City market, a bus of the Fletes y Pasajes leaves regularly for Mixe country, passing first through the world of the Valley Zapotec. The fertile land, green alfalfa fields and carpets of wild flowers, the blue sky, and brilliant sunshine convey an impression of natural wealth and openness. The first bus stop is at Tlacolula, the Zapotec market town known to the Mixe as Pagam, and conspicuous from afar by its high, red-tiled church tower. Tlacolula was a commercial and cultural center for the Mixe and the Mountain Zapotec before the road connecting it with Oaxaca City was opened in 1948. After Tlacolula comes Yagul, an archaeological site, the entrance of which is marked by a large rock with a painted figure depicting a human form with its hands raised. This is the figure of Rey Kondoy, according to a Mixe folktale [MILLER 1956: 107–108]. Here at Yagul one senses the closeness of the world of the Mixe. Then, passing the Cerro de Muertos, the bus reaches Mitla, known to the Mixe as San Pablo after its patron saint. This is a center of the monopolistic Zapotec merchants who dominate the Mixe region.

Beyond Mitla the road is unpaved. After a short while Mt. Zempoaltépetl looms massive in the far distance to the left. It is usually wrapped in clouds except on the clear days around the time of Holy Week and All Saints' Day. Gradually the temperature falls as the road climbs; one senses the connection between remoteness and refugees. After passing San Lorenzo Albarradas, a small village of Mixtec origin [BEALS 1945: 5; DE LA FUENTE 1949: 19], and Santa María Albarradas, a Zapotec village, the semiarid environment changes abruptly to a land of moist, fog-enshrouded forests. Here begins the highland Mixe zone, marked by a rancho belonging to the *municipio* of Ayutla.

Access to the Mixe highlands has improved since the road was opened from Mitla to Ayutla in 1966. In former times the Mixe traveled on foot between Ayutla and

Fig. 1. The Mixe Region
Sources: Nahmad 1965: Areas Culturales y Centro Coordinador
Ballesteros y Rodríguez 1974: Mapa de Prelatura Mixepolitana

Mitla, spending the night en route at Santa María Albarradas. Today the road distance from Mitla to Ayutla is 56 kilometers, which the bus covers in two and a half hours unless it breaks down. From Ayutla, "the port of the Mixe," a number of footpaths radiate out to the 18 municipios of the former Mixe district. For an experienced Mixe walker, Tlahui lies three and a half hours from Ayutla; it takes two and a half hours to walk via the footpath from Tamazulapam to Tlahui. By 1974 the road had covered the additional 32 kilometers between Ayutla and Tlahui, but it was not

solid enough for safe driving. If one craved adventure, one could get to Tlahui from Ayutla in about an hour by truck or jeep, negotiating the numerous curves and landslides along the way.

The Mixe region is divided into three zones: the highland or cold zone on the west, the middle or temperate zone in the center, and the lowland or hot zone in the east. In the cold and rugged highlands, crowned by Mt. Zempoaltépetl, are six municipios at about 6,000 feet of altitude: Ayutla, Tlahui and its *agencia* of Yacochi, Tepuxtepec, Tepantlali, Tamazulapam, Mixistlán with its agencia of Chichicaxtepec, and agencias such as Metepec and Huitepec of Totontepec [NAHMAD 1965: 18].

The primary category in the space consciousness of the people of Tlahui and Ayutla is their municipio, an endogamous unit where they live within the framework of kinship, the same dialect, and the same tradition of rituals. The municipio has a *centro* from which various fcotpaths lead to the ranchos or to adjacent municipios. Travel from the centro of the municipio to the other municipios means danger: an estrangement from the homeland and a removal from the effective range of the protection of the patron saint and his church. To avoid this sense of uncertainty, people put crosses and *ermitas* on the footpaths leading to the outer world.

The second spacial category includes the adjacent municipios, most of which are located in the cold highlands. Yacochi, an agencia of Tlahui, is thought of as the village of an elder brother of Tlahui. Tamazulapam, Ayutla, Tepantlali, and Tepuxtepec share a similarity in dialect with Tlahui, and these five municipios are said to be brother villages, according to the legend of the Five Brothers.[1] To Chichicaxtepec, Mixistlán, Huitepec, and north to Metepec, the people of Tlahui can travel without much sense of alienation. Farther north lies the cultural domain of Totontepec, another influential Mixe center far from Ayutla.

The third category is the Mixe region in general. There are two subcategories: familiar and cosy places in the cold highlands and remoter, hotter, and socially hostile places at the middle elevations and in the lowlands. The municipios mentioned above belong to the familiar zone, of course. To the remoter subcategory belong Zacatepec, Alotepec, Ocotepec, Cotzocón, Ozolotepec, and Jaltepec, where Tlahui men are hired for coffee harvesting. The other municipios, though part of the Mixe territory, are outside the concerns of the people of Tlahui, and they have only a vague knowledge of them. For instance, people talk about the municipios located in the direction of Tehuantepec, such as Ixcuintepec or Camotlán, as if they were a foreign land. Their view of them resembles that of "distance among the relatives," as a Mixe girl of Ayutla explained to me. They communicate in the same Mixe language, but they sense a difference in dialect and customs. People are least informed

1. The Legend of Five Brothers, popular in the highland villages, tells of the affinities of the five villages. According to this legend, a woman and her five sons once lived at a place near the river of Tamazulapam. From there her five sons left in five directions and formed the five villages of Ayutla, Tamazulapam, Tlahui, Tepantlali, and Tepuxtepec. The kinship of Tlahui with the other four villages is not at all fictitious, since these five villages are located near one another and their dialects are similar within the wide variations of the Mixe language.

about the Mixe territory in the direction of Matías Romero, except for a few families who have relatives in the *ejidos* in that area.

In spite of this diversity of space consciousness toward the Mixe region, the Mixe, *ayuuk*, are an ethnic and cultural unit with the common tradition of sacrifice in their religious and ideological symbolism. In the highland municipios Rey Kondoy, the Mixe culture hero, and his dwelling place, Mt. Zempoaltépetl, form the core of the symbols of this sacrificial cosmology. The land outside the effective range of this cosmology is foreign to the Mixe. But when the Mixe of the highlands say that "all the caves for sacrifice are connected to Mitla through the subterranean tunnels," they seem to give us an ideological explanation for their social interaction with the Valley Zaoptec. This metaphorical expression imbued with religious symbolism may be understood as a timid and forced open-door policy toward the Zapotec. I say "forced" because Zapotec–Mixe relations are dominant–subordinate in the economic and cultural spheres.

The fourth category of space comprises the Zapotec land, or the land economically dominated by the Zapotec. Villa Alta was important for the Mixe as a cultural center throughout the Colonial period, until about 1940. The Mixe seem to have depended heavily on Villa Alta for learning music and dances during the Colonial period, a pattern of dependence that still persists. Tlahui and the villages in the highlands receive music teachers from Betaza. Yalálag economically dominates the Mixe villages north of Tlahui, such as Tiltepec, Mixistlán, and Chichicaxtepec, but in general the relations between Yalálag and the Mixe are economically symbiotic. On the other hand, the merchants of Mitla are monopolistic buyers of the Mixe cash crops. To the north, the Zapotec of Choapan own coffee plantations where the highland Mixe work as hired laborers during the harvest season. On the whole, the fourth category of space, the Zapotec land, is the cultural and commercial core on which the Mixe depend. It is the land of the hostile, economically and culturally dominant Zapotec.

The fifth category of space is that characterized by modern Mexican national culture. Since the Colonial period, Oaxaca City had been a center of culture in the state of Oaxaca, a role reinforced by the opening in 1948 of the Pan American Highway to Tehuantepec, which connected Oaxaca with Mitla [BEALS 1976: 29]. After this event, the City of Oaxaca became important for the Mixe as a commercial and cultural center, superseding Tlacolula in this role. In these last three decades, Mexico City has become an important source of wage labor for the Mexican Indians. An unknown number of the Mixe work temporarily as hired laborers in the states of Chiapas, Sinaloa, and Sonora. Since the beginning of the 1970s, under the impact of state and federal government programs, this fifth category of space is becoming daily more dominant in the consciousness of the Mixe.

Chapter 2

Historical Background

It is difficult to write the Mixe history because of the scarcity of historical documents. The following is my reconstruction of a general historical background of the highland Mixe, which will contribute to a better understanding of the social organization and rituals of Tlahui and Ayutla.

The Mixe belong to the Maya-Zoque linguistic family, but the origin and early migration of this ethnic group remain hypothetical [FOSTER 1969: 453–454]. In the time of Aztec domination, the Indians of the Oaxaca Valley changed under the impact of the Aztec culture [TAYLOR 1972: 22], but the highland Mixe seem to have remained intact. The Colonial period is better known, although the available data are meager.

The Spaniards of the sixteenth century were good chroniclers of New Spain. The Mixe, though hidden in the sierra of Oaxaca, did not escape their attention. Hernán Cortés, in the *Cartas de Relación*, mentioned the Mixe as a tough and ferocious race which opposed the conquest [CORTÉS 1971: 194–195]. Motolinía, the famous Franciscan friar, referred to the naïve character of the Mixe as facilitating the missionary task [MOTOLINÍA 1969: 91]. These two references symbolize what happened to the Mixe region in subsequent years: the spiritual conquest was carried through, but the political conquest was not. In the state of Oaxaca as a whole the conquest was peaceful, and during the Colonial period exploitation was much less intense there than in the north of Mexico [TAYLOR 1972]. It was at a minimum in the Mixe region, possibly owing to the geographical isolation and the lack of rich mines or fertile land. The missionaries, however, launched an evangelical enterprise and established themselves well in the Mixe sierra.

The military enterprise of the conquest was provoked by the Zapotec of Villa Alta, who wanted to pacify the Mixe of Totontepec [NADER 1969: 334]. The ancient documents found in the archives of the Juzgado Mixto de Primera Instancia of Villa Alta, which Pérez García published in 1956, describe the decision of the elders of the region of Rincón and Villa Alta to send a commission to Tenochtitlán to ask Cortés for an alliance against the Mixe [NADER 1969: 334]. Around 1530 two military expenditions were undertaken but both proved fruitless [ITURRIBARRÍA 1955: 70–71]. Around 1570 the Mixe ransacked Villa Alta. In order to counterattack, the Zapotec

solicited the military assistance of the Spaniards stationed at Antequera (Oaxaca), the Mixtec of Cuilapan, and the Tlaxcalans who were then stationed at Analco near Villa Alta [NADER 1969: 335]. Spanish expeditions, however, remained sporadic and limited to the area around Villa Alta, and were not accompanied by colonists. According to the Dominican historian, Arroyo, only thirty Spanish families came to Villa Alta with the Spanish army [ARROYO 1961: 189–190].

After the initial stage of the unsuccessful conquest, there were no remarkable events to be chronicled concerning the activities of the Colonial government in the Mixe highlands, except for a royal decree for the *reducción* of the Mixe issued in 1600 [SCHMIEDER 1930: 67, cited from DE BURGOA 1670–74: 305]. This reducción introduced the Spanish plaza complex into the Mixe villages but did not affect their pre-Hispanic settlement pattern, with the majority of the population in dispersed ranchos, which still characterizes the present Mixe municipios.

During the Colonial period Spanish cultural influences seem to have entered the Mixe highlands through Villa Alta to the north, Narro in the south of Juquila, and San Lorenzo Albarradas in the west. Villa Alta was the center for the diffusion of Spanish culture. The Colonial army maintained a garrison there, and the Dominican missionaries used it as a base for their activities in the Mixe region. Thus, from Villa Alta the Mixe obtained various items of Colonial culture. Later in the seventeenth century, the Alcántara family reached Totontepec through Villa Alta, according to a descendant of this family. The Alcántaras, who originated in Corsica, arrived at Oaxaca and lived for many years in Ocotlán, until the seventeenth century when a branch migrated to Villa Alta and then to Totontepec. With the coming of the Alcántaras the Mixe inhabitants of Totontepec began to mix with outsiders. Perhaps partly as a result of this, Totontepec is now the most mestizoized village in the Mixe region. Narro, situated in the direction of Tehuantepec, is the place through which other Spaniards and mestizos seem to have entered the Mixe region. At present Juquila, the midland Mixe village near Narro, is heavily mestizoized culturally, though not physically. Perhaps the cultural mestizoization of Juquila was prompted by influences through Narro. In the west, San Lorenzo Albarradas seems to have been a center of Hispanicization penetrating from the Valley of Oaxaca.

In the religious sphere, Christianity was promoted relentlessly during the Colonial period. The evangelization of Oaxaca began with the coming of the Dominicans. In 1528 Fray Domingo de Betanzos negotiated with Cortés for the establishment of the Dominican order in Oaxaca, and a year later the same friar arrived with a group of Dominicans [ARROYO 1961: xv–xviii]. Beginning in 1535, when the bishopric of Oaxaca was established, the Dominican order expanded rapidly, establishing parishes throughout the state [TAYLOR 1972: 164]. In 1548 they arrived at Villa Alta and gradually founded centers of evangelization such as Totontepec (1572–76 or 1585–89), Juquila (1555–75), Quetzaltepec (transferred from Alotepec in 1603), and Ayutla (the year of its foundation is obscure, but it postdates the foundation of Juquila) [ARROYO 1961: 189–315].

In the eighteenth century the civil power of the Colonial government was ex-

tended to the Mixe region. In 1712 land titles were granted to five villages: Ayutla, Totontepec, Tepantlali, Tamazulapam, and Tlahui. The land titles of the first four villages were dispatched in 1712 and that of Tlahui in 1765 by the judge of the affairs of land and water [MÉXICO, Archivo General de la Nación. See Appendix 1]. But no data are available about the details of the policy of the Colonial government toward the Mixe villages.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the Dominicans reached their golden age. Bells dating from the 1700s are still found in various villages, and this supports the supposition that various expenses for churches were authorized in the eighteenth century. Besides, there seem to have been numerous pastoral visits from Oaxaca, showing the enthusiasm of the Dominican order for the evangelization of the Mixe. In those days the bishop stationed at the Cathedral of Santo Domingo of Oaxaca dispatched a series of messages (*cordilleras*) to the parish priests under his jurisdiction. *El Libro de Cordillera*, preserved at the parish house of Juquila, describes the memorable visit of a bishop to the Mixe district in 1782 [BALLESTEROS y RODRÍGUEZ 1974: 27–28].[1]

In the same century Fray Agustín de Quintana, a resident priest of Juquila, wrote two memorable books on the Mixe: *Confessonario en Lengua Mixe, con una Construcción de las Oraciones de la Doctrina Christiana, y un Compendio de Voces, para enseñarse a pronunciar la Lengua*, published in 1732, and *Instrucción Christiana y Guía de Ignorantes para el Cielo* with *el Arte de la Lengua Mixe* at the beginning of the book. The Dominican tradition cannot be neglected in attempts to understand present-day Mixe rituals. According to a priest resident in Tlahui in 1973 and 1974, the old people of this village and some other villages still recite the orations in the old Mixe of Juquila as composed by Fray Agustín de Quintana [BALLESTEROS y RODRÍGUEZ 1974: 25]. The Dominican-style rosary is still recited by the old people of Tlahui, whereas the new-style rosary is being disseminated by the Salesians. The Colonial songs of the Dominican style, such as Letanía, Santo Dios, and Salve are also indispensable for the present-day village fiestas.

The turmoil of Independence and the French intervention seem not to have had any notable effects on the area, except at Mixistlán. Around 1810, the Yalaltecos, sympathizers of Independence, ransacked Mixistlán, which remained neutral or negative to the cause of Independence [DE LA FUENTE 1949: 20].

On the religious scene the Dominicans entered an era of decadence, and by the end of the nineteenth century this order was almost ruined. Several reasons can be enumerated: dispute with the lay priests, friction among friars of various nationalities, decline of the moral and material support from the missionary center to the resident priests [ARROYO 1961: LXVII], and, finally, the impact of the *Reforma*. After the

1. In *Libros de Cordilleras* of 1825–49, preserved at the parish house of Tlahui, the news and messages directed from the bishop of Oaxaca to the priest are recorded: information on epidemics in Oaxaca, prohibition of burial inside the church, recommendation for the construction of the cemetery, recommendation of good seeds for the field, collection of alms of 2,000 pesos for the Republic which was then fighting against the French invaders, election of the Pope, martyrs at Tientsin of China, and so on.

middle of the nineteenth century the Mixe region was almost abandoned by the Church.

The most notable event at the beginning of the twentieth century was the start of coffee production among the Mixe of the midlands and the lowlands. Production seems to have begun around the turn of the twentieth century, and it became popular in the 1920s and 1930s. In the Valle Nacional, situated to the north of the Mixe region, there developed the abusive hacienda system of coffee, tobacco, and sugar production, affecting Chinantec a great deal [BEALS 1969: 327; TURNER, J. K. 1967: Chapters 4 and 5]. Fortunately, this system did not penetrate the Mixe region and coffee production among the Mixe remained on the family level. As a result, the Mixe escaped the rampant economic abuses prevailing in the Mexican society of this period.

The years from 1912 to 1915 witnessed strife between Tlahui and Ayutla for the land of Matagallinas [BEALS 1945: 17]. Both villages remember the cruel fighting for this land. Neither Tlahui nor Ayutla had any document to substantiate the title of Matagallinas, but in 1915 Ayutla received title to the land through the intercession of the judge at Villa Alta [BEALS 1945: 18]. Around 1945 Tlahui again had a dispute with Santiago Atitlán, a midland village, over the municipal boundary, and after a series of fierce battles, Tlahui, with the help of Zacatepec, gained a victory in 1945.

The Mixe region was not involved directly in the turbulence of the Mexican Revolution, but the general situation of this era on the national scene prompted the rise of two Mixe leaders: Daniel Martínez of Ayutla, and Luis Rodríguez of Zacatepec. I will use Beals's data to describe Martínez and those of Nahmad for a description of Rodríguez. The recent publication by Laviada also provides information about these two "caciques," which I augment with information obtained during my fieldwork.

Daniel Martínez was born in Ayutla, but the year of his birth is unknown. When Beals met him at Mitla in 1933, he was about 40 years old [BEALS 1945: 34]. The future cacique left Ayutla when he was young. From then until returning to his native village around 1910, his life remains obscure [BEALS 1945:35].

His return to Ayutla coincided with the turmoil of the Revolution [BEALS 1945: 35], and in becoming cacique he preceded Luis Rodríguez by about 15 years. In spite of the initiative he took, the villages of the midlands and lowlands did not side with him. This is not hard to understand, since, even at present, there exists an antagonism among the Mixe villages which impedes regional solidarity. Around 1920 Ixcuintepec was divided into factions, and federal troops were sent to restore order, after which this village accepted the leadership of Daniel Martínez [BEALS 1945: 35]. In 1923 he consolidated his forces, and with some 400 men from Juquila, Tamazulapam, Tlahui, Ayutla, and Yalálag, he went far to the Isthmus to suppress the revolt of General García Vigil, *Maderista*. Returning from this expedition, his force entered Juquila to pacify it. Thus, in about 1930, Juquila obeyed the authority of Ayutla [BEALS 1945: 35]. Also in Ayutla there was a movement against Daniel Martínez, according to my informants. Three ranchos in Ayutla—Portillo, Duraznal,

and Chicocana—opposed the cacique for his management of the federal fund, whereas the other two ranchos, Cerro Pelón and Cerro Amole, were his partisans.

The years around1930 constituted Martínez's golden age. Present-day old people of Ayutla still recall the splendour on the balcony of Daniel Martínez's Colonial-style house, where his partisans arrived together with notables from allied villages. He monopolized the politics of Ayutla, and the village officials sought advice from him [BEALS 1945: 36].

He was socially progressive. He planned the construction of the road and telephone [BEALS 1945: 35–36]. He removed the mayordomos' fund for the repair of the school roof [BEALS 1945: 37]. He exerted tremendous efforts for construction of the road. He formed the regional meeting including Yalálag, and in 1930 the villages belonging to this meeting collected 35,000 pesos to buy a Chevrolet truck which they brought to Ayutla by human muscle power. Sixteen kilometers of road, starting from Ayutla toward Mitla, was opened by *tequio* (communal labor) [BEALS 1945: 36]. However, the project was too difficult to realize, since Daniel Martínez could not obtain funds from the government and the work itself was extremely difficult. Gasoline had to be brought from Mitla by Ayutla men. Under such circumstances the road was used only by the officials of the villages of the meeting [BEALS 1945: 133].

Despite his efforts, all the plans proved premature, except for the construction of the school. The school was built in the years 1930–40, but the road was delayed until 1966 for Ayutla and Tamazulapam, and after 1974 for the other villages. The planned telephone connection to Ayutla was still unrealized in 1975. Notwithstanding the prematurity of the plans, it is noteworthy that early in the 1930s a precursor like Daniel Martínez had plans which even at present the government cannot implement in the Mixe region.

In 1934, during the presidential campaign, he received Lazaro Cárdenas at Juquila and Ayutla [LAVIADA 1978: 107], showing off his hegemony over the Mixe region. However, in the late 1930s, according to Laviada, the governors needed to institutionalize political affairs after the unrest of the Revolution, and this favored Luis Rodríguez, whose idea was to create a new Mixe district separate from Villa Alta and Ixtlán, allies of Daniel Martínez. Martínez, considered a relic of the revolutionary years, lost power. In 1936 the ex-Mixe district was founded with its center at Zacatepec, the pueblo of Luis Rodríguez [LAVIADA 1978: 20–21]. Martínez fought back, struggling for hegemony of the Mixe region; thus was formed the pro-Ayutla and pro-Zacatepec factions among the Mixe municipios, whose bloody clashes invited the intervention of federal troops [LAVIADA 1978: 22]. In 1943 Daniel Martínez was assassinated by José Isabel Reyes, who, it is believed, was sent by Luis Rodríguez [LAVIADA 1978: 23, 35–56], near the Iglesia de Santa María de las Nieves in Oaxaca, according to W. S. Miller [LAVIADA 1978: 113]. With his death, all his plans remained unrealized. His son, a storekeeper, lived at Ayutla until about 1961, when he left to work in Mexico City. The house of Daniel Martínez remained abandoned and run-down until October 1974; on market days people rested there.

In November 1974 it was destroyed by one of his descendants, who wanted to build a new house on the site.

Luis Rodríguez is of the Rodríguez family of Zacatepec, which was and still is the leading family in the village. Nahmad provides ample data on this "cacique," whom he interviewed during his fieldwork at Zacatepec. Despite little formal education [NAHMAD 1965: 97], Rodríguez was a self-educated man who continued to widen his views by subscribing to *El Excelsior*, one of the leading newspapers in Mexico, according to his nephew. In this way, he kept in touch with the national movement and thought of allying with the Carrancistas on their arrival at Tlacolula, an idea that he could not carry out [NAHMAD 1965: 96–97]. In 1928 he became honorary inspector of education in the state government. His plans for the Mixe region included: establishment of schools, promotion of Spanish, entry of the Mixe into the *Confederación Nacional Campesina* (National Peasant Confederation), prohibition of fishing with dynamite, forest conservation, improvement of living conditions, anti-alcoholism, prohibition of premature marriage, suppression of witchcraft and superstition, prohibition of funerals with *petates*, establishment of medical service, abolition of tequio, and organization of musical bands and other groups [NAHMAD 1965: 97–99].

Along with these plans, most of which are only now being implemented in the Mixe region, he wanted to reorganize and consolidate the Mixe region within the state of Oaxaca. He knew better than Daniel Martínez how to ally himself with the state and federal powers, and secured for Zacatepec the *cabecera* of the Mixe district which was created in 1938, superseding the Ayutla of Daniel Martínez, which had been the center of the Mixe region [LAVIADA 1978: 148]. Zacatepec partisans included Cotzocón, Atitlán, Tamazulapam, cabecera Totontepec, agencias of Cacalotepec, agencias of Alotepec, and Quetzaltepec [NAHMAD 1965: 100]. The other villages remained neutral or antagonistic to Zacatepec. In general, the southern villages did not accept the leadership of Zacatepec. Even today in these anti-Zacatepec villages, particularly in Alotepec, people remember the brutality of the "cacique of Zacatepec." Until recently the people of Zacatepec did not dare to go to these villages, nor those of the southern villages to Zacatepec.

Around 1940 Luis Rodríguez extended his influence to Tlahui, giving rise to the "little cacique" of Tlahui, Lucio Siliaco Jiménez. At the request of Luis Rodrígues, he attempted to organize a militia at Rancho Flores. The place was suitable because of its population concentration and also because of its familiarity to the people of Zacatepec, since they passed through it en route to Santo Domingo Albarradas, thereby avoiding Ayutla. However, the people of Rancho Flores did not accept the call for militia by Lucio Siliaco Jiménez and the project failed. Besides this unsuccessful project, Luis Rodríguez demanded the construction of an airfield at the Patio de Arena, a rancho of Tlahui situated near Zacatepec, which also failed to materialize. Tiring of these excessive demands, Tlahui ceased to collaborate with Zacatepec.

Rodríguez held the two important offices of secretary of the *Confederación*

Nacional Campesina and honorary inspector of schools in the Mixe region from the 1930s until 1950 [LAVIADA 1978: 148]. After 1950, however, his influence declined and he remained rather unimportant till his death in 1959 [LAVIADA 1978: 25].

Daniel Martínez and Luis Rodríguez symbolize the dominant ideas and social changes in Mexico during the era 1920 to 1950, which was certainly a time during which the Mixe faced inevitable changes in various aspects of life. In the 1930s the religious world was stunned by the persecution of the priests, and from those years until 1962 the Mixe region was free of Church control because there were only four lay priests in the area—at Totontepec, Zacatepec, Juquila, and Ayutla. In the 1930s even Ayutla lacked a priest, and the resident priest of Zacatepec had to visit Ayutla and Tlahui for the fiestas.

In the administrative sphere, as mentioned above, the Mixe district was officially created in 1938 with its center at Zacatepec. It included 19 municipios which before had belonged respectively to the Districts of Villa Alta, Choapan, Tehuantepec, and Yautepec [NAHMAD 1965: 18]. In the 1920s educational facilities were improved. In 1928, Moisés Sáenz, the vice-secretary of education, visited the Mixe region and initiated increased government help for schools [BEALS 1945: 7]. In 1954 the region was organized into one school zone and the municipios began to pay the teachers [NAHMAD 1965: 98].

On the economic scene it is noteworthy that around 1945 about 30 men from Tlahui and some from Tamazulapam left for the U.S.A. to work as *braceros*. Also in this period traditional dress seems to have undergone a considerable change. Totontepec, Tlahui, and Alotepec began to make machine-made blouses, and Cotzocón and Mixistlán began to depend on cloth sold at Juchitán and Yalálag, respectively, for skirts which formerly had been made of cloth woven in their villages.

In the 1960s the highland Mixe began to experience drastically accelerated social changes. In 1962 the construction of the Mitla–Ayutla road began, starting from Santa María Albarradas, and by 1966 reaching Ayutla and Tamazulapam. With the opening of the road, the sign reading "The Port of the Mixe" (*el puerto de los mixes*) was painted on the wall of a house situated at the entrance to the centro of Ayutla, and Ayutla really became the main transmission point of external cultural influences, surpassing the more remote Zacatepec. In 1969 electricity reached Ayutla and Tamazulapam.

On the religious scene, the Salesian order arrived at Ayutla in 1962 and at Tlahui in 1963, and quickly established six parishes—Ayutla, Tlahui, Totontepec, Juquila, Zacatepec (transferred to Alotepec in 1974), and Mazatlán. Underwritten by their wide national and international economic support, the Salesians launched the second spiritual conquest of the region abandoned by lay priests. The Salesians offered a variety of services and opportunities to the villagers: medical care, free *atole* to participants in the mass, a parish school, and the chance of higher education in the urban schools and colleges of the Salesians. At Matagallinas, a school was built to educate Mixe children and the "*promotores* of Fathers" who work to develop the Mixe region and also serve as interpreters on the priests' visits to the villages. With

great economic backing and an efficient organization, the Salesians are successfully infiltrating the Mixe region, except for such villages as Zacatepec and Ixcuintepec, where they came into conflict with the mayordomos.

At the beginning of the 1970s, federal organizations rushed into the region: INI (*Instituto Nacional Indigenista*), IIISEO (*Instituto de Integración e Investigaciones Sociales del Estado de Oaxaca*), *Comisión del Papaloapan,* SAG (*Secretaría de Agricultura y Ganadería*), DAAC (*Departamento de Asuntos Agrarios y Colonización*), "Conasupo" (*Compañía Nacional de Subsistencias Populares*), *Paludismo, Instituto Mexicano de Café*, "Coconal" (*Compañía Constructora Nacional*) and SOP (*Secretaría de Obras Públicas*). Around July, 1974, the IIISEO was consolidated into INI and the Mixe promotores of IIISEO began to work as promotores of INI for regional development and the promotion of the Spanish language.

On the political scene, PRI (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*) not surprisingly seems to have established its dominance over the region, as was apparent in the 1974 electoral campaign for governor of Oaxaca. On this occasion the municipios received the candidate of PRI with gifts and regional dances, while the candidates of PPS (*Partido Popular Socialista*) and PAN (*Partido de Acción Nacional*) had to find a campaign spot in a corner of the market.

The Mitla merchants continue to monopolize the cash crops of the region, but on even a larger scale than before. As the road was opened to Tlahui and Juquila in 1974, Mitla and Oaxaca merchants began to visit the region more frequently. Sometimes, avocado merchants come directly from the state of Mexico, but Mitla merchants still dominate the Mixe region.

In 1974 PEMEX (*Petróleos Mexicanos*) began the first mineral exploration around Mt. Zempoaltépetl. In the same year Protestants threw propaganda leaflets from an aircraft while the Catholic priests were celebrating Sunday mass at Ayutla and Tlahui. These are unprecedented intrusions of ideology and life style into the "region of refugees." As an old lady of Ayutla commented precisely, most people coming to the Mixe region, including anthropologists, were *agats* (i.e., non-Mixe), and in the 1970s the two worlds of the Mixe and the *agats* stood face to face.

Chapter 3

Economic Background

Tlahui and Ayutla are situated near each other, but economically the communities present two different types: Tlahui has a traditional economy with a peripheral market, and Ayutla is a changing type with a central Mixe market. I will present first the economic activities in Tlahui, and then the actual economic situation of Ayutla, as compared with the Ayutla of 1933 described by Beals [1945].

TLAHUITOLTEPEC: PERIPHERAL MARKET VILLAGE

Municipio

The geographic space of the municipio of Tlahui[1] is recognized in terms of an administrative division and, on the other hand, as the domain of sacred symbols, either Catholic or indigenous. I will discuss the administrative division first, and then the domain of sacred places in and near the municipio.

The municipio of Tlahui is a dispersed community composed of a civil-religious center (*centro*) and 14 dependent settlements (*ranchos*), where most of the population makes a living from agriculture and other activities.

Centro

Figure 2, which locates all places important for various activities, is intended to be a guide to the world of Tlahui. The plaza (Plate 1) is the very center of economic, political, and religious life. Public buildings are arrayed close together on the small, flat surface of the plaza. The tallest building is the church, with a vault of dark blue tile. Old people recall that the massive wall of the church was constructed by skilled Zapotec masons. Its roof was being repaired from 1973 to 1974, and the cement roof

1. Tlahuitoltepec is a Nahuatl name meaning "an arch-shaped hill": *tlahuitol* means "of arch" and *tepec*, "hill" [MÉXICO, Archivo General de la Nación, n.d.]. When observed from the footpath leading to Mixistlán and elsewhere from Portillo, a rancho of Ayutla, the hill of Tlahui, on which the centro of the municipio stands, looks like an arch. Perhaps for this reason the municipio received this Nahuatl name, one now officially used in the public records and documents. In Mixe, however, Tlahuitoltepec is called *xaamköxp*, meaning "cold and high" (*xaam*, "cold," and *köxp*, "high"). This is a straightforward expression of local sentiments, since the center of Tlahui is perched on a high, 2,200-meter hill and exposed to the cold north wind from Mt. Zempoaltépetl.

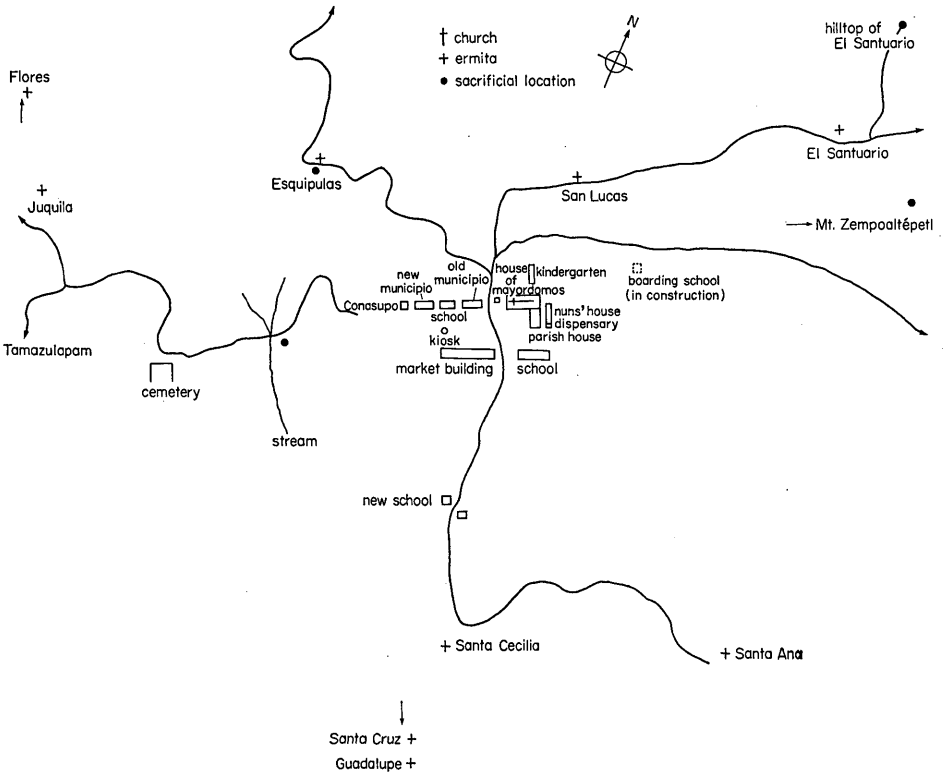


Fig. 2. Tlahuitoltepec (*centro*)

was finally completed in January 1974. Along with the church are a two-story parish house and its kitchen. Behind the parish house is a long, one-story nuns' house, together with their dispensary. These buildings for missionaries were constructed by the Salesians after 1963. On the other side of the church is a kindergarten managed by Salesian missionaries. To the right of the main church door is a brick kiln, near which stands the house of the mayordomos of the church.

Across the way is a house which opened in 1974 as the first restaurant in Tlahui. It is a "*caseta*-style" house with wooden walls and an asbestos-sheet roof. This style is becoming popular among the Mixe, replacing their traditional adobe-walled and brick-roofed houses.

Next are two buildings of traditional appearance, the old municipio and the old school. The former is stoutly constructed with massive walls of rock and lime, bulky, with cylindrical rock-and-lime pillars set at the portico, and a brick roof. The old school is a tall, elegant two-story wooden building with a porch and veranda. Since March 1974 these two buildings have been occupied by the employees of Coconal and SOP, not being in good enough condition for government and school use. The municipal officials, eager to open the road, repaired them for use as workcamps for the two organizations. Alongside the old school stands a new two-story munici-

pio with a roof of asbestos sheet. It was constructed in about 1969. Nearby, the Conasupo building is under construction.

A kiosk for musicians to play in is located in the open space in front of the old school. On the other side of the plaza is a large building constructed to house the market during the period 1953–63. However, it functioned not as a market but as a school until 1974, when the new school building was inaugurated far from the plaza on a field near Ermita Santa Cecilia, with the help of the CAPFCE (*Comité Administrativo para el Plan Federal de Construcción de Escuelas*). This school will have a dormitory.

There are 13 stores (*casetas*) dispersed around the plaza, of which only 3–4 are open each day. On market days vendors occupy the open area extending from the kiosk to the footpath leading to the cemetery. The cemetery is at the edge of the centro, near the footpath leading for Tamazulapam.

Farther down the plaza, near the new school, is a large wooden house belonging to the Summer Institute of Linguistics. It was closed in 1974.

The centro of Tlahui is not divided into *barrios* (On the barrios in the Mixe region, see Beals [1945: 27, 31–33] and Nahmad [1965: 83–84]).

Ranchos

The locations of the ranchos are shown on Figure 3. Their approximate sites are based on the space and directional understanding of the people. The number of the families and a population of each rancho are given in Table 1, which is based on a census taken by the DAAC agent stationed at Ayutla since September 1972.

The 14 ranchos recorded by DAAC do not correspond exactly to the names of the ranchos enumerated by my informants. La Laguna and Momo Magueyal are recorded in Table 1, but they were not known to my informants. In addition, the

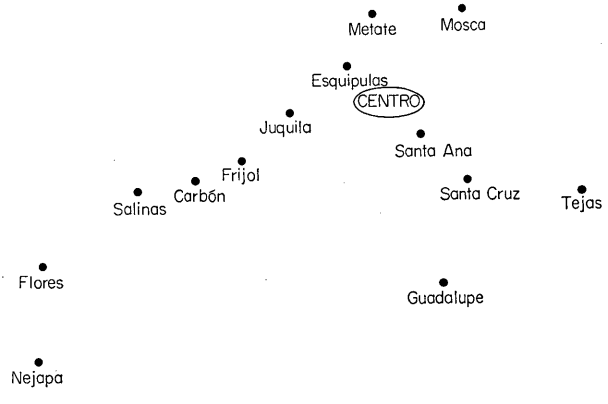


Fig. 3. Tlahuitoltepec (*ranchos*)
This layout, drawn by L. Ballesteros and some Mixe, shows only rough locations of the ranchos.

Table 1. Population of Subdivisions of the *Municipio* of Tlahuitoltepec

Name of subdivision	Families	Inhabitants
Centro		
Centro	201	894
Ranchos		
Texas	159	685
La Laguna	22	96
Mosca	37	140
Esquipulas	17	73
Momo Magueyal	75	350
Juquila	112	440
Salinas	88	346
Las Flores	148	647
Santa Cruz	86	351
Nejapa	146	616
Santa Ana	70	346
Metate	51	178
Guadalupe Victoria	137	559
Carbón	44	178
Total	1393	5899

Source: 1972 census by DAAC

other 12 ranchos are spread over a large territory and may contain smaller ranchos within them. For example, on the footpath leading from the centro to Rancho Flores, my informants specify small ranchos such as Hierro Grande, Rancho de Cuche, Rancho Colorado, Rancho Piedra Redonda—a little beyond Rancho Flores—and finally Rancho Tres Peinas. Also, somewhere near Zacatepec but within the territory of Tlahui, they specify Rancho Patio de Arena. In addition to the difficulty of enumerating the ranchos, it is sometimes difficult to know in which rancho a person lives, as illustrated by the following case. One day two men from a rancho near a footpath leading to Zacatepec came to the church dispensary to seek medicine. When asked where they came from, they could not name the rancho in which they lived since they live somewhere on the border between two ranchos and not in the central part of any specific rancho. To their way of thinking there is no need to clarify the borders of the ranchos in the same municipio, although they are very conscious of the borderline between municipios.

According to the DAAC census, only 15.2 percent of the total population lives in the centro, the rest being dispersed over the ranchos. Even the inhabitants of the centro have their fields in far away ranchos as well as near the centro. Those who have distant fields erect a field hut where they spend several days doing agricultural work without returning to the centro. In the normal course of events, the centro is quiet and seemingly abandoned, and only for market days and for civil and religious fiestas do people flow in from the ranchos.

Sacred Places

The church is a ritual center of the municipio which presides over the *ermitas* in the ranchos (Fig. 2).

There are nine ermitas: San Lucas, El Santuario, Santa Cecilia, Santa Ana, Santa Cruz, Esquipulas, Guadalupe, Juquila, and Flores, all of which are ceremonial centers in the peripheral dependent settlements of the municipio. Ermita Flores was constructed in about 1965, but the others were built as a rogation for the peace of the village after 1945, when the strife with Santiago Atitlán ended.

There are four places for sacrifice (Fig. 2). The smallest cave for sacrifice is near a stream that crosses the footpath leading from the centro to the cemetery. Near Ermita Esquipulas there is another place for sacrifice. But the largest and most popular such place is a hilltop located above Ermita El Santuario. Zempoaltépetl has its famous caves, which are often visited by the people of Tlahui, although they are located in the territory of Yacochi. These sacred caves are discussed in Chapter 5, which deals with the sacrifice complex.

Land Use

Land in the ranchos generally has poor soils and land utilization is less than in the centro. According to the DAAC census of Tlahui (1972), each family in the centro has a landholding of 0.25 hectare, and on each hectare they plant two to three *almud* (1 *almud*=$\frac{1}{2}$ *fanega*) of corn. In Rancho Mosca some families have five to six hectares, but the quantity of seed corn planted per hectare decreases. In Rancho Santa Cruz some families occupy seven hectares, and in Rancho Nejapa even eight, but the land is poorly used. The situation is the same in Ranchos Juquila, Salinas, Metate, and Carbón. In contrast, in Ranchos Santa Ana and Flores the almud per hectare increases, although the amount of land occupied per capita diminishes. Rancho Santa Ana is a rancho near the centro, and since olden times its lands have been fairly well cultivated. Rancho Flores is a rather densely populated rancho located at a lower altitude, and part of it yields two harvests of corn, thanks to the availability of water. Rancho Nejapa is also located in hotter lowlands, but its inhabitants are dispersed and they lack the water supply indispensable for the production of two harvests.

Except for a small plot of land suitable for growing corn, the land in the ranchos is used as communal land for grazing, growing trees, collecting firewood, and gathering wild plants and fruits. All members of the municipio have use rights to the communal land. Municipal officials extract timber from the communal land for the repair and construction of public buildings. The officials of Tlahui have never abused this right, and know how to exercise it for the benefit of the community. In Chichicaxtepec, officials felled many trees on communal land and sold them to Mixistlán and Metepec, thus rendering treeless a portion of the communal land. In contrast, Tlahui officials try to manage the communal land carefully, which is indispensable for the daily life of the community. People totally

depend on the communal land for firewood. One load of firewood carried on the shoulder costs about 14 pesos, but the people of Tlahui rarely buy firewood. Cutting and carrying home firewood (Plate 2) is hard but essential work. In June 1974 some *agats*, employees of SOP and Coconal, cut communal trees for firewood. Do the *agats* have a right to use communal land? The officials had to answer this question, but they left the issue unresolved and the people felt menaced by the *agats* residents.

The school plot, the church plot, and the pasture ground in the centro belong to the communal land. Near the footpath to Yacochi is a school plot. Some years ago the Salesians asked the municipio for the use rights of this piece of land for the playground of their kindergarten, but the federal school teachers opposed them and the plot remained unused. It was not utilized even for a new boarding school, which was being constructed in 1974 on another communal plot which the municipio took away from a villager who had long had the usufruct to it. The church, the parish house, the nuns' house, the kindergarten and its playground, the carpenter's room, and the church vegetable garden all stand on church land. A triangular piece of land between the kindergarten playground and the path in front of the church is now occupied by two houses, but originally it belonged to the church. For unknown reasons these two houses were built without the permission of the church. Below the new school is a piece of land that provides pasture for horses, mules, and donkeys. The people who visit the centro as well as its residents can leave their animals here.

Legally, all agricultural plots and building plots belong to the municipio, but in reality they are treated as privately-owned property, especially in the centro. These plots and lots are divided and inherited. However, they do not lead to economic stratification since the land has no commercial value and it is not used for production of cash crops. In only a few cases are agricultural plots rented. Under such circumstances 50 percent of the harvest goes to the owner of the plot and the remainder to the cultivator. The seeds are provided by the cultivator.

Only rarely is land sold, but there are some cases of land purchase in the centro. A man who is now one of the *principales* (elder in the civil-religious hierarchy), but was originally from Jayacaxtepec, married a Tlahui woman. Not being from Tlahui, he lacked a building lot, so he bought one in the centro. Another man sold his building lot for 700 pesos. In both cases the buyers and sellers were Mixe: no land has ever been sold to *agats*.

Prior to 1974 only one building lot was ever rented to an *agats*. In about 1960 a North American linguist of the Summer Institute of Linguistics rented a piece of communal land on which he built a large house so as to live in Tlahui and study the Mixe language. In 1973 and 1974 he rarely visited Tlahui, living instead in Mitla.

In 1974 a new situation arose. The workcamp of SOP and Coconal was transferred from Tamazulapam to Tlahui. The municipio repaired the old municipio building and the old school to house the workers of these organizations. Waiting for the completion of the repairs, some of the SOP group rented a large room from a family. In August 1974 three families of employees of SOP and Coconal rented houses in Tlahui. A Mixe house with a kitchen and a patio was rented to an *agats*

family at 130 pesos a month. Bachelor *agats* employees of SAG and the *Comisión del Papaloapan* rented a room or a small space from some Mixe families. If they paid for meals prepared by the family, they were not required to pay for their living space.

As I have mentioned, the lands of Tlahui have not been subjected to exploitation by *agats*. Distant from the Valley of Oaxaca, with poor soils and lacking in mineral resources, the Mixe region did not attract the *agats* until after 1960. These factors favored the Mixe in defense of their communal land and their ethnic solidarity. Should the land problem occur, however, it will arise in the near future.

In 1972, on the initiative of the DAAC, the *Comité de Bienes Comunales* (the Committee for Communal Property) was organized in every municipio. The DAAC, a branch of which opened in Ayutla in 1972, proposed the national government confirm the land titles issued in 1712 and 1765 by the Colonial government to the five municipios of Ayutla, Tlahui, Tamazulapam, Tepantlali, and Tepuxtepec. On November 5, 1973 representatives of the committees of the five municipios were scheduled to gather in the municipio of Ayutla to discuss the confirmation issue and the municipio boundary problems. Tepuxtepec, however, did not send its representatives, because it did not agree with the DAAC arrangement regarding its boundary dispute with San Jual del Río, a Zapotec village famous for *mezcal* production.

One week later representatives of four municipios left for Mexico City to draw up an official land title document, but they returned without it because the five municipios could not reach a consensus. Tepuxtepec did not send representatives. Neither were the people of Ayutla in agreement with this confirmation of the land title. That year Ayutla had a most unpopular *presidente* who liked to live in Mexico City, and who lost his administrative zeal, which led to a schism among the municipal officials. In this situation the people were not well informed about the confirmation issue. The day before the representatives left for Mexico City, a meeting of the family heads of the municipio was held. There they criticized the officials for their neglect in informing the people on an issue so crucial to their livelihood. On the other hand, at the DAAC office in Mexico City, it is said, the *síndico* of Ayutla criticized the presidente publicly and the planned confirmation was abandoned.

In this critical period of social change, a sagacious policy on the part of both the municipios and the federal government is essential, if the Mixe are truly to benefit. Some employees of DAAC are of the opinion that the communal land of Tlahui should be redistributed among the people to ensure better land use and farm management. This idea stands in marked contrast to the traditional Mixe mode of existence. Use of communal land at Tlahui constitutes not simply a "utilization problem," but a crucial cultural issue decisive to the fate of Mixe ethnic solidarity.

Subsistence Agriculture

The agricultural basis of Mixe life, as with nearly all Mesoamerican peoples, is corn cultivation. Temperature and precipitation permit only one harvest per year. In general, soils used for growing corn are poor. Some good corn fields are

cultivated every year, but woodland fields are rested for two to five years until the vegetation has recovered enough to restore soil fertility when cleared and burned. Burning the fields takes place between February and April.

Agricultural implements are simple: cane knife (*machete*), hooked machete (*machete garabato*), hatchet (*hacha*), hoe (*coa, nep* in Mixe), crowbar or pickax (*barreta*), wooden hammer (*martillo, nash mah boh* in Mixe), rake (*rastrillo*), and plow (*arado*). The plow, with a yoke of oxen (*yunta*), is rented at 15 pesos a day.

The following stages are generally followed for corn cultivation: clearing of the field, plowing (using a plow), second plowing (with a wooden hammer, crowbar, or hoe), planting, first weeding, second weeding, and harvesting. Corn is planted when the spring birds such as the woodpecker and a black bird called *sembrador* begin to sing. For planting five corn seeds together with a few squash and bean seeds, a hole is dug with a crowbar or hoe. Planting starts in February or March at the higher elevation and in April at the middle and lower elevations. Harvesting is completed between November and February.

Horse beans are planted near the growing corn at the end of May or in June and it is harvested in November or December. Potatos are planted in March in the highlands and in April in the lowlands, and harvested in November or December. The Tlahui potato is well known in the Mixe region for its good taste. It is sold in the Ayutla market, and some Tlahui people bring it to sell in the villages of the midlands and lowlands such as Cotzocón and Alotepec. Peas are planted in October and harvested in February. This crop needs fertilizer and considerable care. Chili is cultivated in the lowlands of Ranchos Flores and Nejapa, planted in January or February and harvested in July or August.

The people of Tlahui are interested in growing fruit. In 1976 I was told that in the previous year they had bought more fruit trees from the INI than any other municipio. At present, peaches are most popular. They begin to appear in May and June.

During the rainy season from July to September various wild plants are used to enliven meals. *Maguey, pulquero* and *mezcalero*, is planted in the ranchos. *Maguey pulquero* is used to ferment *pulque*. *Maguey mezcalero* is used partly to distil mezcal, some of which is sold to Mitla merchants. From *maguey ixtlero, ixtle* fiber is extracted and sold to Yalálag and the Caxonos villages where various ixtle products are manufactured.

Sugar cane is also grown in the lowlands. It is pressed to extract the juice, which is boiled to make brown sugar (*panela*).

Very rarely, wheat is cultivated experimentally, but it is still not accepted as an essential crop. In the church garden new vegetables like cabbage, horse radish, onion, garlic, and cauliflower are grown experimentally. Although some people imitate this experiment, most are indifferent.

In accordance with the agricultural cycle (Fig. 4), the Mixe family dedicates most of its time to the cultivation and care of crops. Nevertheless, production is less than what they need for self-sufficiency. For seven to eight months after the harvest they

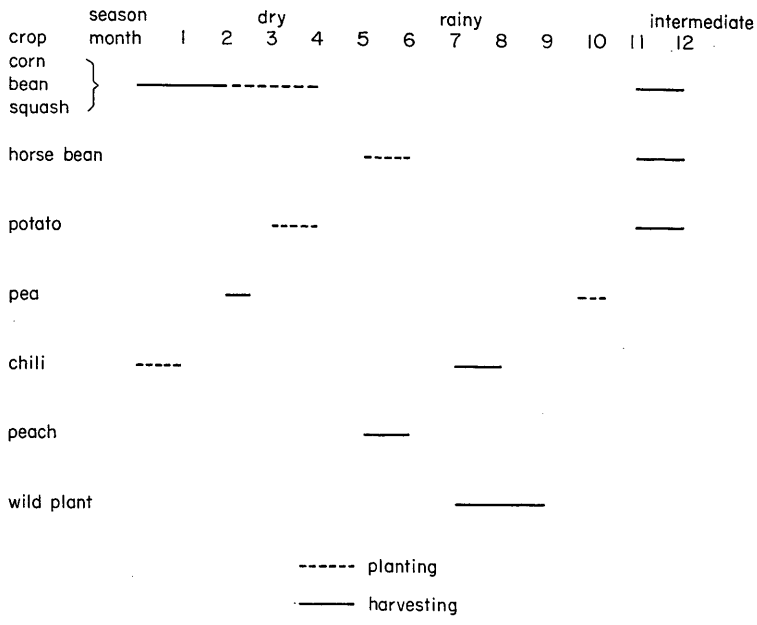


Fig. 4. Agricultural Cycle

can depend on their stock of corn, but they must purchase extra for the rest of the year. Worse, when they need cash during the harvest season, they are forced to sell part of their harvest at the lowest prices, whereas later they have no choice but to buy corn at higher prices. When they sell too much at harvest time, early in February they must buy corn purchased by Mitla merchants or by intermediary Mixe merchants of Tlahui or Ayutla.

Economic Complements to Agriculture

Cattle is raised in the ranchos, but most animals are of a quality inferior to those of Juquila and the Caxonos Zapotec villages from which cattle is brought to the Ayutla market. Every year at the fiesta of Guadalupe a great many bulls are brought to the centro to participate in the bullfight, but all appear thin and unlikely to provide good meat.

The climate of Tlahui is more favorable to sheep and goats than to cattle. The sheep provide wool for the weavers of *gabán.* Sheep and goats have a high commercial value, and people sell them to the Mitleños. In 1974 the price of a mature sheep reached 800 pesos and a big goat 450–500 pesos. That year the Valley of Oaxaca suffered a shortage of livestock and two or three Mitleños regularly visited the Mixe region to buy sheep and goats.

Pig raising will be experimented with in Tlahui, as in the other highland villages, through the initiative of INI, SAG, and the *Comisiôn del Papaloapan.* Unlike the lowlands, where pigs have customarily been raised under free range conditions, the

highlanders are instructed to erect corrals for raising pigs under hygienic conditions. In February, people buy a piglet for about 150 pesos in Tlacolula and sell the same pig in December, now fattened, for about 1,200 pesos. The profit is used for New Year's Day celebrations.

Mules and donkeys are not raised in Tlahui. They are sold and bought at the market of Ayutla or Juquila. *Guajolotes* (Mexican turkey) and chickens are movable properties to the Mixe. Guajolotes in particular are highly appreciated for their commercial and magico-religious values in sacrifice. In 1974, under the impact of the worldwide inflation, a large, fat male guajolote cost about 150 pesos, and a female about 100 pesos. A mature chicken cost about 40–50 pesos.

Rabbits, deer, pigeons, and some other wild animals are hunted only occasionally. Apparently, hunting has declined in economic importance, according to most old people of Tlahui.

Three butchers live in the centro but only two regularly engage in butchering. In Ayutla, with its large demand for meat from the *agats* and the Mixe of the various municipios, some butchers attempt to bring good beef cattle from Juquila and the villages of the Caxonos Zapotec. Besides, since the 1930s their technique of butchering has been famous throughout the Mixe region [BEALS 1945: 108]. In Tlahui the butchers cannot always select good cattle and their technique is inferior.

Five families bake bread. Bread made in Tlahui is not as soft as that of Oaxaca and Juchitán brought by the Mitleños, but the rustic bread of Tlahui with its simple flavor is appreciated as much as that of Chichicaxtepec.

Some wives and unmarried women ferment *pulque* from the maguey. During the Saturday markets in the centro they occupy the very popular place alloted to the pulque vendors. In this way, unmarried women, who are obliged to buy fireworks at the fiestas of the major saints, earn money.

Most of the maguey used for mezcal production is sold to the Mitleños, but some is left to make mezcal for family consumption and for sale in the local market. The mezcal of Tlahui is somewhat weaker than that distilled in the Zapotec villages specializing in mezcal production, such as San Juan del Río and San Pedro, located in the direction of Tepuxtepec, and Matatlán, in the Valley of Oaxaca. Matatlán sends its mezcal to Ayutla via the truck owned by the Mitleños. To obtain mezcal from San Juan del Río and San Pedro, the mezcal peddlers of Ayutla must send a man with donkeys for a two-day round trip. A team goes each week to obtain mezcal for Sunday, the market day in Ayutla. This mezcal is resold to small mezcal vendors in Ayutla and to the other Mixe villages, including Tlahui. This was the route taken until 1974, when the journey by car to Tlahui and Juquila was still difficult. Tlahui mezcal peddlers sell less than do their counterparts in Ayutla and sell over a smaller geographic range than do the peddlers of Chichicaxtepec and Tepantlali, who travel from village to village at the time of the fiestas.

Before 1974, two places frequently patronized by the travelers to and from Totontepec, Metepec, Huitepec, and Yacochi provided food service: just below the market building a family serves a simple meal with coffee or *atole*, and the house-

wife of another family on the footpath leading to Yacochi sells mezcal to travelers. In June 1974, a girl who returned from Mexico City rented a piece of land formerly occupied by the storehouse of the municipio, and there, together with her father, she built a small restaurant (*fonda*). The employees of SOP and Coconal and the *promotores* of INI became her customers. This new restaurant, like many similar establishments in Ayutla, usually caters to the *agats* and some modernized Mixe, whereas the two older places continue to serve the Mixe in general.

In the ranchos people make charcoal which they sell in the centro. Also in the ranchos people extract ixtle fiber by soaking maguey in running water. They sell ixtle fiber in Yalálag, where Yalaltecos make various products such as *mecapal* (belt to carry load), *mecate* (cord), *red* (net bag), *aparejo* (cinch for animals), and *bozal* (muzzle) among other items. These products are sold to the Mixe region. In Tlahui one man from Rancho Flores buys ixtle products in Yalálag and sells them in Tlahui or at the Ayutla market.

Firework-making is another economic complement. Many years ago, at the fiestas Tlahui invited the firework-makers from Zacatepec, Yalálag, Villa Alta, or Tlacolula.[2] Later, three men of Tlahui learned the technique used in Zacatepec. At present these men make fireworks for the village fiestas, and visit the neighboring villages to supply them with fireworks (*castillos*), *toritos*, Catarina firewheels (*ruedas Catarinas*), and skyrockets (*cohetes*).

Tlahui masons are famous in the Mixe region for their hard work and good technique, although they are far less competent than those of Mitla and Santa María Albarradas when making modern structures of brick and cement. When the federal government opened the road from Tlahui to Yacochi, the engineers of SOP and Coconal came to appreciate the masons of Tlahui for their quick grasp of the work.

Some women weave gabán (*xaabix* in Mixe), the good quality of which is widely known throughout the highland villages. Wool is clipped twice a year; washed with Octagon soap (a brand of coarse soap popular in Mexico) and lemon; spun first by wooden spindle wheel, and then again with a spindle to produce finer yarn. Finally, gabán is woven on simple backstrap looms (Plate 3). Natural, un-dyed, white, grey, brown, and black wool is used. There are seven variations in the pattern of gabán (Appendix 2).

Some women know how to weave a good gabán, but it is fairly difficult to find a well-woven gabán that uses good quality yarn. Only twenty percent are regarded as of superior class. Gabán is sold in retail outlet or can be obtained directly from the makers. In the Tlahui market gabán is easily bought from the individual vendors. In the Ayutla market the vendors from Tlahui, who come thus far, walk around the market making their own purchases, so it is almost impossible to buy directly from them.

The price of gabán varies according to the size, a small size costing 40–50 pesos, a large size 70–80 pesos, and a blanket size 70–90 pesos. Storekeepers sell it with a

2. Some men from Miahautlán still live in Tlacolula, where they are engaged in making fireworks [DISKIN 1976: 243].

10-peso margin. People remember that about ten years ago a gabán of regular size cost only 25 pesos.

Recently a change is taking place in the weaving of gabán. Following the instructions of the INI, Tamazulapam began to manufacture gabán by loom, using woolen yarn of various colors brought from Oaxaca. Because of its regular supply and lower price than that of Tlahui, the new gabán sold well at the stores of Tamazulapam and Ayutla. Because of its gay colors, this gabán attracts younger people, but people know that this new gabán protects them neither from cold nor rain and that it does not stand washing. Following the example of the Tamazulapam gabán, however, some weavers in Tlahui began to apply machine-made yarn to the back-strapped loom, with the result that they spend considerable time producing a gabán with a quality inferior to that of the pure woolen, handwoven type.

Folk costume sewing is another handcraft in Tlahui. Men of Tlahui no longer wear the traditional cotton *pantalones* and shirt, a costume popular in the Mixe region until about the 1930s. Photos dating from the period of Daniel Martínez, which decorate the walls of some houses in Ayutla, show men wearing this costume. However, even at present, throughout the Mixe region some old men are seen wearing the traditional dress.

Women still wear the blouse and skirt typical of Tlahui. The blouse is of white cotton with machine embroidery of the pattern of maguey plants with red and grey threads, and the skirt is of Spanish style, made of popular printed cotton cloth. The laborious work of embroidering the blouse and sewing the wide skirt by machine is usually done by men. It is difficult to discuss when the folk costume of the Tlahui women assumed its present form. Some believe that it was introduced from Totontepec, a supposition supported by the fact that the costume of Tlahui is very similar to that of the Totontepec women except for its embroidery pattern. I could not confirm the validity of this supposition. The palm belt for the costume comes from Acatlancito, a rancho of Juquila, or from San Lorenzo Albarradas. The belt of woven cloth comes from Mitla or Oaxaca, and is decorated with a pattern of human figures and ears of corn. The necklace is composed of thin, red rods of hard glass. Some middle-aged and old women still wear necklaces of this quality. The shawls they use are the popular Mexican, factory-made, black or dark blue ones (for general information on costumes in the Mixe region, see Appendix 3).

Pottery is made by women in Rancho Flores, where there is good, grey clay. Besides a range of pottery (Appendix 4), they sometimes make candlesticks in the shape of ox or guajolote figures. It is not known whether this form originated in Rancho Flores or is an imitation of the ceramics of the Valley of Oaxaca. The pottery of Tlahui is relatively unknown in the Mixe region, owing to its inferior quality and lack of variety, compared with the famous pottery of Tamazulapam and Mixistlán. In the market of Ayutla the pottery of Tlahui cannot compete with that from Tamazulapam, so Tlahui potters try to market their products in distant Zacatepec. Every Wednesday groups of two or three men, carrying six to eight pots slung in two rows on their backs, travel to Zacatepec for its Thursday market.

Market and Merchants

A space is set aside in the market place for vendors of each particular commodity (Fig. 5). Figure 5 [1], recorded on December 1, 1973, shows the space allocation prior to the opening of the road in 1974. At the end of 1973 the priest and a few Mitla merchants were adventurous enough to reach the centro by their trucks, following the still unsafe road, often damaged by rain and landslides. In about March 1974 the road became safer and Mitleños began to enter Tlahui by truck. This led to a change in the spatial arrangement of the market (Fig. 5 [2]). As can be seen, only the vendors of turkey and chicken, pottery, pulque, and mezcal were alloted different places.[3]

There are 13 stores (*casetas*), only four of which are open almost everyday. One of the four is capitalized by a Mitleño and managed by a man from Tlahui. The building lots for these stores belong to the municipio and the storekeepers (caseteros) rent them on a monthly basis. The stores stock a variety of merchandise: machetes, cigarettes, Coca-Cola and other soft drinks, pan de Bimbo (bread of the Bimbo brand, suitable for the *agats* residents of SOP and Coconal), beer, mezcal, soap, brown sugar, salt, bread, candles, paper, battery, cloth, clothes, gabán, blanket, leather sandals from Yalálag, plastic sandals, polyethylene buckets, nylon sheet, and so forth. The total value of the merchandise stocked per store is about 3,000 pesos. In the autumn of 1974 the Conasupo opened and began to sell commodities at prices 30 percent cheaper than those of the stores. This endangered the storekeepers' business, but they continue to be indispensable to the people since they stock a greater variety of goods and offer credit.

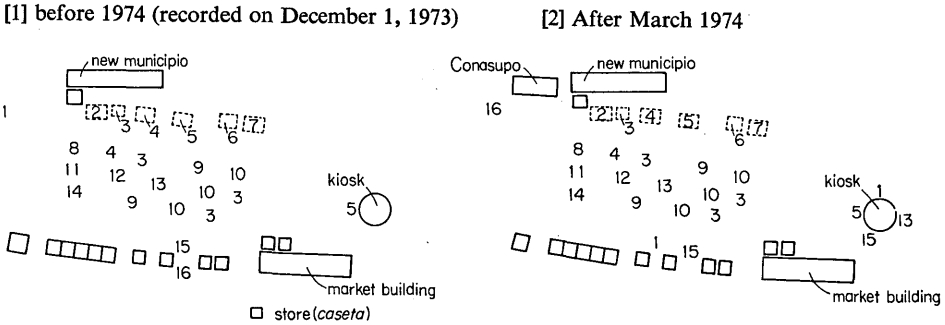


Fig. 5. Plan of the Market at Tlahui (1973–74)

3. In 1976, mezcal vendors returned to the place recorded on December 1, 1973, as the new market was being constructed near this place. In 1976 stalls increased in number on the open space near the kiosk.

Tlahui falls within the domain of the Ayutla market, to which commute the Mixe of the highlands and midlands. Situated near Ayutla, the Tlahui market has relatively minor importance. Commuters to the Tlahui market include people from the ranchos of Tlahui, the people of Tamazulapam, Yacochi, Huitepec, and a few from Mixistlán. Two or three of the Tamazulapam peddlers erect their stalls (*puestos*) at the portico of the old municipio only on the days of the fiestas of the major saints and during the other major fiestas. Sandal vendors from Yalálag pass through Tlahui en route to the Sunday market in Ayutla. They only wholesale leather sandals to the storekeepers of Tlahui.

Compared with the Ayutla market, that of Tlahui starts late in the day. At 9: 00 A.M. the plaza is devoid of people. After 9: 30 people begin to appear (Plate 4), and by 11: 00 the plaza is quite crowded. The market bustles with activity from 11: 00 to 4: 00 P.M., when people begin to head homeward. As in any other Indian market, the transaction proceeds silently. All the vendors sit silently, looking indifferent and spreading the goods for sale in front of them (Plate 5). In 1974 the Oaxaca or Mitla merchants had not yet disturbed the market with their noisy cries, but by the end of 1974 the silent market at Tlahui was being gradually disturbed by the *agats* way of selling. At the fiesta of Guadalupe, on December 12, 1974, a blanket and pantalon merchant came by truck and advertised his goods noisily with his microphone. On the same day a vendor of shaved ice appeared from Tlacolula. These two vendors presented a marked contrast to the silent Mixe sellers.

In 1966 the road was opened to Ayutla and Tamazulapam, which brought about remarkable changes in the economic patterns at Tlahui and in the village's relationship to the merchants of Mitla.[4] These changes accelerated after 1974 when the road was opened up to Tlahui; the road directed more and more commerce and control into the hands of those with vehicles and capital.

The pattern of commercial activities before 1966 seems to have been as follows. For the dual purpose of providing the Mixe with city merchandise and monopolizing cash crops on the return trip, the Mitla merchants sent muleteers (*arrieros*) to the Mixe villages (Fig. 1). To visit the villages deep in the highlands, they had to pass through Tlahui. This fact coincides with the recollection of old people that in the past the muleteers from Mitla used to pass Tlahui often. To go toward Zacatepec, they followed the footpath which runs through Rancho Texas. In those days men of Tlahui played a more active role in porterage trade than they do now. These *cargadores* went first to Mixistlán to buy avocados. Carrying them on their backs, they returned to Tlahui to set out for Mitla and Tlacolula, where they sold the avocados and bought merchandise. They returned with this merchandise to Tlahui and set out for Zacatepec, where they sold the merchandise and bought coffee. Then they carried their coffee to Yalálag or Villa Alta. Recalling those days, the old men of Tlahui say, "Before, we traveled much. Yes, we suffered much." Mitla insisted on harassing even these humble efforts. An old man told me the following story: one

4. The general pattern of the activities of the Mitleños is fully discussed in Nahmad [1965: 52–56]. My account is limited to the situation at Tlahui.

day a group of Tlahui carriers arrived at Mitla, carrying coffee to sell directly to Tlacolula. Some men asked the Mixe if they had obtained an entrance permit for Tlacolula issued by the officials of the town; if not, they were not to pass through Mitla with coffee for Tlacolula. In this petty way, the free Mixe trade was interrupted and the Mitla merchants maintained regulation of the economy of the Mixe region, sending their own muleteers throughout the region to sell merchandise and bring back Mixe cash crops.

The commercial activities of the merchants after 1966 differ little from those in 1974 except that in 1974 the Mitla merchants came directly to Tlahui by car, and the carriers of Tlahui did not need to walk to Tamazulapam or to Ayutla. The following description is based on my observation of the flow of cash crops and of the activities of the Mixe carriers, the Mixe intermediary merchants, and the Mitla merchants in 1973 and 1974.

The major cash crops are avocados and coffee. Avocados come from Ocotepec, Huitepec, and Yacochi, and coffee from Totontepec, Ocotepec, Huitepec, and Zacatepec (see Fig. 1). The people of these villages carry the crops on their backs to Tlahui. Also, some Tlahui carriers make the round trip to the above-mentioned villages to carry crops back to Tlahui. On Fridays, on the footpaths leading from these villages to Tlahui, groups of people come with bags of crops which they hand over to the intermediary merchants at Tlahui, so that the latter can give the crops to the Mitla merchants on Saturday, the market day at Tlahui. These people from the remoter villages receive cash to buy corn or other merchandise at the markets in Tlahui or Ayutla.

This flow of cash crops characteristic of 1973 and 1974 is the result of the changes which occurred after the road was opened. Before the road came to Tlahui, avocados and coffee from the remoter villages were taken to Tamazulapam. But now (at least, in 1974), once the crops have been brought to Tlahui, they are transferred directly to Mitla or Oaxaca buyers. Zacatepec coffee is still brought to Tamazulapam, but the crops of the other villages remain in Tlahui for forwarding down the road to the big towns. Under these circumstances, some Tamazulapam and Ayutla traders must come to Tlahui to buy crops. These Mixe middlemen are handicapped by their limited transportation capacity—with the bags of avocados and coffee that they have purchased, they wait for the trucks of the Mitleños, but are not allowed to ride them, although willing to pay for the transportation. In 1974 one Ayutla storekeeper bought a small truck and began to come to Tlahui to buy crops and also to provide transportation for the Mixe intermediary merchants.[5]

Many storekeepers play the middleman as well, buying crops to pass on to the Mitleños and profiting by the mark-up. From the Mitla merchants, they buy goods to sell to the Mixe at the stores, profiting on that exchange as well. Thus, by reselling both cash crops and merchandise, the storekeepers seem to be increasing their capital, and in the future are likely to become the rich stratum of the population of Tlahui.

In 1974 the *Instituto Mexicano de Café* (Mexican Coffee Institute) began trying

5. In October 1976 I learned that there were three trucks that had been bought by Tlahui men.

to buy coffee in the Mixe region, but could not compete with the Mitleños, who pay higher prices and offer credit. The Mitleños thus remain as dominant in Tlahui as they were before. On Saturday they arrive, bringing corn and a variety of merchandise and taking back coffee and avocados to the Valley. In another instance of outside capital cutting into the Mixe trade network, in 1974 a Mexico City avocado merchant visited Tlahui several times with his small truck to buy avocados cheaper than he could at Ayutla, where he formerly bought. Clearly, the "modernization" of transportation—the new road—has led to radical realignment of village interdependencies; in fact, it has stripped Tlahui of much of its trade autonomy.

The monopolization of the Mixe cash crops by the Mitla merchants illustrates the most serious and complicated system of exploitation, so well analysed and documented by Nahmad [1965: 52–56]. The Mixe are unable to select the buyer who can offer the best price. The Mitleños can monopolize the crops and can set prices as they like. Some Mitla coffee merchants force the Mixe vendors to sell the superior *café pergamino* at the same cheap price as the inferior *café de oro*. The avocado merchants can buy in bulk, pay the lowest to individual Mixe vendors, and even buy them out. Some buyers of fruits and flowers pay less than they have to, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Mixe vendors who cannot count well in the national currency. The aggressive Mitla merchants are a real menace to the Mixe. In Appendix 5, I have documented three examples of exploitation and trickery: by a Mitla coffee buyer, a Mixe intermediary merchant, and a Zapotec itinerant woman trader (*viajera*).[6]

In addition to their function as monopolistic buyers, the Mitleños are the only providers of cereals and merchandise needed in the Mixe region. In highland villages, people must buy corn during four to five months of the year. The Mitleños provide these villages with corn at a price set by the merchants. From May to October, 1974, the highland villages suffered a shortage of corn and beans, and the price of corn was high until harvest time. In Ayutla the Conasupo stock of corn was not enough to satisfy local needs. When corn arrived at the Conasupo, people with enough money purchased large quantities, leaving only a small amount for those with less savings. This gave the Mitleños their chance. In those days the Conasupo in Tlahui was not yet open, and people traveled to Ayutla to buy corn. At the Ayutla market the Mixe from various villages gathered at the stores of corn merchants. The Mixe complained about the bad quality of corn but had no alternative but to buy it. Everybody muttered, "This corn is not clean. Much will go to the *guajolote*. What a fate!"

Loaning capital is another means of exploitation. One store in Tlahui operates with the capital of a Mitleño. A *fonda* in Yacochi, newly set up in 1974 near the

6. *Viajeras* are "revendors who regularly buy products in one location to sell them at distant locations as independent operators" [CHIÑAS 1976: 173]. Parsons [1936: 59–60] referred to itinerant men traders of Mitla but not to women traders. The *viajera* whom I observed in Ayutla is similar to the Isthmus *viajeras* described by Chiñas, who "tend to be relatively restrictive in their movements, traveling repeatedly to a single destination, [though] a few have alternate destinations" [CHIÑAS 1976: 173].

Coconal workcamp, is kept by a Mixe, but its capital belongs to a Mitleño. One speaks of the Colonial period as having passed, but these patterns of economic domination have brought the Tlahui Mixe almost to the status of a colony of Mitla.

Economic Relations with the Zapotec and the Chinantec

The Zapotec and the Chinantec are the two Indian groups with whom the highland Mixe have contact. Among the various Zapotec, the neighbors of the highland Mixe are those of Yalálag, Caxonos, Choapan, and the surrounding areas, and the Zapotec of Albarradas and Mitla.

The Yalaltecos preside over the Mixe economically. Tlahui and the other highland Mixe villages bring ixtle to Yalálag and the Caxonos Zapotec villages which produce a variety of ixtle products, which the Yalaltecos sell back to the Mixe along with the famous leather sandals. Mixistlán, Chichicaxtepec, Yacochi, and Tiltepec have deeper ties with the Yalaltecos owing to their geographical proximity. Mixistlán sells pottery to Yalálag. Chichicaxtepec and some other villages sell charcoal to Yalálag. Mixistlán, Chichicaxtepec, Tiltepec, Metepec, and Tlahui hire out as laborers to the Yalaltecos, who offer them the lease of agricultural land. Men from Mixistlán, Chichicaxtepec, Tiltepec, Yacochi, Huitepec, and Tlahui work as carriers to bring coffee from the midlands to Yalálag, and goods from Yalálag back to the midlands.

The Caxonos Zapotec villages, such as San Francisco Caxonos and San Mateo Caxonos, have few relations with the highland Mixe, except for selling cattle to the butchers of Ayutla. But, according to Ramírez's census, San Pedro Caxonos and some other Caxonos villagers visit the market of Ayutla to sell dried fish, chili pepper, and other things [BEALS 1975: 389–391, Appendix 41].

The highland Mixe have contacts with the Zapotec of Choapan when they are hired on the coffee plantations. Besides this, some Mixe from Mixistlán visit Choapan as *cargadores*; people from Chichicaxtepec visit Choapan to sell bread; some Mixe, perhaps from Tamazulapam or Alotepec, bring salt, and Mixe of unknown villages bring palm mats from Albarradas [DE LA FUENTE 1947a: 182–184].

The Zapotec of Albarradas have more tenuous economic relationships with the Mixe deeper in the highlands, but most Mixe have casual contacts with the Albarradas Zapotec when they stop at Santa María and San Lorenzo Albarradas on their way to and from Oaxaca. Before the opening of the road in 1966, Santa María Albarradas was a place to spend the night, and the Mixe had more frequent contact with the people there than they do now. Many people from Ayutla have intermarried with the Albarradas Zapotec, possibly as a consequence of geographic proximity.

Contacts between the Mixe and the Chinantec happen only occasionally when the highland Mixe visit Yaveo, Choapan, and the surrounding area to work as wage laborers on the coffee plantations. Mixe knowledge of the Chinantec is limited except for those Tamazulapam peddlers who travel to the distant Chinantec region to sell *ocote*.

Wage Labor

The low level of subsistence agriculture, exploitation by the *agats* merchants, and the need to buy commercial merchandise force the people of Tlahui to seek wage labor wherever they can, even in the *agats* land. Early in 1945 some men of Tlahui ventured as far as the U.S.A. to become *braceros*. This realistic and dynamic tradition of manual labor by Tlahui men continues among those who try to find work outside their village. There are no official data on the number of people engaged in wage labor outside the village, so the following data are based on my own estimates.

The principal wage labor is the November–December coffee harvest in the Mixe midlands and lowlands. In order of frequency, the places where jobs are usually found are Zacatepec, Alotepec, Ocotepec, Cotzocón, and Ozolotepec. When venturing farther than the Mixe territory, they go to Yaveo, Choapan, and the surrounding areas (Fig. 1).

The wage offered in 1974 was 25 pesos a day without a meal. But some laborers, especially those from Tlahui, are paid less: in Alotepec the men of Tlahui are paid only 17 pesos a day. In October they go to the coffee fields with their families, taking along some utensils for cooking in the fields and remaining there for about two months. At the end of December or in January and February they return to Tlahui with their small savings.

Every year during the period of October to December, contractors (*enganchadores*) from Choapan, Yaveo, Guichicovi, and Ozolotepec visit the Mixe highlands to find laborers for the coffee fields. In November 1974 a contractor from Guichicovi offered 20 pesos a day, plus a meal, which, according to the Mixe, was a good contract. Another example of a 1974 contract was that offered by a contractor from Choapan: 7 pesos for each kerosene can of coffee harvested plus meals and some advance payment. This was not regarded as favorable. However, the municipio of Mixistlán helped the contractor to contract 25 persons. The people of Tlahui were not interested, since they could find work with the Coconal, which paid 20–27 pesos for one day's road construction labor. In the same year many highland villagers went to Yaveo. Mixistlán could not celebrate the fiesta of the Natividad properly, on December 21–22, 1974, because many people had left for Yaveo. Even from Ayutla, many men of the ranchos, together with two women, went to Yaveo.

Some who had been to Ozolotepec became permanent residents on *ejidos* there. Some people from Tlahui, who did not want to return home, also live in Ocotepec, Jaltepec Mixe, and in the ejidos near Matías Romero. Some from Tlahui also went to Veracruz to establish themselves in the ejidos. For example, a young man from the village of 24 de Noviembre, in Veracruz, who visited Tlahui at the fiesta of Guadalupe in 1973, told how his family had migrated to Veracruz:

> *When I was nine years old, my father brought me to Chiapas. From there he crossed over to Guatemala without a passport. There were just woods and coffee plantations. A patron employed us on a plantation where we worked less than a year, picking cotton. Some years later, my father brought me to Tuxtla*

Gutiérrez, where we worked picking cotton on a farm owned by a Chinese. The Chinese eat only rice. They are all rich, the Chinese in Tuxtla. Later, I spent two years in the Isthmus. Then, I passed four years in Villa Hermosa, cutting sugar cane. Later, we even went to Veracruz. Eleven years after we left Tlahui, we established ourselves in Veracruz. Now we live at the ejido of 24 de Noviembre. Two of my brothers got married there. Life there is completely different from Tlahui.

The oldest emigrants from Tlahui to Veracruz and to the Mixe lowlands are 50–60 years old, and they gave as the reason for emigrating the lack of communal land suitable for growing corn. The first wave of emigration thus coincides with the lack of usable communal land, caused by population increase.

In addition to the Mixe territory and its surrounding area, some Tlahui people go to Tapachula or Tuxtla Gutiérrez in Chiapas to harvest cotton and tropical fruit, and Sonora and Sinaloa for the work in the sugar cane or rice fields. The numbers going to those places are unknown. Some go regularly. They go alone and return home with some savings. It seems that Tlahui men go further to work outside the village than those of any other highland Mixe village.

Many young people go to Mexico City and its satellite cities, where there is a large demand for maids. Communication and mutual help among the Mixe immigrants there are frequent, and they can find patrons for their relatives and friends who remain in the Mixe region. According to the estimate of the people of Tlahui and Ayutla, more than a thousand people from Totontepec, Tlahui, and Ayutla, together with people from other nearby Mixe villages, live in Mexico City and its surrounding area. In addition, it is said that most of the young men and women in Metepec and Huitepec have experienced life in Mexico City.

Life for the Mixe in the city is hard. The independent and respectable Señor and Señorita in the Mixe region are forced to occupy the lowest national social stratum in the city. In most cases the families remaining in the Mixe region depend on their remittances. I once encountered an old couple who visited Oaxaca City to receive money sent by their daughter working in Mexico City. In Rancho Flores an old woman asked me to read a letter from her daughter who is in Arizona with her Mexican patron. In the letter she promised to send money to her parents in the near future.

Mixe who leave the region show a variety of adaptations: one extreme is a complete "agatsization," whereas the other is a return to Mixe life. At the fiestas of the patron saints, these young people come back to the villages. They are easily distinguished by their loud shirts and bell-bottomed trousers. Most of them are indecisive about their future, but as time goes by, they must choose between living in the city or coming back to the Mixe region. I lack information on the people who continue to stay in the city, but I found some young optimists who decided to return home and who readapted successfully to their native village. The following cases were observed in Tlahui: 1) two boys who had studied at a junior high school in

Puebla with a scholarship from the Salesians returned to Tlahui and became teachers at the Salesian school in Matagallinas; 2) a boy who had been a Salesian scholarship student in Morelia began to work with the *Comisiŏn del Papaloapan*; 3) a girl who had been studying in Guadalajala with the financial help of the Salesians came back to work at the kindergarten managed by the Salesian missionaries; 4) many who experienced life in Mexico City became promotores of the INI and the IIISEO; and 5) a girl who had been in Mexico City as a maid came home and opened the first restaurant in Tlahui.

Teachers and Promotores

In the 1960s, Tlahui began to have occupational specialists such as federal school teachers, teachers at the schools managed by the Salesians, and promotores of INI and IIISEO. Before this era, all federal school teachers were *agats* sent to the Mixe region by the state, but in the 1960s Tlahui began to supply its own native teachers, and in 1974 three natives worked with one from Tlacolula under a superior from Tlaxiaco.

The school at Matagallinas and the kindergarten in Tlahui, both managed by the Salesians, have young teachers from Tlahui, two males at Matagallinas and one female at the kindergarten in Tlahui. All studied in Puebla, Mexico City, or in Michoacán on a Salesian scholarship.

There are about 12 promotores of INI and seven of IIISEO. Their numbers are not always exact, since some who have ceased to work remain on office rosters. They work for the benefit of the villages, teaching Spanish, agricultural techniques, animal husbandry, nutrition, medical knowledge, and similar subjects. Some work in Tlahui and others elsewhere. In July 1974 the promotores of IIISEO were consolidated under INI, and henceforth all the promotores belonged to INI.

The monthly income of teachers and promotores ranges from 900 to 1,500 pesos, and after 1975 it seems to have been raised somewhat. This is lower than the urban income scale, but good enough in the Mixe region, because it guarantees a regular cash income so rarely secured there. With their salaries and higher education, the teachers and the promotores have emerged as young elites in Tlahui as well as in other Mixe villages.

As presented above, economically, Tlahui is typical of the highland Mixe villages. Communal land still exists for the benefit of everybody, and privately-owned land is not a factor causing economic stratification since it is used only for family production rather than for the large-scale production of cash crops.

Agriculture and the other economic activities have so far contributed to the stability of the community, for they have not created an economic surplus of sufficient scale to bring about economic stratification. As a consequence society remains rather egalitarian and communal. This dominant economic orientation will be

exemplified in the fiesta economy and the civil and religious organizations (Chapter 4).

The above view is, however, a static observation, and there are many symptoms of impending change. The shortage of arable land, which has become obvious since about a generation ago as a result of increasing population pressure, will force people to become increasingly dependent on wage labor either within or outside the municipio, especially in the metropolis and its satellite cities, and in Oaxaca. The improvement in land use, which is being promoted by the government agencies, will not be successful in interrupting this general trend. Along with the land problems, the increasing dependence on merchandise brought by Mitla and Oaxaca merchants will be another factor causing the economic stratification of the population. Most people will be flooded with merchandise for which they need cash, and they will be converted to "rural proletariats." On the other hand, some storekeepers are accumulating capital, and they will emerge as the future economic leaders of the community. They have already begun to establish social ties with the young elites composed mainly of the teachers and the promotores of INI, who will be the opinion leaders when the community needs new orientations for its social and ritual life.

Ayutla: Central Market Village

For Ayutla, I will not present anywhere near as complete a picture of the economic activities of the people as I have done for Tlahui. What I intend to do below is to present the changes the village has experienced between 1933, when Beals conducted his fieldwork, and 1973–74, when I observed Ayutla. The purposes are double: first, to describe and analyse the changes that Ayutla herself has experienced, and second, to present Ayutla's change as a contrast to Tlahui's.

In 1933, when Beals visited Ayutla, he found the village arranged spatially as shown in his Map 2 [Beals 1945: 15]. According to Beals, the municipio of Ayutla had a population of about 2,500 in those days, and the centro contained some 90 "residences" [Beals 1945: 14]. In 1973 the DAAC information shows that Ayutla (Plate 27) had about 5,000 inhabitants throughout the municipio and that there were 206 households in the centro.[7] According to the IIISEO census,[8] the total population of the centro was 679, living in 137 households. The "centro" in this census includes the area from Portillo, the small rancho at the entrance to the centro from the Mitla side, to Paraíso, the small rancho on the footpath leading to Tamazulapam. The centro is not always clearly defined even by the villagers, thus the

7. An official of DAAC in Ayutla, personal communication.

8. The IIISEO census for Ayutla was done by María del Socorro Ramírez Olivera, promotora of said organization in 1973.

difference in the census data. Notwithstanding the ambiguous definition of the centro, there was clearly a great population increase during the past forty years.

According to the national censuses of 1930, 1940, 1950, and 1960, the population of Ayutla has increased as follows:

1930	2,168
1940	2,516
1950	3,293
1960	3,989

(after Nahmad 1965: Cuadro 4).

Concomitant with the population growth, the spatial arrangement of the centro in 1973 and 1974 (Fig. 6, in which the centro is defined according to IIISEO) is considerably different from that depicted by Beals, clearly illustrating the changes undergone by the village during the past four decades.[9]

Ayutla is called *tugk yoom* (one plain) in Mixe.[10] However, there is no plain worthy of the name, and the centro is perched on a narrow and steeply sloping tract of land. On this small "plain" many new elements were visible in 1973 and 1974.

For instance, as a result of the efforts of the INI and the *Comisión del Papaloapan*, the village planted more than 600 young avocado trees on the plain.

At the entrance of the centro is a statue of María-Auxiliadora, the patron saint of the Salesians who have successfully evangelized the area since 1962. They repaired the church, which was almost in ruins when they arrived, and put up a large parish house to make Ayutla the Salesian headquarters of the Mixe bishopric.

The memory of the *caciquismo* popular in the 1930–40s has been blurred in Ayutla. The ruins of Daniel Martínez's house, where Beals stayed in 1933, served as a resting place for those traveling to the market until November 1974, when it was demolished by his descendants.

The municipio at the time of Beals's work was transferred around 1966 to the present site. From then until 1974 the old municipio has been occupied by the Infantry Military Group 18.

During the last ten years federal and state funds were provided to enable Ayutla to construct schools. The kindergarten is sponsored jointly by the IIISEO, the state of Oaxaca, and the municipio of Ayutla. On the grounds of the municipio classrooms of the primary school stand in ranks. In 1974 the boarding school, where the children of the ranchos spend nights, was opened in the brick building formerly used by the army. Toward the end of the same year a new boarding school was being constructed.

Since 1960 Ayutla has become the center for implementing national development policy in the Mixe region, and during the last ten years branch offices of various federal and state organizations have been opened in the village. The large two-

9. This map was drawn in 1973 and gradually revised in 1974, as the many observed changes were noted.

10. Ayutla is a Nahua name, composed of *ayutl* (gourd) or *ayotl* (turtle) and *tlán* (place). Therefore, Ayutla means the place of gourds or turtles [México, Archivo General de la Nación n.d.: 1].

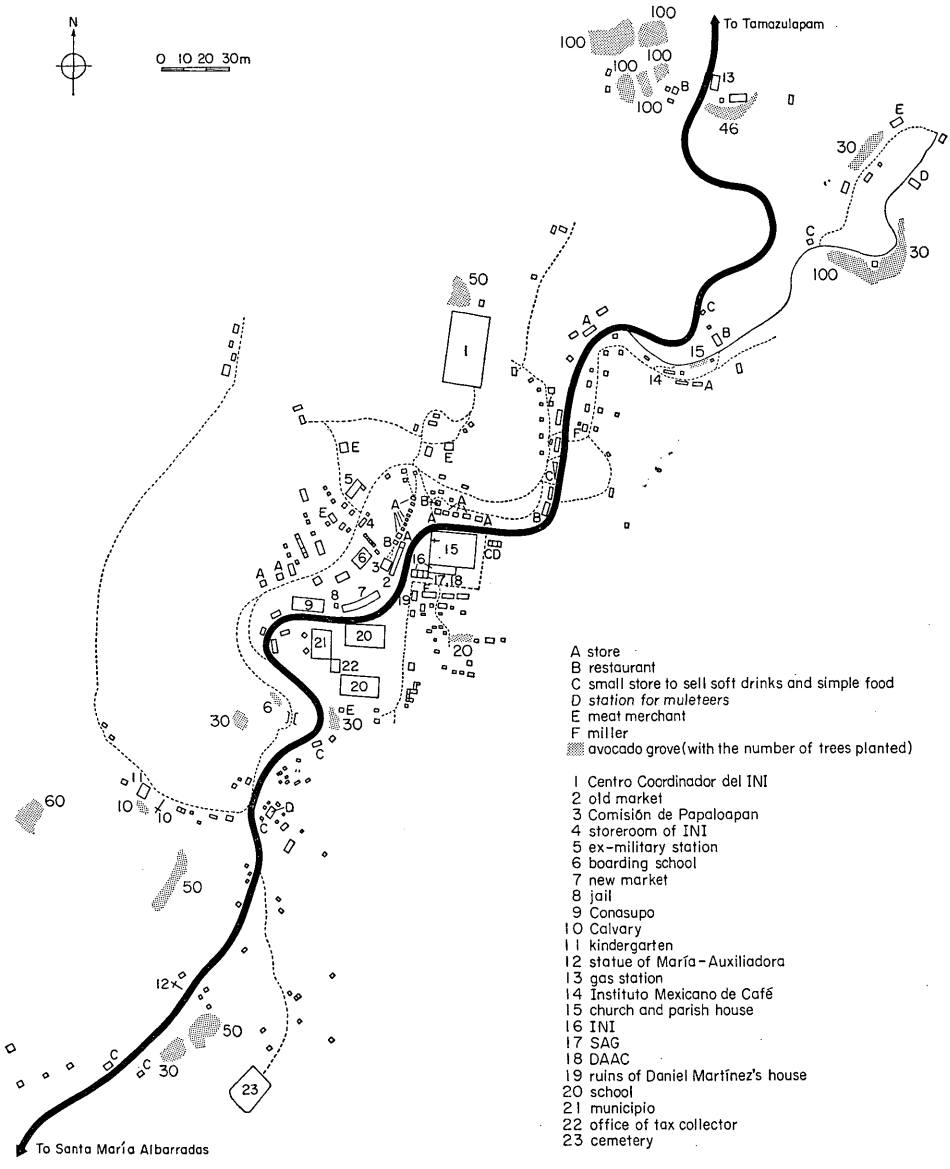


Fig. 6. Ayutla (1973–74)

storied building, once the primary school, now houses the INI office and storehouse. Standing at a right angle to this building is a long simple frame house, in which the SAG and the DAAC occupy room. The *Comisión del Papaloapan* constructed its independent office in 1974; the *Centro Coordinador del INI* for the Mixe region occupies a large open space at the lower part of the centro, and the office of the district tax collector, which has its central office at Zacatepec, has its branch in a small room near the municipio.

With the coming of the road in 1966 and electricity in 1969, Ayutla increased its importance as the "port of the Mixe," the phrase painted on a wall of a house at the entrance to the village. Travelers going to the Valley of Oaxaca, who used to stay overnight at Santa María Albarradas, now look for lodging at Ayutla while waiting for the bus. Giving lodging to the travelers, some families began to sell soft drinks and food.

As in Tlahui, the Mitla merchants are now more aggressive than before, and their contacts with the Mixe region have become increasingly direct. Three private Mixe houses are rented by the owners to Mitla muleteers as stations for mules. At these stations, some 40 mules wait for travel to distant villages. One adult muleteer and a child, with eight to ten animals, usually make up a mule caravan to Cotzocón or Puxmetacan.[11]

The market has expanded in terms of the quantity of sales and the number of visitors. In 1933 Beals found the market as shown in his Figure 7 [BEALS 1945: 123]; during my stay I found the market as depicted in Figure 7.[12] Five principal elements have disappeared between 1933 and 1973. First, tepache and sugar cane juice are no longer sold, having been replaced by soft drinks. Second, the coffee buyers from Mitla have disappeared, and now depend on a steady monopolistic way of buying rather than on making small purchases from individual vendors who arrive at the market with bags of coffee or avocados. Now only small quantities of coffee and avocados are available at the market, these valuable commercial products having been bought up by the Mitleños. Third, Mixe corn vendors have also disappeared, having been replaced by the grain merchants of Mitla who sell large quantities of corn at their stores either daily or on Sundays, the market days. This observation is consistent with the data given by Ramírez [1968]. Beals, who reproduced Ramírez's data, says that "the small flow of maize out of the Sierra in 1933 has been markedly reversed, and the Sierra now imports maize" [BEALS 1975: 255]. Fourth, the merchants from Yalálag have decreased. According to Beals, Yalaltecos formerly sold chili and clothes [BEALS 1945: 123, Fig. 7]. Now they come only to sell sandals. This phenomenon is correlated with the general decline in the economic activities of the Yalaltecos in the Mixe region, under the dominance of the Mitleños. In 1968 Ramírez also reported "the obvious decline in the number of vendors from Yalálag" [BEALS 1975: 254]. Fifth, vendors of ceramics from Mixistlán [BEALS 1945:

11. These travelers are called *viajeros* or *arrieros*. For a description of their activities in the Mixe region, see Beals [1975: Appendix 44].

12. Sometimes, temporal changes are observed in the line-up of the vendors, but usually they take their places as shown in Figure 7, which was drawn according to my observations from 1973 to October 1974. After this date, the following changes occurred: 1) Three stores were transferred to the lower site, and on the space left vacant the municipio began to construct the metal frame for the new market under the supervision of the engineers of the *Brigada del INI*; 2) on the open space near the church dispensary, the municipio began to construct an open-air theater for musicians; and 3) in November 1974 the ruined house of Daniel Martínez was demolished.

Ramírez [1968] provides details of the sellers in the Ayutla market in 1968. His data were reproduced in Beals [1975: Appendix 41]. Ramírez mentions the sellers of blankets from Díaz Ordas and sellers from Caxonos villages. My data are deficient in this respect.

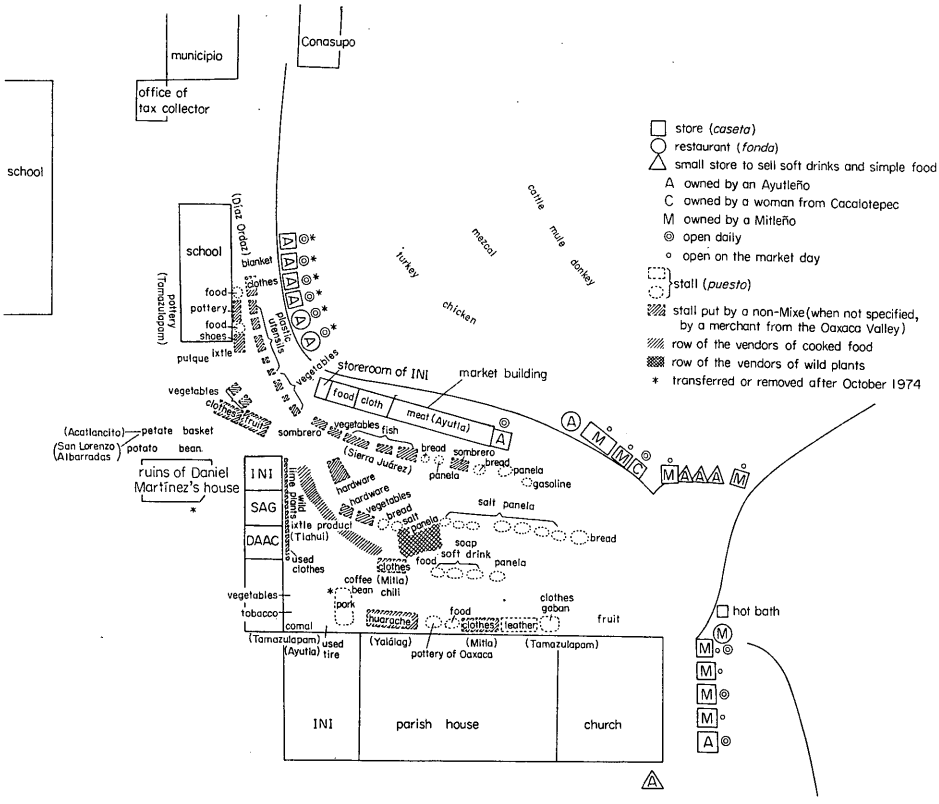


Fig. 7. Plan of the Market at Ayutla (1973–October 1974)

123] have disappeared. Now those from Tamazulapam still sell their finely made ceramics (Plate 28), and some from Rancho Flores of Tlahui sell somewhat coarser ware than that of Tamazulapam.

So, what are the new elements observed at the market in 1973 and 1974 after more than 40 years since Beals's observations? Nahmad, who carried out extensive fieldwork in the Mixe region around 1960, comments: "Analysing the scheme of the market which Beals presents, we find that the same distribution (of the vendors) of over thirty years ago still persists" [NAHMAD 1965: 64, my trans.]. The same observation is applicable to the situation in 1973 and 1974, but there are also some new elements.

First, the marked advance in the economic power of the Valley of Oaxaca is clearly evident. At the market are many stalls (*puestos*) belonging to vendors of fish, vegetables, fruits, clothes, hats, shoes, and metal tools. Most of these vendors are from centers in the Valley of Oaxaca such as Mitla, Tlacolula, Oaxaca, and Etla. Some fish vendors are from Sierra Juárez. Either on Saturdays or very early in the morning on Sundays these merchants arrive at Ayutla by truck.[13] They differ from

13. For details of these Mitla truckers (*camioneros*), see Beals [1975: 255–256, Appendix 44, citing RAMÍREZ 1968].

the Mixe vendors in selling style: these *agats* merchants actively call to passers-by, whereas the Mixe vendors sit or stand silently, spreading their goods in front of them. In addition, the *agats* merchants have a wider range of goods and sell larger quantities than those of the Mixe.

Second, there are now many stores (*casetas*): 15 in all, including those outside the market but in the centro. Eight are owned by Mitleños, six by Ayutleños, and one by a woman who migrated to Ayutla from Cacalotepec, a midland village. Among the eight stores of Mitleños, seven open only on Sunday and enjoy large sales of corn, beans, flour, and a variety of other merchandise (Plate 30). The remaining one store, run by a Mitleño who resides in Ayutla, is open almost everyday. The six stores of Ayutleños and that of the Cacalotepec woman sell small quantities of various items. They are open on Sundays and weekdays, but their commercial activities are irregular. Besides their selling activities, these stores, whether Mitleño or Ayutleño, function as monopolistic buyers[14] of coffee and avocados or as intermediary buyers, and their wholesale purchasing serves to establish a steady and constant control over the prices of cash crops from the Mixe region. These stores seem to have increased in number recently. Around 1960 Nahmad found only six stores: five Mixe "*tenda-jones*" and one Zapotec "*tienda*," according to his expression [NAHMAD 1965: 67]. Compared with this, in 1973–74 the advance of the Mitla merchants seems remarkable. Most of these Zapotec storekeepers are newcomers, and only two had lived in Ayutla before the road was opened in 1966. At present these two families live in Ayutla with their houses and stores built on land rented from the municipio.

Third, there are eight small restaurants (*fondas*), of which four sell meals and four sell only soft drinks, bread, biscuits, and so forth. Seven belong to Ayutleños and one to a Mitleño who is also the owner of a public bath. The growth of small restaurants is remarkable compared with the scarcity of eating places in 1933 [BEALS 1945: 124]. Social relations between Mitleños and Ayutleños continue to be of commercial character, as noted by Beals [1945: 124], but at present Mitleños are served food in all Mixe restaurants in the centro.

The community land in Monte Rosa (which belongs to Rancho Cerro Pelón), Portillo, and La Chicocana has been exhausted and the people cannot look for free land as they did some thirty years ago. Besides, the people of the Ayutla centro, unlike those of Tlahui, cannot depend on the traditional right to cut firewood on communal land. Each person has to cut firewood on his own land or buy it, paying the owner of trees and day laborers for it. In 1973–74 some Ayutleños sold such a great quantity of firewood at cheap prices to the mezcal producers of Matatlán that the *Comisión del Papaloapan* alerted the people to the danger of possible flooding in the rainy season.

Houses and their plots are sold more easily and more frequently than in Tlahui. During the last ten years, as contacts with *agats* have increased, houses and rooms were rented more and more to the employees of the *Comisión del Papaloapan*, INI,

14. For further information on the monopolistic buyers, see Nahmad [1965: 52–55, 61–69].

SAG, and DAAC. In this way, the world of Ayutla is becoming increasingly complex with each passing day.

In such a situation, in Ayutla the rich begin to be distinguished from the poor, although this distinction has not yet produced the form of social stratification observable at the national scale, at least in 1973–74.

The rich level is composed of four groups of people. The first group is composed of the approximately ten owners of stores and restaurants. Many of them have houses better equipped and earn more than the ordinary Mixe, renting houses or rooms to the *agats*. In 1974 one of them bought the first truck in the Mixe region and worked as an intermediary merchant, competing with Mitleños. The second rich group is the meat merchants. Beals commented on the development of the inspection of cattle destined for slaughter under the reformation plan of Daniel Martínez [BEALS 1945: 24]. Since then, Ayutla has become a meat market (Plate 31) on whose fresh meat depend the other municipios of the highlands and midlands. Among nine meat merchants in Ayutla, three sell regularly every week and have enough capital to buy cows from the Caxonos villages. The third rich group is composed of some families of the ranchos who have enough land and animals like cows, oxen, sheep, and goats. The fourth group is composed of the 14 promotores of INI and the teachers who can enjoy monthly salaries. They are not always rich in terms of family property, but knowledgeable about the external world, and with their ability to speak Spanish, they have emerged as the young elite members of the community; the regular salary payment they enjoy seems to guarantee their social position in a society where cash income is increasingly required.

In contrast, the others continue to live as poor people. Not having enough corn to sustain their families, they must look for day labor. Many of them used to work in the midlands and lowlands, in places such as Estancia de Morelos, Alotepec, Quetzaltepec, Yaveo, and Choapan. At present they can find work offered by INI and the *Comisiôn del Papaloapan* in Ayutla and, therefore, most do not need to work outside the village. There are no reliable data on the number of Ayutleños who go to Mexico City, Veracruz, Puebla, or to other parts of the Republic in search of work. It is said that one out of three young people goes to work in Mexico City and its satellite cities, where it is easier for girls to find jobs. Some of these young Mixe establish themselves in the city, whereas others return to Ayutla with some savings to start their lives again in their native village, becoming promotores or putting up a store or restaurant to earn their living.

Ayutla has changed a great deal during the forty years from 1933 to 1973–74. Since 1933 the population has doubled, and after the opening of the road in 1966, many new stores have been opened by Ayutleños and Mitleños, indicating more economic transaction and thereby showing that Ayutla is emerging as a real Mixe market center, focusing relationships between the Mixe and the Mitla and Oaxaca merchants. In addition, in the 1960s and 1970s offices of various federal organizations were added, transforming Ayutla into a center for implementing the national

development policy in the Mixe region. As a result, Ayutla appears prosperous on the surface whereas, in reality, it serves only as market center where the Mitla and Oaxaca merchants garner the profits with their wholesale, monopolistic buying of Mixe cash crops and selling of urban-produced goods. The flood of merchandise, for which the Mixe have to pay cash, tends to reduce the people to the "proletariat" in the social classes of Mexico. Storekeepers, meat merchants, successful families in agriculture, and the teachers and the promotores of INI have emerged as the "rich," whereas most villagers remain as the "poor" sector of the population, although this distinction does not yet represent the gulfs between social classes common on the national scale.

Part 2

Tlahuitoltepec : Traditional World

Chapter 4

Civil and Religious Organizations

This chapter deals with social organizational aspects of Tlahui, especially its civil and religious organizations, to make clear the bearers of the rituals. The first part of the chapter describes how bilateral kinship provides the units of social relations, such as family and kindred, and how *compadrazgo* functions in the monoclass and monoethnic situation of Tlahui.[1]

The second part of the chapter describes and analyses the community organization. As elsewhere in Mesoamerica, the civil-religious organization is the suprakinship social organization that functions as a bulwark of the community [CÂMARA 1952; CANCIAN 1967; CARRASCO 1961; and others]. In Tlahui, the civil and religious organizations function in unison, interwining each other on necessary occasions, which will be described in reference to hierarchies and offices. For sustaining these two organizations and sponsoring the community-wide religious fiestas, the "egalitarian" distribution of communal expenditures—which matches the economic situation of Tlahui—functions in marked contrast to the prestige economy, as reported by Cancian [1965] for Zinacantan. In 1973–74 Tlahui was in the process of modifying its civil and religious organizations, thus giving rise to a number of new tendencies.

FAMILY-LEVEL RELATIONS

Family

The family is called *tuuk jaai* in the Mixe language, which means "one and only family" (*tuuk,* one, and *jaai,* people). Ideally, it is composed either of two generations, parents and children, or of three generations, grandparents, their children, and grandchildren. The family unit occupies one locality for its house, kitchen, sweatbath (*temazcal*), small barn, patio, and sometimes pens for domestic animals, chickens, and guajolotes. It is also an independent economic entity, having a family plot and

1. The data and commentaries in this chapter are based on my findings in Tlahui, but comparative data obtained at Ayutla and in adjacent villages suggest that the outline presented here is applicable to the highland Mixe villages in general. Kinship terminology, and vocative and *compadrazgo* terms are given in Appendices 6, 7, and 8.

rights to use the communal land. Each family head is a taxpayer who represents the family to the municipal authority, and he is obliged to participate in the communal affairs such as fiestas, office-holding, and *tequio*. At the same time, the family as a unit performs various family rituals. Each family has an altar of a small wooden table put near the wall, on which are arranged some *cuadros* (figures of saints encased in glass frames) and *estampas* (prints of saints).

Tlahui is a geographically large municipio. Here I present the data recorded by DAAC on the families dwelling in the centro, excluding those in the ranchos.

There are 199 residential units in the centro with an average household membership of 4.5 (Table 2). The composition of these units recorded in the DAAC census shows various types of household. In order of frequency they are: 1) elementary family of parents and their unmarried children; 2) stem family of parents, a son or daughter and his or her spouse, and their children; 3) grandparents and grandson; 4) uncle or aunt and nephew or niece; 5) mother and unmarried single daughter(s); and 6) single man or single woman. Although these variants are present, an elementary family (type 1) or a stem family composed of lineal cognates (type 2) is the preferred type.

Sometimes, the household includes a "servant," but such person is almost always a near cognate or affine who makes a living in the house of his or her kindred, working as a kitchen helper or field hand. He or she is a temporary member of the family. When there is no longer any need for such labor, on either side, the "servant" can leave the family.

Municipio-endogamy is the norm, both preferred and actual. Thirty-nine marriages are registered for 1973 in the *Libro de Matrimonios Núm. II* (Book of Marriages No. 11) kept at the parish house of Tlahui. In all cases these are marriages between people from Tlahui.

In spite of this prominent tendency of municipio-endogamy, some marriages

Table 2. Household Composition at the Center of Tlahui

No. of family members	No. of residential units	Total
1	3	3
2	33	66
3	29	87
4	43	172
5	34	170
6	25	150
7	15	105
8	12	96
9	2	18
10	2	20
11	1	11
	Total 199	Total 898

Source: 1972 census by DAAC

take place between people from Tlahui and those of adjacent municipios, where both partners live in the borderland between the two municipios. Municipio-endogamy is the norm, but there is no sharp social segregation in cases of municipio-exogamy. For example, a woman from Tamazulapam married a man from Tlahui. She became accustomed to life in Tlahui, and she changed her dress from the Tamazulapam style to that of Tlahui, the change of dress being understood as a sign of her adjustment to Tlahui. To cite another example, a man from San Francisco Jayacaxtepec, a Mixe municipio far to the north of Tlahui, married a woman from Tlahui. This man of exemplary character received the respect of the people and completed all the offices of the civil and religious organizations. He is now one of the *principales*. These cases illustrate that there is neither segregation nor prejudice toward instances of municipio exogamy providing that the persons concerned live within the norms of Tlahui. However, when they are perceived as living abnormally, the people attribute it to exogamy.

Mixe marriage rules are strictly formulated. Collaterally, with any person to whom any classificatory kinship term (Appendix 6) is applied, marriage is forbidden. Lineally, within the fourth degree of relationship, to the third grandson, marriage is not permissible with any person having a common ancestor in the great-great-grandparental generation. This rule is in conformity with a rule prohibiting marriage within the fourth degree of relationship, introduced by the Church in early Colonial times [NUTINI 1967: 397].

For example, Valentina, daughter of a man of the Ramírez family and a woman of the Martínez family, is named Valentina Ramírez Martínez. Valentina marries a man with the family name B. Her daughter, Josefina, is named Josefina B. R. Josefina marries a man of family C. Her daughter, Catarina, is named Catarina C. B. For the first time, on the level of this generation, the family names of Martínez and Ramírez are lost. Therefore, in theory, Catarina can marry any person with the family name of Martínez or Ramírez, and the Church at present also permits this. However, the Mixe are not apt to accept this idea, saying that, "We do not like that. We are not animals." According to their norm, only in the generation of Catarina's children does marriage become permissible with any person named Ramírez or Martínez and related by kinship.

Although most people marry, some women pass their lives unmarried. In acculturated villages such as Ayutla and Totontepec, unmarried women (*solteras*) tend to be not really "single" but "unmarried mothers" (*madres solteras*) who had or have patrons to support them. In Tlahui, where a man cannot financially support more than one woman, it is almost impossible to sustain an extraconjugal tie. Unmarried women are not treated as full members of the community, since they do not participate in tequio or pay taxes. To compensate for these shortcomings, single women are obliged to buy fireworks for the fiestas of the major saints.

Marriages are rarely dissolved. When problems occur, couples consult with the family, the priest, and finally with the higher municipal officials. Most people, however, have stable and lasting marriages.

The Mixe principle of inheritance is equal partition among siblings. In practice, there is little to be inherited: house lot, corn field, avocado trees, other fruit trees, sheep, goats, guajolotes, chickens, agricultural instruments, and so on. When the eldest son marries, he continues to live in his parents' house. Only rarely does he live with his spouse's parents. Later, the new couple constructs a new house on the land of the groom's parents, borrowing the right to use the site along with the right to use his parents' corn field. In the same way younger brothers and sisters leave their natal residence, leaving the youngest son with his parents at their house. In due course he cares for his parents, maintaining the remaining house lot and the corn field.

Inheritance is not put into effect till the death of the parents. When the father dies, leaving his wife and children, the right of inheritance remains with his wife, who must make decisions about inheritance on the marriage of each of her children. When a husband or wife dies soon after marriage, the parents of the pair consult one another to rearrange the inheritance. When divorce occurs, a parcel of land which the wife brought to the marriage remains her property, whereas the husband recovers the remainder.

Kindred

The basic kinship category which the Mixe themselves recognize is expressed by the Mixe term, *tuuk mogu'uk,* which corresponds to *kindred.*[2] *Tuuk* means one and only, and *mogu'uk*, brother, cousin, and kin. It is a totality of an individual's cognates, and is composed of cognates up and down to the second ascending and descending generations (see Appendix 6). The number of the persons that Ego can recognize among his cognatic kin varies from person to person, depending on such factors as age, marriage, residence, and economic station. On the basis of these factors a temporary network or action group is organized for the rituals of the family and the individual, which are described in Chapter 6.

Beals reports terms for paternal and maternal relatives, *techchanikiyôk* and *takchanikiyôk* [BEALS 1945: 40], but I could not find this distinction either in Tlahui or in Ayutla.

The Mixe distinguish near lineal cognates from far collateral ones, although both are called by the same term. For instance, real brothers, cousins of near range, and cousins of far range are given the same classificatory term (Appendix 6), but in reality real brothers are recognized as of the *tuuk jaai* (one and only family) whereas cousins of any range are recognized as of the *wuank jaai* (distinct family). In addition, cousins of narrow range are recognized as differing from cousins of far range, although this recognition is not expressed in different Mixe terms. This distinction among cousins is expressed only in Spanish: *primos cercanos* (near cousins, sons and daughters of brothers and sisters of father and mother) and *primos lejanos* (far cousins,

2. I use the term *kindred* following Freeman [1961].

grandsons and granddaughters of brothers and sisters of grandfather and grandmother). In the same way, lineal and near grandsons (*visnietos*, lit. "grandsons whom Ego can find near him") are recognized differently from collateral and far grandsons (*nietos lejanos*).

Sometimes, *tuuk mogu'uk* is extended to mean friends and all the people of the village. The broad coverage of this term symbolizes the fact that friends and the people of the same municipio are assumed to be relatives, although their exact genealogical relationships cannot be traced.

Compadres

Compadrazgo supplements the function of kinship as is well expressed in the terminology. Terms for compadrazgo are shown in Appendix 8. Among them, the terms for compadre and comadre have their origin in terms for affines which correspond to father of son-in-law or daughter-in-law and to mother of son-in-law or daughter-in-law respectively (Appendix 6). Compadrazgo functions "as a cohesive and integrative force within the community, and between classes and ethnic groups" [FOSTER 1953: 10]. This generalization does not apply to Tlahui, where compadrazgo is not yet well-rooted and where people live in a monoclass and monoethnic situation.

Despite the efforts of the Church, the Catholic sacraments such as baptism, confirmation, communion, and marriage have not been well transplanted among the people and, therefore, compadrazgo, which is the social tie contracted on the basis of these sacraments, has not been developed as "a cohesive and integrative force within the community," the first function of compadrazgo pointed out by Foster.

Three hundred and nine baptisms are registered in the *Libro de Bautizo* (Book of Baptism) between January 7 and October 27, 1973 [TLAHUITOLTEPEC, parish house. 1973]. It is preferred to choose a couple as compadre and comadre for the baptism. However, sometimes only a *padrino* for a boy and a *madrina* for a girl is chosen, for the first communion. Relatives, friends, teachers, and missionaries are solicited frequently to be compadres and comadres of baptism as well as for the first communion and marriage. Compadres pay the priest half the payment for performing the sacrament, and they also pay for dresses or gifts for the child. After the church ceremony the child's parents invite compadres, comadres, relatives, and neighbors to the family fiesta. Throughout life, a relationship of respectfulness is maintained between compadres or comadres, but there is no economic interdependence.

On the occasion of the first communion, a padrino for a boy and a madrina for a girl are chosen. A rather long period of instruction in the catechism precedes the first communion, and this sacrament is performed for a group of children; sometimes a boy of 15 years old comes with younger ones about eight years of age. Some padrinos and madrinas buy small gifts for their *ahijado* or *ahijada*, but most do not give gifts to the children.

The Mixe do not get compadres on the occasion of the confirmation. For a religious marriage a compadre and a comadre are chosen. As in the case of baptism,

a couple is an ideal choice. They instruct the couple about married life and bring them gifts, and with this, almost all their obligations as compadre and comadre come to an end.

Besides these compadres, chosen on the occasions of the Catholic sacraments, there are *compadres de evangelio*, chosen to sanctify the friendship of two persons. Mostly, this type of compadrazgo is contracted between the people of Tlahui and those of other villages, and this tie serves to secure mutual help and lodging when traveling. The literature on compadrazgo emphasizes the multiplication of compadrazgo in the acculturation process [MINTZ and WOLF 1950: 364], but in Tlahui this stage has not yet been reached. However, an incipient stage is apparent in this village.

At the fiesta of Santa María Asunción on August 15, 1974, some ten girls received from the municipal authority an official letter, type-written and bearing the official municipal stamp under the signature of the *presidente*. In rustic Spanish, the letter says, "The presidente of Tlahui has the honor of appointing you as madrina of the basketball tournament which will be played at the fiesta. You will pay 10 pesos to sponsor the tournament. If you do not accept this office, the municipal authority stands ready to punish you." In this way, the municipal authority imposes the new type of compadrazgo, possibly diffused from Ayutla, which has already started the proliferation of compadrazgo (see Chapter 9).

In addition to the madrina of basketball, *padrinos de 6° año* are chosen for a group of schoolboys who have completed the 6th grade in primary school. In 1974, the parish priest, a Salesian teacher at Matagallinas, and the chief of the Coconal workcamp were chosen as padrinos of this type and they made gifts of used clothes to the children.

The second function of compadrazgo pointed out by Foster [1953: 10], "a cohesive and integrative force between classes and ethnic groups," is hardly seen in Tlahui. There is a slight tendency for the storekeepers to be preferred as compadres by the clients, but no lasting economic interdependence is established by compadrazgo. Besides, in Tlahui, where all the residents are Mixe, compadrazgo does not function to bridge ethnic groups. Down to the 1960s, before the opening of the road to Ayutla, some inhabitants of Tlahui, who acted as intermediary merchants between Mitleños and the Mixe, tended to choose compadres from among Mitleños who used to pass through Tlahui as muleteers. However, in the 1970s, when Mitleños began to enter the Mixe region by truck, their relationships have become more temporary and commercialized and the need for compadrazgo decreased for both sides.

Thus, the underdevelopment of compadrazgo in Tlahui mainly stems from the single class and single ethnic group situation. In a plural society composed of *indios* and *ladinos* (or *mestizos*), patron-client relationships between the two groups must be cemented by compadrazgo, but in a society like Tlahui, people live in a rather self-sufficient world of family and kindred, and compadrazgo functions only to supplement kinship or to offer additional social ties within their own kinship universe.

In Tlahui, family, kindred, and compadres—even though the latter is only feebly developed—offer a matrix of social relations which guarantees individuals a position in the life in the municipio. On this matrix is constructed the civil and religious organizations described in the following section.

Civil and Religious Hierarchies and Offices

In Mesoamerican ethnography the office in the civil-religious hierarchy is usually called *cargo,* but in Tlahui as well as in the other Mixe communities the term *autoridad* is commonly used to denote an office as well as an officeholder. The various offices in Tlahui are presented first.

When the term *autoridad* is used, people are usually referring to the traditional offices. They have been and still are the core of the civil and religious hierarchies of the community. As is shown in Table 3, the traditional offices are divided into two categories: first, the offices in the hierarchies, which are further subdivided into civil and religious offices, and second, the specialists outside the hierarchies. Each official has his work and obligatory services for the benefit of the community.

Civil Offices

Topiles: Young men start their first service as *topiles.* They are the assistants to the *mayor de vara.* The service is performed in two groups which alternate weeklong duty. There are a variety of services assigned to them:

1. they bring letters from the post office in Ayutla;[3]
2. they cut and bring firewood to the houses of the *presidente* and the *secretarios;*
3. they repair footpaths and bridges damaged by heavy rain;
4. they carry baggage and personal belongings for teachers, musicians, and official visitors from the federal and state governments;
5. at the major fiestas they bring branches of trees and flowers to adorn the plaza. For the fiesta of Guadalupe, especially, they cut trees at the rancho near the footpath leading from the centro to Rancho Flores, and bring them to the plaza to build a corral for the bullfight. They also set off the skyrockets at the fiestas and important community meetings;
6. they announce the community meetings to each family;
7. they announce the tequio so that every family can send one adult for communal work; and
8. they also work as policemen. Under the direction of the mayor de vara, topiles jail those who are adjudged to be in error by the presidente. At the major fiestas, topiles are on duty watching for drunkards. Sometimes topiles are sent to other

3. In January 1975 a branch post office was opened in Tlahui. Up to that time only Ayutla had had a post office, from which letters were distributed to the other Mixe municipios.

Table 3. Civil and Religious Hierarchies (Tlahui 1973–74)

Civil hierarchy			Religious hierarchy	
Traditional offices				
Office	Number		Office	Number
topil	12		topil	12
mayor de vara	6		mayor de vara	4
tesorero and his vocales	2+4			
regidor	8–9*			
suplente	3			
síndico	1		fiscal	4
presidente	1		mayordomo**	4
(capitán)	5–15			
	alcalde	1		
	principal	many		
Specialists outside the hierarchy				
secretario		2	capillo	3
	(for presidente	1)		(for cantor 1)
	(for alcalde	1)		
			sacristán	2
			comité de la banda and musicians	
			presidente	1
			vocal	9
			musicians	about 50
New offices				
comité de la escuela (of the centro)		12	tesorero	1
comité de la escuela (of the ranchos)		18	auxiliar	10–12
comité de las óbras materiales		48		
comité de las bienes comunales		6		
comité de la luz		6		

Parenthesis for capitán indicates a temporary office.

* Varies each year according to the needs of the community. For example, there were ten regidores in 1976.

** This is the mayordomo of the church. In addition, each ermita has two mayordomos. Therefore, the eight ermitas have a total of sixteen mayordomos of the ermita.

municipios to prevent the people of Tlahui from getting into trouble. On June 2, 1974, many Tlahui people visited Tamazulapam for the fiesta of the Espíritu Santo. The presidente advised the people not to drink much in Tamazulapam and sent topiles to this neighboring village so that they could prevent Tlahui people from being jailed by the Tamazulapam topiles.

Mayores de vara: Under the direction of the *síndico,* the mayores de vara are in charge of the municipal jail. They command the topiles in fulfilling their duties.

Tesorero and his Vocales: They keep account of the monetary income and expenditures of the municipio. Each week a tesorero and two vocales are engaged in the collection of the market tax: two to five pesos from each stall and a smaller amount from each vendor, according to the amount of his sales—for example, one peso from a woman who sells a guajolote for 100 pesos and one peso from a vendor of wild plants. They are also obliged to collect the municipal tax. Usually they find the taxpayers at the market in Tlahui, but sometimes they have to visit the market at Ayutla to collect taxes from those people of Tlahui who, because they live near Ayutla, are regular commuters to the Ayutla market rather than to that of Tlahui.

Regidores: They have civil and religious duties. As civil duties, they have to inspect the communal construction and organize the tequio under the direction of the síndico. Their religious duty is to assist the alcalde in the management of the religious rituals. In theory they belong to the alcalde, but recently their civil duties have been increasing.

Suplentes: There are three suplentes: one for the síndico, one for the presidente, and one for the alcalde. Each one assists his superior.

Síndico: Under the direction of the presidente, the síndico is responsible for administrative work in cooperation with the regidores, tesoreros, mayores, and topiles.

Presidente: He is responsible for the administration of the community and represents the community to the outside world.

Religious Offices

Topiles: They work for the church and the priest. Four of the twelve topiles belong to the fiscales, the remaining eight to the mayores de vara. They are divided into two groups that alternate weeklong duty, and have a variety of duties assigned to them:

1. daily ringing of the church bell;
2. bringing firewood to the parish house and chopping it near the kitchen;
3. buying things necessary for the church at Ayutla, Tamazulapam, or Oaxaca;
4. feeding and taking care of the mules, chickens, rabbits, and cows belonging to the church, and cleaning the stable and barn;
5. carrying the priest's baggage and belongings on his visits to the villages in the parish;

6. cleaning the cemetery, especially before All Saints' Day;
7. decorating the church, the parish house, and the house of the religious sisters for the fiesta; and
8. bringing firewood to the houses of the mayordomos and fiscales, who are too occupied with their own duties to provide their kitchens with firewood.

Mayores de vara: Under the direction of the fiscales and mayordomos they direct the topiles in their duties. Each of the four mayores is assisted by two topiles. Two mayores are on duty each week, and they have to provide food for the topiles subordinate to them.

Fiscales:

1. Every year at harvest time they collect the tithe (*diezmo*), one *almud* of corn from each family and half an almud from single women. Each of the four fiscales is assigned ranchos from which he collects the tithe. During the period from November to January they bring sacks of corn to the parish house, under the direction of the presidente, alcalde, and síndico;
2. Each Saturday, market day at Tlahui, they walk around the plaza to find a girl who can grind the corn in the kitchen of the parish house [BALLESTEROS Y RODRÍGUEZ 1974: 55]. The young girl thus appointed works as *molinera* for one week. This molinera service was also required for the federal school teachers, who were usually from other regions; however, about fifteen years ago, as Tlahui began to acquire Mixe teachers who lived with families or who could eat with a Mixe family, the molinera service for teachers has been eliminated;
3. At Christmas they have to find padrinos for the *posada* ritual; and
4. For funerals, one of the fiscales, bearing a *cantor,* goes to the house of the deceased, and leads the coffin to the church. After the deceased receives benediction at the church, the fiscal, holding his baton of corona in his hand, walks with the cantor at the head of the funeral procession and attends the burial at the cemetery.

Mayordomos (of the church): The mayordomos are responsible for the management of the church. Each week one mayordomo lives in the mayordomo house which stands in front of the church. He takes care of the church, sweeping the floor and putting flowers at the altar.

The mayordomos also manage the fund of the mayordomos in cooperation with the priest and the *tesorero* of the church. Their major economic source is the sale of candles, which they produce using a bamboo mold called a *torno* at the mayordomo house. The candles are sold, but many of the people of Tlahui like to rent them. A medium-sized candle rents for 25 *centavos.* One who rents candles is called a *cofrade.* Usually, a cofrade rents three candles, two for his own prayer and one for a relative, friend, or neighbor who cannot come to church. He pays 75 centavos, takes the candles to the church, lights them for prayer, and goes back to the house of the mayordomos to return them.

Candles are the symbol of the authority of the mayordomos. When someone dies, a mayordomo visits the house the day before the funeral, bringing two candles as an invitation to the benediction at the church.

Mayordomos (of the *ermita*): The mayordomos of the eight ermitas belong to the mayordomos of the church. Each ermita has two mayordomos. They manage the fund for the saint enshrined at the ermita and celebrate the fiesta on the day of the saint. The mayordomos of Ermitas Flores and Santa Cruz receive a monthly visit from the priest of Tlahui. The priest chose these two ermitas for his visits because of the concentration of inhabitants in these ranchos, an important factor in attracting the people to the mass at the ermita.

The authority of the mayordomos of the ermitas rests on that of the alcalde and the mayordomos of the church. This is well exemplified by an incident at the time of the construction of Ermita Flores. When the people of Rancho Flores constructed an ermita without the permission either of the alcalde or of the mayordomos of the church, the three men responsible for the construction were jailed by order of the alcalde and the mayordomos.

Civil-Religious Offices

The offices of alcalde and *principal* integrate the civil and religious hierarchies.

Alcalde: The alcalde with his suplente, secretario, and regidores constitute an informal group in the civil and religious hierarchies. He is responsible for justice in cases where the presidente cannot give sanction. He is also responsible for communal rituals. In the rituals of Lent and Holy Week, and at the fiestas of the major saints, the alcalde actively organizes and promotes the rituals as leader of the religious hierarchy.

The alcalde has authority to talk against the priest. For example, in about 1960 the alcalde did not want to accept a priest sent by the Salesian bishop and asked the bishop to replace him with another.

Principales: These are respected elders who have finished their service to the community, completing a number of offices up through alcalde. They are not organized as a formal group as reported from some Mesoamerican communities [CANCIAN 1967: 287], but they influence the decision-making of the community, implicitly consulting the officials and leading public opinion at communal meetings. They are exempt from tequio by virtue of their long service to the community.

Capitán: This is an appointive temporary office related to the civil organization, but its role is to assist in sponsoring the fiestas of the major saints of Ascención, Asunción, and Guadalupe. This office is sometimes called *caporal.*

Specialists Outside the Hierarchy

In addition to the traditional offices, which compose the core of the civil and religious hierarchies, there are specialists, who, as "intellectuals," associate with the traditional officials in the management of civil and religious administration and rituals.

Secretarios: There are two secretarios, one for the presidente and another for the alcalde. They are responsible for correspondence, birth certificates, marriage certificates, death certificates, and the like. They get paid by those who ask them for these services at the municipio. They are fluent in Spanish and enjoy a level of prestige among the illiterate inhabitants.

Capillos: Every year three *capillos* are appointed, and by turns one of them plays the role of cantor, who is obliged to pray during liturgical rituals and at funeral processions and burials. On All Saints' Day, the capillos and cantor have the privilege of getting offerings from the family altars of the community, as a reward for their service of praying *responsos* and *salves.*

Sacristanes: This is a permanent office. In the past there were 11 *sacristanes,* and five or six of them alternated weeklong duties. At present two men serve as sacristán. They know the details of the fiestas and rituals celebrated in the past, and sometimes inform the priest of past customs. They take care of the ornaments and instruments of the church, and with the acolytes assist the priest in the mass.

Comité de la Banda (Committee for the Musical Band): The band is an element indispensable to the civil and religious rituals of the community. It is under the direction of the Committee for the Musical Band which is composed of a presidente, three capillos, and nine vocales. The presidente and the capillos invite the musicians to their houses for rehearsal. Each week three vocales pass nights at the Salesian kindergarten to guard the musical instruments kept there; they help the musicians to carry the instruments and music stands; and they summon the musicians from the ranchos to the centro when they are needed. There are about fifty musicians in all, composed of youths and adults. They compose a great block of solidarity in a small community like Tlahui. They rehearse at the houses of the capillos and the presidente of the band, play at the religious fiestas and for the communal rituals, and visit other villages to participate in their fiestas.

The Committee for the Musical Band and the musicians serve the community as a whole, but originally the musicians belonged to the church and they were headed by the capillos, the specialists of church music.

The New Offices

New offices were created in the 1970s to meet new situations.

Comité de la Escuela (Committee for the School): The federal school gets local cooperation through this committee, which is composed of a presidente, a suplente, two mayores, and eight topiles. In addition to these offices at the community level, each rancho has a committee composed of a presidente, tesorero, secretario, and fifteen vocales.

Comité de las Obras Materiales (Committee for Construction): There has recently been a need for a large amount of public construction, such as opening the road leading to the centro from the main road, the construction of a water tank, the new municipio, and the Conasupo. When the traditional officials could not

satisfy the needs of the community, this new committee was organized. It is composed of a presidente, two suplentes, and forty-five vocales, out of which twenty come from the centro and twenty-five from the ranchos.

Comité de Bienes Comunales (Committee for Communal Property): The DAAC requested the municipio to organize a local committee that could cooperate with DAAC to increase the efficiency of its activities in the Mixe region. This committee was organized to meet this request. It is composed of a presidente, suplente, tesorero, secretario, and two vocales.

Comité de la Luz (Committee for Electricity): The road was opened in 1974, though it was not yet officially inaugurated, and the introduction of electricity is only a question of time. Under these circumstances, the municipio organized a committee composed of a presidente, suplente, tesorero, secretario, and two vocales.

Tesorero: The office of *tesorero* was added less than ten years ago. This official serves for three years, and manages the fund of the mayordomos, loaning money at five percent interest to increase the fund.

Auxiliares: They assist the priest in the mass, serving him as interpreter and prayer reciter (*rezador*). In Tlahui, there are ten to twelve in all. In February, the Salesians give them special instructions as well as instructing the other auxiliares belonging to the parish of Tlahui. They are the intermediaries between the missionaries and the monolingual Mixe.

Recruitment of Officials

The general principle for the recruitment of officials is not one of competition, but one of distribution of the communal obligation among the limited human resources. Only in the recruitment for the traditional officials in the civil and religious hierarchies do principles of implicit competition and achievement exist. Specialists outside the hierarchy are chosen on the basis of personal inclination to do the work. The new officials are selected from those who have considerable experience in civil and religious offices or from those who are going to enter the higher offices in the hierarchies.

In theory, every male adult member of the municipio of Tlahui is expected to "climb the ladder" of offices from the lowest topil to the alcalde, pinnacle of the hierarchy (Table 3). In practice, however, steps can sometimes be skipped, and progress from a lower to higher office is not rigidly set. In the most common sequence, some of the prominent features of recruiting officials in Tlahui include:

1. a young man begins his service in the office of topil, either of the municipio or of the church;
2. one is not required to progress through the hierarchies alternating between civil and religious offices; some men have risen to presidente without any experience in a religious office;

3. to secure the office of mayor de vara in the civil hierarchy, one is expected to complete the office of capitán at some fiesta of a major saint. This is a preference, not a norm. But capitán is the office which any male adult is required to complete to be eligible for higher offices. This is the one and only rigid regulation in recruiting officials. After completing capitán, one is allowed to skip several offices, depending on ability and community need. As far as actual data are concerned, one can skip up to suplente or síndico; and
4. the highest religious office of mayordomo is considered to be of a sacred character and, therefore, in the consciousness of the people, this office has prestige equal to that of presidente, though the latter enjoys more social and economic prestige. In some cases a man has become mayordomo after completing the office of presidente.

This process functions without breakdown as far as the present Tlahui is concerned. There are no demographic problems as in Yacochi or Huitepec, where the same person has to be presidente two or three times because of the small population. There is also in Tlahui no problem of monopolization of a higher office as in Cacalotepec, a midland village where the same man, called "cacique" by the villagers, controls the village and occupies the office of presidente for two years.

Special mention should be made of the relationship between the selection of officials and the geographic divisions of the community. Geographic divisions are not a determining factor in the selection of officials. Higher officials such as alcalde, presidente, and síndico are chosen regardless of where they live, whether in the centro or in a rancho. During the past seven years two presidentes were from the centro and five from the ranchos. The other civil and religious officials are distributed rather evenly between the centro and the ranchos, and, as a result, the municipal administration functions smoothly without causing a need to create officials in ranchos, such as was done in Ayutla.

Each year, in August or September, a communal meeting is held at the grounds of the municipio. The date for this meeting varies from year to year, and it is extremely difficult to know the date in advance. The selection of pairs of officials is understandable, considering the possibility of death of a presidente or síndico as happened in 1973, when the presidente died after falling from a tree. The candidate for presidente for 1974 immediately filled his position. Any head of a family can recommend a candidate. The village, that is to say, all the adult participants in the meeting, choose the three pairs. The voice of the people thus makes the selection in accordance with the popular vote. The actual method is by a show of hands. This is the traditional norm. In reality, the presidente, the síndico, and their suplentes tend to recommend those who enter. Their influence is so conspicuous that some principales, who know the traditional norm is not in accordance with the present form of election, commented:"Before, the election of the high officials rested on the free voice of the people. Now, in the name of administrative efficiency, everything is decided by the officials. This is lamentable."

After this meeting, and until November 1, the presidente and síndico who are going to enter next year look for their suplentes. The presidente, along with the

síndico, looks for alcalde. The alcalde looks for the suplente and regidores who will belong to him. Following the traditional Mixe way of formal visiting, one has to bring a bottle of mezcal and three boxes of cigarettes to the house of the candidate for office. However, for proposals for offices in the lower category they bring only a quarter liter of mezcal to formalize the visit.

Selection of the officials of the church does not need the voice of the people; the alcalde together with the presidente looks for them.

Specialists are recruited on the basis of personal talent and their inclination to do the work.

The secretarios of the municipio tend to be chosen from among young men fluent in Spanish, such as federal school teachers and promotores of INI and IIISEO.[4] In the past the presidente himself looked for his secretario and the alcalde looked for his own also. Today, however, two secretarios are voted in by a show of hands at the communal meeting. In reality, appropriate candidates are recommended by the presidente and the alcalde, and approved at the meeting.

The capillos are recommended by the alcalde, the presidente, and the priest. The people just give their consent to their choices. There are not many who are well acquainted with the work of the capillo.

The sacristán is a permanent office. Some children begin their career as acolyte from a very young age, continue to be interested in the liturgical rituals, and then tend to work as sacristán until they become old. At present there are two sacristanes; the older one began to dedicate himself to this office when he was fifteen years old. He was also successful enough to achieve the office of presidente about ten years ago. In some communities of Mesoamerica the office of sacristán is open to persons who are not apt to climb the civil-religious hierarchy [CANCIAN 1967: 287]. But this is not so in Tlahui. Another sacristán is a middle-aged man greatly devoted to the duty. His son serves as acolyte. As a reward for their services they enjoy the moral support of the missionaries.

The above-mentioned recruitment shows how the wave of nationalization is coming even to the Mixe region. The Committee for Construction, the Committee for Communal Property, and the Committee for Electricity share similar features in recruiting their officials. The presidentes for these new committees are chosen from among men who can communicate in Spanish with the *agats* about administrative matters. In due course, those who have completed the office of presidente or alcalde, or those who will hold these offices in the near future, can be suitable candidates for the presidente of these committees. The names of the candidates are suggested by the presidente and then consented to by the people. The other officials in these committees are nominated by the alcalde, presidente, síndico, and their suplentes, and the presidentes of the committees. All are annual offices except that of the presidente of the Committee for Communal Property. The presidente of this committee is also the presidente of the *Comité de Bienes Comunales de los Cinco*

4. IIISEO was consolidated with INI in 1974, and its promotores were registered as belonging to INI around September of the same year.

Pueblos (Committee for Communal Property of the Five Pueblos) of Tlahui, Ayutla, Tamazulapam, Tepantlali, and Tepuxtepec. He will also hold this position in 1975. At the same time, he will be presidente in Tlahui for 1975.

The selection of the Committee for the School does not need the vote of the village. Committee members are nominated by the presidente, the síndico, and their suplentes.

Among the new officials, the tesorero of the church is somewhat special. This office requires an honest and considerate personality who can cooperate with the mayordomos and the priest. In theory, anyone who knows how to count can be the tesorero, but in reality, the tesorero tends to be chosen from among the principales by a show of hands at the communal meeting, held on January 15, in front of the church.

Auxiliares are chosen by the priest from among young bilingual Mixe interested in religious practices. Their institutional position is still obscure. The missionaries are planning to give them an official position and better training.

Owing to the increase in the number of new officials, Tlahui will obviously not suffer a shortage of offices, either civil or religious, but may suffer an overabundance of offices to be filled from a limited pool of human resources.

Egalitarian Fiesta Economy

The civil and religious hierarchies are interwoven with the fiesta system, so I will outline the economy of the fiesta before discussing the economic burdens of the officials. Compared with the competitive and stratified fiesta system, as reported by Cancian [1965] from Zinacantan, Tlahui is characterized by an "egalitarian" economy of the fiesta in which the expenditures tend to be shared collectively by the members of the community, so that the economic obligations will not be too heavy for particular members. I will cover the details of the expenditures for each fiesta in Chapters 7 and 8, so only a brief note on the general features of communal expenditures is given here.

The minor fiestas are managed by the fund of the mayordomos without causing any economic burden to the people. This system of mayordomos is found also in Yalálag, where the civil and religious organizations are similar to Tlahui [de la Fuente 1949: 219–226], and according to de la Fuente [1949: 276], the *mayordomía* (of the prestige economy) did not exist. I am inclined to suppose there is a line of influence from Yalálag to the highland Mixe villages, but there are no data to verify this hypothesis. Among the minor fiestas, Santa Cecilia is expensive, but it is sponsored by the capillos, who can depend on the alms they collect on All Saints' Day. Also the mass for this saint is collectively sponsored by a group of women, each of whom must pay about 10 pesos.

Holy Week is one of the major fiestas which demands a large expenditure, but it is covered by contributions of one or two pesos collected from each family. Christ-

mas needs eight padrinos for the posada—who, however, are expected to pay only for coffee and bread for one night of the posada.

Even the fiestas of the major saints of Ascensión, Asunción, and Guadalupe are carefully planned so that they do not cause a heavy economic burden, other than to the capitán for the band. For each fiesta five to fifteen capitanes are appointed by the alcalde, the presidente, the síndico, and their suplentes, and the capitanes are obliged to serve food to the visiting musicians. The expenditure for each capitán ranges from 1,000 to 1,500 pesos, as will be mentioned below. To pay for the mass, 10–15 godmothers of the mass (*madrinas de la misa*) are chosen from among the women of the community. They each contribute 10–15 pesos, and pay a total of 150 pesos for the mass. Before and after the procession of the godmothers, at one of their houses they serve bread, coffee, and tepache to the musicians, and they also participate in this communion. They share equally the expenses for this simple communion.

To cover the cost of a firework, four to ten godmothers (*madrinas del castillo*) are chosen from among unmarried women of the community over 25 years of age. The appointees are announced about six months before the fiesta, and they begin to accumulate money by selling pulque in the plaza. A firework display cost 800 pesos in 1974, so each godmother's share varied from 80 to 200 pesos, depending on the number of godmothers.

Lumber needed for the construction of the bullfight corral is prepared by the topiles of the municipio. Patrolling around the corral is also done by the topiles. The prize for the bullfighting, which varies from 150 to 300 pesos according to the year, is covered by the municipal fund.

The basketball championship is sponsored and managed by a temporary committee of the municipio, which also covers the expenses for the invitation of the teams from other villages.

The heaviest economic burden is borne by the capitán of the band. This is a temporary office filled only during the fiesta, and thus it does not demand much of the capitán's time. However, economically it is a burdensome office like those of such high officials as presidente, alcalde, and síndico. Those who expect to hold offices higher than that of mayor must hold the office of the capitán. When a man has completed a term in this office, he wins social approval as a mature and responsible person. Completing the office of capitán is a rite of passage for young men. When the municipio cannot appoint many capitanes, costs are cut by restricting bands from other villages. Only one band is invited on the day of the *calenda*, and others on the day of the *visperas*. The invited bands stay in Tlahui for three to four days. In 1974, at the fiestas of Sr. Ascensión and Sra. Asunción, eight or nine capitanes were appointed, and fifteen capitanes were appointed at the fiesta of Guadalupe.

The capitanes serve food to the musicians, the menu consisting of *chilaquiles à la mixe* (*machucado, maachi* in Mixe), beans, tortillas, coffee, bread, tepache, mezcal, and sometimes corn flour *tamales* (*nakmujky* in Mixe). They cannot afford tamales with meat or fish (*pokmujky* in Mixe). There are two ways for a capitán to serve food to the band. He can serve it throughout the day or can provide only one

meal for various bands. In either case, the total cost is 1,000–1,500 pesos per capitán. The firewood for cooking the food is provided free of charge by the topiles of the municipio.

The careful distribution of communal expenditures, reviewed above, is in strong contrast to the consumption of 1,000–1,500 pesos imposed on the capitán and the higher officials. All the offices are time-consuming, but not all of them are economically heavy. The offices which demand heavy expenditures are the higher categories like alcalde, presidente, and síndico. These officials have to pay for the mass, drinks, and meals on the days of the presentation of the officials—November 1, December 25, and New Year's Day. The three officials get together the money to be paid for the mass. On these days the outgoing and incoming officials visit the houses of the new, higher officials, and the latter have to entertain them with tepache, mezcal, coffee, tortillas, bean soup, tamales, and cigarettes. The expenditure varies from year to year, but in general each of them has to consume 1,000 to 1,500 pesos on these occasions.

The religious officials are not generally required to make any personal expenditures, except for the mayor de vara, who is sometimes expected to give food to the topiles attending him. The mayordomos of the church have to sponsor the fiestas of the minor saints and the mayordomos of the ermitas must sponsor those of the saints enshrined at the ermitas. They pay for the mass, skyrockets, and some ornaments. For these expenditures they can depend on the fund of the mayordomos, whose income is based on alms and the sale of candles and prints of the images of the saints in the case of the mayordomos of the church, and on alms only in the case of the mayordomos of the ermitas.

Capillos are outside the hierarchy, but this office demands a fairly large amount of expenditure. They have to serve coffee, tepache, mezcal, cigarettes, and food to the musicians when they rehearse for the fiestas and other rituals. The capillos also sponsor the fiesta of Santa Cecilia, the patron saint of the musicians. For this purpose, however, they can depend on the alms received on All Saints' Day.

From the above data, it appears that the upper limit of expenditures for the officials (capitán, alcalde, presidente, and síndico) is about 1,500 pesos. To give an idea of the value of one peso, I will refer to the payments made to the Mixe by government agencies like Coconal, SOP, and the *Comisión del Papaloàpan.* They pay 20 to 27 pesos a day, depending on age and the type of work. According to this pay scale, 1,500 pesos corresponds to 56 to 75 days' work, or the total earnings during a period of two to three months. This is minor in comparison with the cases which correspond to one to ten years of wage work reported in some ethnographic records [CANCIAN 1967: 288, cases of Cherán and Chenalhó; and VOGT 1969: 263–264, case of Zinacantan], but it is still a heavy burden on people who are accustomed to an egalitarian distribution of communal expenditures, like Tlahui people.

In spite of the economic burdens, people are willing to accept the offices. In Tlahui there are still no social classes of the national scale, but there is an economic differentiation between "the poor" and "the ones who have something." Some

families, who suffer illness or natural calamities, lose money, whereas others can accumulate it. The latter are those successful in harvesting, the federal school teachers and the promotores of INI with salaries, and the owners of shops, called *caseteros*. They are under social pressure to assume economically burdensome offices. The candidates nominated should conceal their ambition for the offices, but contrary to a superficial self-negation, most are ambitious enough to do service for the community and to obtain more success than their predecessors. The customary expression of the people appointed to the offices of the higher category runs: "I myself did not want to accept this office, because it robs me of time and money. But the people chose me, so I will do my best. Why not?"

The social pressure which drives people to accept communal service is so strong that the accomplishment of it is understood as a virtue. Nobody can escape from the orders of the officials. For instance, the molineras, who are sought by the fiscal each Saturday at the market, go to the parish house to grind corn without any protest to the fiscal, irrespective of the types of girls chosen, traditional or "*agatsizadas*" (modern). Girls who like to escape from this obligation suffer the reproach of most people. Prestige and satisfaction enjoyed by the officials are the other side of their obligation. Those who are in offices or who have completed them are proud enough to express their satisfaction. A fiscal of the church in 1974 expressed this in his peculiar Spanish: "I have the right of fiscal. Why not? I have an exciting and tasty job" (*Tengo derecho del fiscal. ¿Cómo que no? Tengo un trabajo caliente y sabroso*).

New Tendencies

In this century of tremendous social changes, traditional Indian communities have no other choice but to confront the impacts from outside in a positive manner. Tlahui is making this choice and is in the process of modifying its civil and religious organizations. This modification has not yet reached the stage of mestizoization which is marked in Ayutla. Some aspects of the modification are:

1. Skipping of the offices from the capitán for the band to the higher offices has already been reported, but recently this phenomenon has become frequent. This may be attributed first to the necessity of having the presidente, the síndico, and their suplentes endowed with the knowledge and experience which enables them to get along with the world of the *agats*, and secondly to the increase in new offices, which demands continuity and smooth recruitment. These circumstances work to ignore the traditional requirements for a personal career in the hierarchy. The offices, in all, higher and lower, traditional and new, amount to more than 240 in 1974, and the necessity of filling the list of offices tends to permit a more frequent skipping of offices than before;
2. Recently the presidente, the síndico, and their suplentes tend to be chosen from the storekeepers (*caseteros*). In 1974–75 this was already a fact. They are eco-

nomically better off than the others and have broad experience in contacting the *agats*. For these two reasons they are valuable candidates for the higher positions;
3. The municipal secretarios tend to be chosen from among young bilingual Mixe such as the teachers and the promotores of INI. The secretarios thus chosen influence older officials. Sometimes, they are so influential that they incur the anger of the old-timers, who murmur, "Before there was only one command from the presidente. Now there are too many. Who governs the village, the presidente or the secretario?";
4. There used to be meetings composed of the higher officials—such as the alcalde, the presidente, the síndico, their suplentes, and the principales—to discuss urgent issues. Recently the teachers and the promotores of INI have been added to the meetings in the hope that these well-educated young with their modern ideas will help the village. In 1974 this meeting was called many times to get communal decisions on the repair of the Coconal workcamp and on various requests from the Coconal engineers and the *Comisiôn del Papaloapan*; and
5. The operations of PRI in the Mixe region have already begun. The authority of PRI has not yet penetrated deeply into Tlahui, but in a short time it will extend its activities there.

To sum up, the following generalization is possible. In Tlahui of the 1970s the civil and religious organizations are two separate organizations, but some offices tend to interwine the two organizations: the regidor is a civil official who works under the síndico, but at the same time some of the regidores work under the alcalde for the communal rituals; the alcalde and the principales function as the civil-religious offices; and the alcalde, the presidente, and the síndico, the three higher officials, work together for the realization of the major fiestas, and spend much for the rituals of the officials. As a result, the civil and religious organizations function in harmony with each other, preserving the solidarity of the community.

Except for the economic burden on the capitán, the fiesta economy of Tlahui is egalitarian. Minor religious fiestas are managed by the fund of the mayordomos (of the committee type). Holy Week is managed by contributions from each family and help from the fund of the mayordomos (of the committee type) and the municipio. Christmas is sponsored by the padrinos, who need not spend much. The fiestas of the major saints are collectively sponsored: the mass is sponsored by a group of madrinas, fireworks by a group of single women, and the bullfight and basketball games by the municipio and a group of madrinas who each contribute 10 pesos. In this egalitarian fiesta economy only the capitán is an economically heavy office, but once a man completes this office, he is allowed (and expected) to take a higher office such as suplente or síndico.

Chapter 5

Classification of Rituals

Before describing and commenting on the various rituals which will be mentioned in Chapters 6, 7, and 8, I have attempted a classification of the rituals current in Tlahui in order to present a general picture of ritual activities. Turner [1967: 19] and others limit the term "ritual" to formal behavior in religious contexts, but following Moore and Myerhoff [1977: 22], who try to extend the notion of ritual to nonreligious contexts, using the term "secular ritual" instead of "ceremony," I use the term "ritual" to denote any formal behavior, religious or nonreligious, individual or communal, hoping that this approach will be more appropriate in understanding the social realities of a society such as the Mixe, so rich in nonreligious ritual activity.

Mixe life abounds with rituals; they are composed of sacrificial, Catholic, and political components which I will now analyse before going into the classification of rituals at the end of this chapter.

Sacrifice Complex

Early in the eighteenth century Fray Agustín de Quintana, in his *El Confessonario en Lengua Mixe* [1732], referred to sacrifice when he devised the questions for those who wished to confess to him [de Quintana 1732: 7–9]. These questions depict past sacrifice practices which seem very similar, if not equal, to those practiced at present. Despite the valuable knowledge on Mixe sacrifice contained in the literature [Ballesteros y Rodríguez 1974; Beals 1945; Carrasco 1966; González 1973; Nahmad 1965; Villa Rojas 1956], the authors tend to telescope information on past and present sacrificial practices and to lump together the various villages. Thus the world view and the present practice of sacrifice among the highland Mixe remain obscure. In what follows, I try to depict the sacrifice complex with data obtained in Tlahui, sometimes supplemented by data from neighboring villages and from the published sources mentioned above.

Tlahui, though noted for its adherence to the custom of sacrifice, as are Mixistlán, Yacochi, and Tamazulapam, does not provide any legend on the origin of sacrifice. In the highland villages in general, the Great Hill, that is, Mt. Zempoaltépetl, is treated as a Supreme Being who teaches the Mixe the cosmic order that is maintained by sacrifice and offerings. The Sacred Mountain controls the natural phenomena.

A man must ask him for permission to work on the earth, for good harvest, for family welfare, and for all his wishes. Mt. Zempoaltépetl is treated as a Supreme Being, but Mixe cosmology is not monotheistic, and they have various objects for veneration. In Ayutla when they take tepache ceremonially, people offer the short prayer, "Dios Padre, Dios Hijo, y Tierra" (God Father, God Son, and Earth). To them earth is an object for veneration along with the former two Christian concepts.

In Tlahui, people orate hills. Also in Tlahui some old men never forget to add in any prayer, "Que me perdone Dios, me perdone la Tierra, me perdone el Cerro" (May God pardon me, may the Earth pardon me, and may the Hill pardon me). Yacochi is very close to Zempoaltépetl, where Rey Kondoy is believed to live, and the prayer in this village is said to contain an invocation for the King of Zempoaltépetl, that is, Rey Kondoy, in addition to earth, hill, and sky.[1]

In the prayers of other villages, people invoke only Christian elements such as God, Christ, Mary, the Holy Spirit, and the saints. I therefore conclude that the non-Christian deities invoked in the highlands are earth, hill, king of Zempoaltépetl, and sky. Therefore, the objects for veneration can be summed up as follows:

above	sky
	Mt. Zempoaltépetl
	(Rey Kondoy)
	hill
below	earth

Thunder, lightning, and air seem to be treated as deities only in the midlands and lowlands [VILLA ROJAS 1956: 33] where these natural phenomena occur frequently, although some data contradict this supposition [BEALS 1945: 91; NAHMAD 1965: 121]. In Tlahui people deny that they treat thunder, lightning, and air as deities. But thunder, lightning, and air are highly related to human phenomena in the highlands also. In Tlahui, as well as in any other village in the highlands, people say, "The thunder is caused by a quarrel among the old men who are the grandparents and the dead." They also say, "Air brings rain, illness, and death." On the basis of these statements, I assume that highland Mixe deities are related to natural and human phenomena as shown below.[2]

I will explain how the practice of sacrifice is sustained by this world view by discussing the following aspects of its practice: social participation, occasions and time, places, offerings, and finally the diviners (*xemabie*) who assist in sacrifice for the people.

In past centuries, it is said, the officials used to sacrifice on New Year's Day at

1. The promotores of the Salesian school in Matagallinas, personal communication and Ballesteros y Rodríguez [1974: 60 (footnote)].

2. On the summit of the hill just above the centro of Chichicaxtepec are painted rocks (*peñascos*), referred to by Gillow [1889: 211], with the motifs of one sun, one moon, drops of rain, one ear of corn, one triangle, and one cross with four hands. These motifs cannot be clearly related to the deities because of lack of information on the origin and utility of these rocks.

deities

above
- sky
- Mt. Zempoaltépetl
- (Rey Kondoy)
- hill

below
- earth

natural phenomena and human elements

- thunder
- lightning
- air

ancestors
- old men
- grandparents
- the dead

a cave or summit of a hill to pray for the success of their offices and for the peace of the community. In Tlahui now, no old men remember such a sacrifice on New Year's Day, so it is probable that Tlahui lost the custom of communal sacrifice a long time ago.[3] At present either a family or an individual can constitute a unit to carry out a sacrifice, according to the motive involved. Anybody who performs a sacrifice must abstain from sexual intercourse for four days prior to the day of sacrifice.

Sacrifice is practiced for some rituals of life crisis, in rituals for agricultural productivity, for bountiful numbers of animals and birds, to propitiate the dead, to prevent illness, and to guarantee safe travel.

Days recommended as suitable for sacrifice vary according to the motives. People say that days of even number are good for petition and those of odd number are good for causing harm to others [BALLESTEROS y RODRÍGUEZ 1974: 61]. The same norm is reported from Chichicaxtepec [GONZÁLEZ 1973: 335]. However, in present-day Tlahui sacrifice practiced for evil purposes seems to be rare.[4] Sacrifice very early in the morning is believed to be most effective.

In Tlahui sacrifice is practiced in four locations. Perhaps there are lesser places in the ranchos, but it is almost impossible to find them out. In Rancho Santa Cruz there is a place for sacrifice which I could not visit, but according to informants, it is similar to the place in Rancho Esquipulas, which is an open space in the woods just to the other side of Ermita Esquipulas across the narrow footpath. When I went there, I found some tamales, guajolote feathers, and small nylon bags. I could not find any recently dedicated offerings.

3. Carrasco [1966] gives the 1951 data of the communal sacrificial ceremonies in Tamazulapam, but in Tlahui and Ayutla in 1973–74 there are no communal rituals based on sacrifice.

4. González [1973: 336] reports that daybreak is the best time to perform sacrifice for petition and midnight is best for evil purposes.

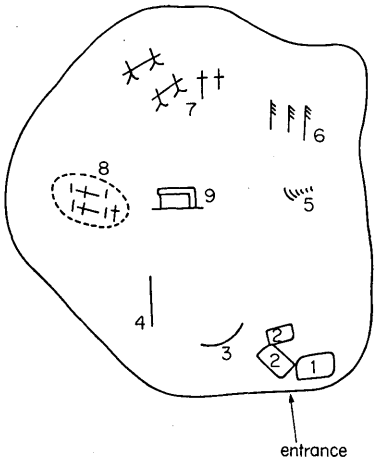


Fig. 8. Hilltop Sacrificial Site

There is a small, hidden cave near a stream which crosses the footpath leading from the centro to the cemetery. People do not often visit it, perhaps because of the lack of privacy, but sometimes offerings can be seen from the footpath.

Most frequently visited by the people of Tlahui is the hilltop above Ermita El Santuario. Near the ermita one departs from the footpath, climbs a narrow path across a cornfield, and arrives at an open field. From there a hilltop can be seen. At the foot of the hill there are some cigarette butts left on the ground near stones used as seats by people waiting their turn to do sacrifice at the hilltop. After completing sacrifice, people again sit around on the stones to enjoy tepache, tamales, and cigarettes. On September 30, 1973, when I visited the hilltop, I found the following items there (see Fig. 8):

1. an altar composed of three big stones. Above the stone No. 1 were many small burned twigs;
2. above stone No. 2 were such offerings as cigarettes, pulque, kernels of corn, beans, some alcatráz flowers, candles, and drops of recently shed blood;
3. a log with many machete cuts, spotted with bloodstains, which is where the throats of guajolotes or cocks are cut;
4. a heap of feathers, thrown away after birds were sacrificed at 3;
5. some animal hair (see Chapter 6);
6. guajolote feathers arranged in rows (see Chapter 6);
7. two dry cornstalk figures of four-legged animals and crosses made of twigs (Plate 6) (see Chapter 6);
8. a small corral made of twigs, inside of which were twig crosses. Perhaps the cornstalk figures described above were inside this corral. Also sometimes inside the corral is a *yunta-vara* (a model yoke made of twigs and ixtle fiber) (see Chapter 6); and
9. an ⊓-shaped altar made of three stones, inside which were alcatráz flowers, pulque, an ear of corn, blood, and a few burning candles (Plate 7).

These items are similar to those described by Beals in reference to a sacrificial "shrine" on Mt. Zempoaltépetl [BEALS 1945: 85–86].

In addition to the places for sacrifice, people can visit the altars of Zempoaltépetl in the territory of Yacochi. I went there on April 23, 1974, when returning to Tlahui from Yacochi where I saw the fiesta of Zempoaltépetl. I found two large altars (Plate 8), but could not proceed farther because of the dense fog. Beals, who visited Zempoaltépetl in 1933, provides detailed information on a variety of altars there. According to him, there were five altars in all. Two were for ordinary sacrifice.

Another looked like a temazcal and was used by barren women to petition for pregnancy. The fourth was believed to be for hunters, but due to the general decline of the hunting activities it was not in much use at the time of his visit. And the fifth was for the potters of Tamazulapam and Mixistlán [BEALS 1945: 85–86]. But most people of Tlahui deny the existence of the five altars and mention only two altars there. It is difficult to account for the difference between Beals's data and mine. It may be the result of the lapse of 40 years, or perhaps the consequence of my own inability to obtain enough data.

In Tlahui they have some regulations on the choice of the offerings. Only strong and healthy birds should be offered, and guajolotes are superior to chickens. The latter are the favorite offerings of the people of Tamazulapam, however. Chickens are used in Tlahui only for humble sacrifices. The blood of the birds is poured over the altar and the flesh is taken home to be used for the little fiesta.

Large tamales without meat (*utz nak mujky*, *utz*=without, *nak*=nothing, *mujky*=tamale) are also offered. Sometimes small, pencil-like tamales (*punuuk*) are recommended by the diviner (xemabie) to remove the sins of the client, the number of tamales decided by the xemabie according to his calculation of the number of sins of his client. Corn meal is scattered over the altar to consecrate the four cardinal points.

Tepache is an indispensable item for offerings. Three drops are poured over the altar from a gourd vessel. Sometimes in Tlahui *wun-xach* (tepache colored with *achiote* and seasoned with cacao) is offered in place of tepache. Cigarettes, flowers, and candles are offered. At Tamazulapam, people like to use eggs as an offering, whereas at Tlahui eggs are not popular sacrifices.

Near the centro live some four to five xemabies, and others dwell in the ranchos. Some are famous for their ability; others are less appreciated. Some inherit the ability from their parents, or acquire it through dreaming [BALLESTEROS y RODRÍGUEZ 1974: 64; GONZÁLEZ 1973: 330]. And contrary to some data [BALLESTEROS y RODRÍGUEZ 1974: 64], according to my interviews with two xemabies, some become xemabie by learning. The two interviews with xemabies who *learned* are reproduced below to provide concrete data.

On April 14, 1974, in the plaza, I saw a tough-looking old man. His daughter is a teacher at the Salesian school in Matagallinas and his son is going to work in a workshop in San Luis Potosí. His children, therefore, have continuous contact with the world of *agats*, but the old man clings to the old Mixe way of living, cultivating, distilling mezcal in his rancho, and working as xemabie when clients visit him.

I took a bottle of mezcal as a sign of a formal visit, since a xemabie does not receive payment. His wife received me, but he was slightly drunk. I waited until the mezcal wore off. What he said and did during the interview is not presented chronologically, and the following constitutes a summary of facts and information obtained.

He lives near a steep and narrow footpath leading from the centro to Rancho Esquipulas. His first wife gave birth to many children, all of whom died. Suffering

this misfortune, he often visited a xemabie of Mixistlán, and gradually learned about divination. Many years passed. When he became presidente of Tlahui, he fell sick frequently and suffered the bad luck of losing many goats and sheep. Under the impact of these calamities he again began to visit Mixistlán to see the xemabie. After several visits, this xemabie recommended that he work as a xemabie in Tlahui. He accepted the idea, and so began his career. Now he receives five to six clients each month. His son and daughter are negative about his work, but he insists that they should not disapprove of this old and valuable profession.

When I visited him to ask for divination, he began his work with mezcal. First, he sipped mezcal after pouring three drops on the ground, saying "*Dios, Espíritu Santo*, y *Tierra.*" He offered me some, which I too sipped ritually. When my American friend asked for his divination on the work she was going to carry out in Cotzocón, he began to divine with two red and two yellow corn kernels. He threw the kernels on the table, and looking carefully how they had fallen, he said, "You have to do sacrifice at Mt. Zempoaltépetl before you start your work. I will make a sacrifice for you, if you pay me 15 pesos. But you say you have a custom different from ours; then put two candles in front of the church. The God will pardon you. Have good luck!" Throughout this time his wife assisted with the divination.

Next, I asked for his advice about my dead grandmother. I said to him, "My grandmother passed away when she was eighty-six years old. How many small pencil-like tamales do I have to sacrifice to propitiate her soul?" He answered, "Depending on the number of sins (*peki* in Mixe) she had committed in her life." "She never sinned," I answered, for the word, sin, seems unacceptable to me. Then, with a serious look, he replied, "No! It is impossible for us to live without sinning. We live like animals. Although we do not commit anything like a sin, each day we do sin. Therefore, we have to count the number of sins committed before deciding the number of tamales to be offered."

Usually, he divines using corn kernels, and foretells the items and amount of the offerings to be dedicated at the cave depending on the petitions, faults, sins committed, and the economic situation of the client. He recommends sacrifice and often tells his client to go to church with candles and alms.

The above interview shows the case of a xemabie who came to this office by learning. He recommends sacrifice as well as praying at church with candles and alms, a syncretic phenomenon. Noteworthy is his recommendation of pencil-like tamales to remove the sin of his client. He says that he can perform sacrifice for the client, a statement contradicted by another xemabie in my second interview.

When I revisited Tlahui in October 1976, I tried to visit the same xemabie, only to find that he had died during the previous year. He drank mezcal everyday, and this strong alcoholic beverage shortened his life. I asked the people if I could meet another xemabie, and they told me of one living in Rancho Santa Ana. The next day, I located him at about 9 : 00 A.M. near the church. At first he was not willing to talk with me, denying his knowledge of divination. But eventually he agreed to an interview. I asked questions systematically, so this interview is reported chronologically:

How old are you?

I am an old man.

From whom did you learn to be xemabie?

From my uncle.

It is said that one becomes xemabie through a dream in which he is given a big stone to endure its weight. Is this not your way of becoming xemabie?

It is not the case with me. Another xemabie in Santa Ana became xemabie through a dream, as you explained.

How many xemabies are there in Tlahui?

Four or five.

Did you learn from your uncle the reason why the Mixe do sacrifice?

No, my uncle did not explain it to me.

What term do you use to denote sacrifice?

There are many. Idolo (idol), costumbre (custom), panaxk, mokutunk, and xach. [Panaxk (pa=behind, naxk=pass), lit. "pass behind," the action of going to a place for sacrifice. Mokutunk (moku=demon, tunk=work), lit. the work of a demon. xach, lit. to make by hand the small, thin, cylindrical tamale called punuuk, used as offering for sacrifice.]

These terms mean that there might be some xemabies who ask for misfortune. Are there any of this kind?

In Mixistlán and Chichicaxtepec, Yes. In Tlahui, No. I myself recommend sacrifice only for good luck.

Who comes to you to solicit your wisdom?

People come in their private capacity.

For what do they come?

To petition for good harvest, animals, safety of travel, curing, good life for the dead, and so forth.

Does not a group of officials come to ask for welfare of their offices on New Year's Day?

No.

Do the people come to get benediction for a birth?

No.

Do they do sacrifice to propitiate the dead?

Yes.

Do they come to cure illness?

Yes.

How many clients do you receive?

One or two a month.

Do you recommend some specific days for sacrifice?

Yes. Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday are good for sacrifice for ordinary wishes. Tuesday is a good day to sacrifice for the dead. Many people like to sacrifice on Tuesday. Friday is a day to sacrifice for the sick. Sunday is the Sabbath.

At what time do they do sacrifice?

Very early in the morning. Sacrifice later in the morning is less effective. But people are busy, so they are allowed to sacrifice whenever they have spare time.

Where do they practice sacrifice?

They go to the hilltop of El Santuario, and also to Zempoaltépetl. The inhabitants in the hotlands, like Ranchos Nejapa and Flores, come to El Santuario and the people of the centro go far to Zempoaltépetl. There are two altars in the sacred mountain. The people of Tlahui, Yacochi, and Mixistlán go to the bigger one. Another smaller one situated higher up is an altar to which people go to ask for animals. People who want to harm a person sacrifice behind the house of the victim.

About forty years ago an anthropologist called Ralph L. Beals visited the Mixe region, and recorded that there is an altar for potters on the summit of Zempoaltépetl. Is it true?

No, I don't think so. They use the same two altars mentioned above. There they leave offerings of small pottery.

How do you do divination?

By using sixteen yellow corn kernels. I manage them by hand and if they fall to the west, it is a sign of misfortune, and to the east, good luck. White grains do not weigh enough to serve for divination. After a carefull observation of the way the grains fall, I foretell, and decide what offerings to recommend to my clients.

What offerings do they put at the altar?

Those of Tamazulapam like to offer eggs and chicks. We do not. We like to offer tamales, guajolotes, tepache, cigarettes, and other things. To the people who ask for good luck I recommend that they bring corn meal and twenty-three small tamales containing herbs.

How do you decide and recommend the offerings to the clients?

The choice depends on the economic situation of the family. I also take into consideration what is solicited.

After they visit you and get divination, what do they do?

They go to the place for sacrifice. They don't go alone. They bring one witness.

They bring the offerings recommended by me. I do not go with them. I stay home and pray. Then I come to church to pray so that nothing bad may befall me for sending people for sacrifice. After they make sacrifice, they go to church to pray, go back home, and bring me a gift of mezcal.

What prayer do you say?

First I say, "I am a sinner," and I repeat Padre Nuestro three times. Then, I consecrate the prayer with the ritual way of drinking mezcal.

What other gifts do you receive?

Nothing. I get only mezcal.

I would like to ask some questions on the way sacrifice is made. Why do they shed blood from chickens and guajolotes over the altar?

They offer three drops of blood to the earth as they dedicate three drops of mezcal to the earth whenever they take it on ritual occasions. They understand that blood nourishes the earth and that it is a sign of respect to the hill.

Don't they leave the head and feet of the sacrificed bird?

No, not in Tlahui. People of Tamazulapam do that. They also deposit smashed eggs.

Don't you offer corn meal?

Yes, they offer it to consecrate the four directions. Besides, some people leave guajolote or chicken feathers when they petition for birds.

Thank you. You taught me so many things.

I am curious to know where you are from. Oh! You are from another country. Write down your name and address. I will put it in front of the altar and I will pray so that nothing bad befalls you during your travel back to your country. I will dream of you who came from another country. This will harm me. Therefore, I will pray for me also.

I gave him a bottle of mezcal. He shook hands with me, and began walking toward Rancho Santa Ana.

This xemabie, who is evaluated as more authentic than the first one by the villagers, also became xemabie by learning. His knowledge, as reproduced above, is more detailed than that of the first xemabie. Among the noteworthy statements he made are the facts that 1) he does not perform sacrifice for the client but recommends the type of sacrifice to be done by the client; 2) he does not receive payment in cash, but a gift of mezcal for his service; and 3) thin cylindrical small tamales called *punuuk* (which correspond to "small pencil-like tamales" in the statements of the first xemabie) are an offering indispensable for sacrifice.

Since around 1960 the xemabies have been losing prestige under the pressure of evangelization by the Salesians. One instance exemplifies the diminished prestige of

the xemabie in Tlahui. In about 1967 a young man lost his portable radio and reported it to the municipio. The municipal officials caught four suspects, and asked a xemabie to identify the culprit. The xemabie divined with four corn kernels, and based on his divination, one young man was jailed, but later, the real culprit was caught. The xemabie became a target for the rage and reproach of the people.

Catholic Tradition

In present-day Tlahui, Catholicism superficially dominates ritual. In particular, all the community rituals except for national fiestas are administered by the Catholic priest. The priest inveighs against sacrifice after the mass and lecture, thus emphasizing to his audience that sacrifice is the antithesis of authentic Catholicism. In this way, the "spiritual conquest" of Tlahui continues. When discussing the historical background of the highland Mixe, I referred to the history of evangelization in past centuries, but detailed data are lacking on the process of Christianization among the Mixe. The key to this inquiry rests in the ethnographic data of the Catholic rituals practiced at present in Tlahui, data which are presented in the succeeding chapters. Here, I will briefly outline the major phases of Christianization in the past four centuries in the Mixe region, subdividing them into the three periods: the period of the Dominicans (from the sixteenth century to the *Reforma* in the middle of the nineteenth century); the period of the secular clergy (from the middle of the nineteenth century to 1962); and the period of the Salesians (1962–present).

The century of Dominican evangelization, which is famous for the laborious work of Fray Agustín de Quintana, seems to have left indelible religious and cultural influences on the Mixe. For example, some old men of Tlahui still recite prayers in archaic "Mixe of Juquila" very similar to those composed by Fray Agustín [Ballesteros y Rodríguez 1974: 25]. In addition, some Tlahui men and women still recite the rosary in the Dominican way, according to a priest at Ayutla.[5] Besides, we find some *cantos coloniales* (religious songs that originated in the Colonial period) like "Salve María," "Santo Dios," and "Letanía," which are indispensable elements in the religious fiestas. Based on these fragmentary data, I assume that the basic style of the Catholic rituals was formed in the Mixe villages during the Dominican evangelization.

When the golden age of the Dominicans passed, missionary enterprise entered a period of decadence in the nineteenth century which gave way, in turn, to an epoch of abandonment after the Reforma, when the Church was separated from the State. Data are available neither on the last stage of Dominican evangelization, nor on the period of the secular clergy who succeeded the Dominicans and remained in the region until the coming of the Salesians in 1962. But the general situation in the period of the secular clergy is illustrated by a story of a secular cleric whom I met in

5. Father Andrés Cervantes, personal communication.

Tlahui when he revisited this village after many years' absence from the Mixe region. During his stay in the Mixe region, he said, from 1945 to 1955, he was a resident priest in Zacatepec. He had to visit the municipios belonging to the parish of Zacatepec as well as those of the parish of Tlahui. Half a year he lived in Zacatepec and the other half was spent in Tlahui. When he visited Mixistlán, which belonged to the parish of Tlahui in those days, he used to live there for three months, administering all the annual fiestas, since he could not visit the village again for another year.

Surely as a remnant of this way of celebrating the fiestas, Mixistlán and Chichicaxtepec, an *agencia* of Mixistlán, still celebrate many fiestas of the saints within two or three days, when the visiting priest from Tlahui is in the villages. Also, the scarcity of priests willing to work in the Mixe region is a factor in keeping this custom alive in these villages. Let me cite an example of this deviation from usual practice. When the priest visited Chichicaxtepec on December 17–21, 1973 and 1974, he celebrated two fiestas: the fiesta of the Soledad and that of the Dulce Nombre de Cristo. According to the villagers, this is not abnormal in this village, since it is their custom to celebrate the two fiestas at the same time each year. In the same way, in Mixistlán on May 15–17, 1974, four fiestas took place: those of the Corpus Nuevo, Corpus Antiguo, Natividad Mayor, and Natividad Chica. As is apparent from these cases, celebrating several fiestas during a short time period is never related to the essential quality of the rituals, but is a phenomenon stemming from the religious situation of the past.

At present, religious rituals are greatly influenced by the social relations between the priest and the municipal officials. The character and orientation of the priest is a primary factor in the change of rituals traditional to the village. As a consequence of the worldwide crisis in the Church, there are a variety of orientations and opinions among Catholic priests, even among those of the same order. The moderates prefer to follow village traditions in so far as the population is unwilling to alter its customs under the pressures of social change, whereas the radical priests are apt to change the ritual tradition of the village. Tlahui, for instance, has had the same resident moderate priest since 1963, and he has followed the ritual tradition of the village with the help of suggestions from the sacristanes, mayordomos, fiscales, and alcalde. He will continue to follow this line as long as it conforms with the communal consensus.

Some Salesian priests, however, believe that the Catholic rituals of Tlahui are too lengthy and tedious. If Tlahui had such a priest, its Catholic rituals would undergo various changes. I saw a good example of such potential change in a priest who visited Tlahui from Río Manso in the Chinantec region. He was invited to Tlahui to celebrate the fiesta of Santa Cecilia on November 22, 1974, when the priest of Tlahui was absent. The priest from Río Manso is a radical who constructed a Protestant-style Church in his parish. After attending the lengthy fiesta of Santa Cecilia, the patron saint of the musicians, he expressed the opinion that were he the priest of Tlahui, he would like to curtail some parts of the rituals. This shows that in remote

Table 4. Classification of Rituals

Form	Mixe sacrifice complex	Catholicism	Nationalism
Origin	Preconquest	Postconquest	after the 1960s
Objects for devotion			
	Mt. Zempoaltépetl	God	Republic of Mexico
	hill	Jesús	
	earth	María	
	ancestor	saints	
	thunder		
	lightning		
	air		
Ritual specialists			
	xemabie	Catholic priest	teachers
	curandero		*promotores* of the INI
	susto-curer		municipal officials
	chupadora		
Place for rituals			
	hilltop	church	plaza
	cave	*ermita*	school
	field		
Social participation and types of rituals (family and individual)	rituals of life crisis		
	agricultural and other rituals		
	native curing		
	responso, misa particular, and saint worship		
	pilgrimages		

(community)

fiestas of the major saints
- Ascensión
- Asunción
- Guadalupe

Lent and Holy Week

All Saints' Day and Christmas

minor religious fiestas
- Esquipulas
- Candelaria
- Santa Ana
- San Antonio
- San Nicolás
- Santísima Virgen del Rosario
- Santa Cecilia
- Juquila
- Santa Cruz

fiesta of Zempoaltépetl

fiesta of the Salesians

rituals of the officials
- Nov. 1–2
- Dec. 25
- New Year's Day
- Jan. 15
- *tequio*

national fiestas

Day of the Constitution	Feb. 5
Birthday of Benito Juárez	Mar. 21
Day of the Defense of Puebla	May 5
Day of Mothers	May 10
Day of Teachers	May 15
Day of the Independence	Sept. 16
Day of the Discovery of America =Day of the Race	Oct. 12
Day of the Mexican Revolution	Nov. 20

Social orientation

heretical ← → authentic

regions, the Catholic rituals can be changed according to the opinions of the resident priest.

The conflicts between the missionaries and the municipal officials can be another crucial course of change in the Catholic rituals. In Ayutla in 1963 a conflict took place between a group of women and a newly arrived priest who tried to change the altars of the images of the ancient saints. In 1973, in Juquila, the municipio had a conflict with the priest over the repair of the church. In 1974 the mayordomos of Zacatepec ran counter to the priest over their selling of mezcal, and the missionaries moved to Alotepec. In 1974 the mayordomos of Ixcuintepec accused a visiting priest of opening the chapel without the permission of the mayordomos, and put him into the municipal jail. As these incidents show, the major villages endowed with economic autonomy and political leadership tend to have conflicts with the authority of the church. Future relationships between the municipal officials and the priest will decide changes in the religious rituals.

National Fiestas

Political rituals are a new element which has been introduced gradually to Tlahui since the 1960s. They are represented by the national fiestas accompanying the procession of the Mexican national flag and secular recreational programs called *actos sociales*. The participants are still few in number, but the promoters are the new elites such as the teachers of the federal schools and the promotores of INI, agents who transmit Mexican nationalism and the idea of development to the Mixe region.

Rituals of the officials, such as nominating, installing, and so on, tend to be tinged with political coloring in a changing village such as Ayutla, but in Tlahui they are still set apart from the nationalistic political rituals, except for the ritual action of handing over the national flag from an old presidente to a new one on the day when the village officials change.

Above I have described and analysed the three ritual components: sacrifice complex, Catholic tradition, and national fiestas. To further classify the rituals of Tlahui, I would like to introduce a factor of the unit of participation in the rituals: 1) family and individual, including selectively some of the kindred, compadres, friends, and neighbors; and 2) community. Observation of the various rituals in Tlahui using the two factors of the ritual components and the unit of participation yields a classification table (Table 4), which is only a rough guide for setting the variety of rituals into the overall context of ritual activities in Tlahui. Each ritual in the Table will be described and commented on in the following three chapters: chapter 6 on rituals of the family and the individual, chapter 7 on religious fiestas, and chapter 8 on rituals of the officials and national fiestas.

Chapter 6

Rituals of the Family and the Individual

Most individual and family rituals are hidden, in contrast to the conspicuousness of the community rituals. They seem hidden because the performers belong to a small social unit and the ritual specialists are labeled as unauthentic by the Church. The rituals of this category are mostly "critical rituals" [TITIEV 1960] composed of two layers: sacrifice on the informal level and Catholic rituals on the formal level. Thus, they fall between sacrifice and Catholicism as located in Table 4.

Responso, misa particular, saint worship, and pilgrimages are a little far from the above generalization. These ritual activities revolve around symbols of the Catholic Church, but within them lurks the animistic orientation of the people. During the period of the Dominican evangelization community pilgrimages were organized by the Church, but today pilgrimages have become personal or family rituals.

RITUALS OF LIFE CRISIS

The rituals of life crisis, which ritualize the divisions of the human life cycle, are performed on both the family and the public level. Family performance usually conforms with the traditional Mixe rituals, whereas public rituals are imposed by the Church that administers Catholic sacraments. The former comprises reality and the latter formality, as far as Tlahui is concerned. Besides, it should not be forgotten that the civil and religious organizations of the community force male members to participate in office-holding, through which they can approach public life in small increments, thus gradually preparing themselves to be socially recognized mature men. Thus, office-holding (see Chapters 4 and 8) is one of the rituals of life crisis.

Pregnancy and Birth

Pregnant women pray to San José and Santa María for normal delivery. Barren women used to visit a cave on Mt. Zempoaltépetl to ask for a child, but this custom has long since ceased to be popular. Of the five altars formerly used for sacrifice on Mt. Zempoaltépetl one is said to have been used by barren women [BEALS 1945: 85–86]. This altar was not in use in 1973–74.

When pregnant, women drink tea made from a medicinal plant called Santa María to calm the womb. If a pregnant woman sees a black bird, she must throw a stone to scare it away, because a black bird is an evil omen.

Usually a midwife is called to assist in delivery, but a grandmother, mother, or mother-in-law can function as a midwife. When labor pains begin, the expectant mother drinks *nopal* (cactus pad) soup to warm the body. After a difficult delivery, the midwife tries to warm the mother. She orders the family to heat a big stone or brick over a charcoal or wood fire, pour some water over it, cover it first with banana-like leaves and then with cloth, which she will place around the mother's hips.

As mentioned in the literature [BALLESTEROS Y RODRÍGUEZ 1974: 93], when a child is born, the family preserves the umbilical cord in a ceramic jar for four days. On the fourth day, the family gives a small fiesta, inviting close relatives, neighbors, and friends. On this occasion, they make typical Mixe dishes: tepache, guajolote soup, corn tamales (*uts nak mujky* in Mixe), bean tamales (*xejkmujky* in Mixe), and coffee. After the fiesta, they bury the umbilical cord in the ground at the border with the neighbor's land. For twenty days after childbirth, the mother and the baby take sweatbaths whenever they can, depending on the family's ability to obtain firewood. The use of the sweatbath (*temazcal*—Fig. 9) involves the following processes:

1. clean the inside;
2. put *petate* on the floor;
3. burn firewood for about an hour, to heat the stones inside the fuel hole;
4. pour a bucket of warm water over the stones to produce steam;
5. cover the two entrances and the fuel hole with a cloth or blanket;
6. lie down on the *petate*;
7. the *curandera* forces steam at the principal patient(s) by fanning with a bunch of aromatic grasses such as *albácar* or *rosa de castilla*; and
8. after emerging from the temazcal, people put mezcal over the body and wrap up in clothes, covering the head and neck with a shawl so that cool air does not "get into the body" (some people spend the night inside the temazcal).

After the twenty days, the baby can be baptised at the church. However, most parents are reluctant to take the child to the parish house to be baptised. Sometimes children are more than three years old when baptised, and some parents have to request a religious marriage for themselves, this being a prerequisite for the baptism of their child. Only young Christian couples and believers tend to baptise their children on the days prescribed by the missionaries.

The baby is fed atole (corn meal mush) and a corn flour pancake (*yaksts kaaky* in Mixe). The menu for the mother is also very simple: tortillas well toasted with garlic, salt, and dry red chili pepper, and soup made of chili peppers and eggs. Toasted tortilla is regarded as being good for the stomach, because it is less heavy than ordinary tortilla.

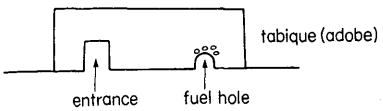


Fig. 9. A Sweatbath (*temazcal*)

Red chili pepper soup with eggs is good for warming the body. Some families make *chilaquiles à la mixe* (*machucada* or *machucan* in Mixe Spanish, *maachi* in Mixe).

In Tlahui babies are named according to the Spanish system. No longer do they receive the *tono*, an animal guardian spirit, the species of which was decided by the calendar or by deciphering the spoor of an animal that walked across ashes spread outside the house where the baby was born [MILLER 1956: 197, 227].

Age grades are important in Mixe society for defining social position. However, passage from one age grade to another is rarely dramatized by conspicuous rituals. From early childhood, boys and girls help the family around the house and in the field, and in so doing they are introduced to the adult world. For males, office-holding in the civil and religious hierarchies of the community constitutes rites of passage on the community level. First, young males must become topiles, the lowest municipal or religious office, and then gradually they are allowed to assume higher offices. There are no special rites of passage for females. The only way of symbolizing the growth of girls was to buy red beads that were added to a necklace, but since sometime in the 1930s this custom has gradually declined among the Mixe.

Communion and Confirmation

Between childhood and adolescence, a Mixe experiences two Catholic sacraments, communion and confirmation. The significance of these rituals is poorly understood by the Mixe. Infants three to five years of age, and recently baptised, were formerly confirmed, but nowadays 15 year old youths are expected to participate in confirmation. The Church now hardly celebrates communion.

Marriage

Courtship is not yet popular, as love among the Mixe is a secret thing. Before a couple begins to live together, their union is celebrated by a small fiesta for the relatives of both sides. This is the traditional marriage ceremony. After living together for about six to twelve months, or after their first child arrives, the couple marries in the church. In this way Tlahui still preserves the traditional Mixe form of marriage which so displeased the missionaries of past centuries. Fray Agustín de Quintana mentioned the Mixe marriage custom in his *El Confessonario* [1732]:

Priest: How many years have you had that woman?
Confessor: Almost ten years.
P: My son, you must leave the woman. But she gave birth to your children, so you must take care of them, and give them food, drink, and clothes, because they are your children.
C: Father, how can I leave the woman? For many years I have had her and have shared a life with her. I made her give birth to the children. It is not possible for me to leave her.

P: It is also impossible for me to pardon you. And you cannot be pardoned for your sins. The Devil will take your soul, and that cannot be helped.
C: Father, Pardon me, please.
P: Are you married or single?
C: I am single.
P: If you are single and your dependent is also single, marry her. That will make everything right. But until you marry her in the presence of a priest, you cannot live with her [DE QUINTANA 1732: 45–46, my trans.].

The above quotation sounds ironic, because the Catholic-centrism of Fray Agustín de Quintana and the naïvete of the Mixe confessor toward the concept of marriage never meet on the same plane. Even today many missionaries think like this Dominican friar, believing that there exists a dichotomy between marriage and free union. This, however, is a false dichotomy in the Mixe context, especially in the traditional villages like Tlahui where the traditional Mixe marriage ceremony, which guarantees community approval for the union, precedes the formal religious marriage imposed by the Church. To the Mixe, traditional marriage is an indispensable ritual, and the church marriage is only an additional ritual to formalize a preexisting union.

By tradition, boys of about sixteen years old and girls around fourteen began their married life. At present, marriageable age is tending to increase, and some couples marry somewhat after twenty years of age. The traditional Mixe marriage begins with a visit by the boy's parents to the girl's parents' house. On arriving, the boy's father asks the parents of the girl to "give their daughter to my son who needs a molinera." The father of the girl promises to consider the matter. The boy's parents leave a gift of three liters of mezcal and three boxes of cigarettes. According to custom, they should repeat this visit two or three times, but in reality, if the girl's parents accept the gifts offered on the second visit, it is taken as an affirmative response. These visits always take place at night, on intervals of one or two weeks or a month, depending on the situation. The boy does not accompany his parents until the last visit, when the two families arrange the marriage ceremony. At this time, too, the quantity of gifts increases, although gifts in Tlahui are fewer than in the villages of the lowlands and midlands which can depend on coffee production. In Tlahui it is not customary for the boy's father to give the girl money or such things as a necklace, earrings, or a dress. Neither is a premarital service for the boy required at the girl's house in Tlahui.

On the wedding day, the girl and her mother prepare tamales, beans, and beef soup. The boy and his parents visit the girl's house with a 19–liter kerosene can full of mezcal, three pieces of brown sugar, a box of cigarettes, and a jar of tepache. The boy serves mezcal to each member of the girl's family. In return, the girl's father serves mezcal to each member of the boy's family. Then, according to the ritual pattern, the boy serves tepache three times to each person present. The girl then serves the tamales and beef soup, beans, and tepache to each person. An old man

advises the boy, "Bring firewood to your wife. Work hard in the field. Be kind and treat your wife well. Pardon your wife when she is at fault. Respect your elders and follow the village customs." An old woman advises the girl, "Serve food to your husband. Look after the house. Wash the clothes. Accompany your husband to the field, and do not speak to other men although they talk to you in the plaza." After giving this advice, everybody except the new couple takes tepache and mezcal. At dawn the girl serves the guests atole, scrambled eggs, beans, bean soup flavored with a wild herb, a *maachi* (*chilaquiles à la mixe*), dry roasted meat or dry roasted fish, and mezcal. The wedding banquet ends with this breakfast, and the new husband can take his wife home.

Usually the new couple does not think about a religious marriage ritual until the first child is born, a few years after which they visit the parish house to request that their marriage be celebrated and their child baptised at the same time. For marriage the couple must undergo a brief instruction in the catechism, followed by the matrimonial presentation at the parish house. The couple comes to the parish house with the parents of both sides, a padrino and a madrina, and four witnesses. The priest notes the data on the couple and asks the padrino, the madrina, and the four witnesses to give advice to the couple. The advice given is more or less similar to that provided in the traditional Mixe wedding. Finally, mass is read.

Marriages are performed every Sunday. The padrino and the madrina bring rings and thirteen coins given by the bridegroom to the bride as a pledge of conjugal responsibility. This custom is the result of the cultural influence of the *agats* world. The marriage rite is carried out during the great Sunday mass in the presence of the villagers. The priest unites the couple with a ribbon that symbolizes the conjugal tie. Then, in lieu of a signature, the couple writes a cross on the official marriage paper. A fee of 15.35 pesos is paid to the priest. After this, the couple and its group, carrying candles, approach the feet of the images of the patron saint of Santa María Asunción and other saints, and recite the rosary, Padre Nuestro, and Ave María, followed by chants for the happiness of the new couple. Then the group returns to the husband's house where they are given tepache and tamales. The fiesta after the religious marriage is less sumptuous than that following the traditional Mixe wedding ritual.

For a marriage between people formerly married to other partners, no celebration is performed. Two people simply start living together, and they marry in the church when ordered to do so by the priest.

Civil marriage, which is registered at the municipio, is becoming popular under the impact of the federal and the state governments. Thus at present, three types of marriage—the traditional Mixe type, marriage in the church, and civil marriage—coexist in Tlahui.

Death and Burial

People depend almost totally on the Catholic church for funeral rites, and only in certain beliefs does the animistic orientation survive.

When death is near, the priest is summoned to receive confession and to give supreme unction. Incense reinforced with chili is burned on the floor of the house. Relatives prepare a rough and unadorned coffin. People in Tlahui no longer use *petate* for burials.[1] The shroud should be white for a child and black for an adult, but this rule is not always followed. Money, cigarettes, tepache, mezcal, tortillas, *mecapal* (ixtle bag with head band), and leather sandals are placed in the coffin. Meanwhile, the death is reported to the capillos, mayordomos, and fiscales. The cantor arrives at the house of the deceased and prays throughout the night with the relatives, neighbors, and friends who participate in the wake. The coffin, decorated with flowers, lies before the family altar. The mourners are given bread and coffee.

On the day of the funeral the religious officials play active roles. Shortly before the funeral procession to the church, a mayordomo, bearing two candles, visits the house to announce the priest's benediction. Then the coffin is put on a wooden, ladder-like framework and carried to the church. It is difficult to carry the coffin from a rancho to the centro. Unlike in Ayutla, the band playing the funeral march does not accompany the procession. Instead, the procession consists of a small number of people, and it proceeds in silence to the church.

Arriving at the church, the coffin is adorned with four large candles and placed before the main altar, where it is given benediction. Nuns can substitute in the absence of the priest. About half of the villagers who die receive benediction, the remainder receiving only prayers of the capillo. Only rarely do people request a funeral mass. It is believed that children younger than seven do not require benediction because they are angels.

After the benediction the procession proceeds to the cemetery. The procession is composed of a fiscal with his baton with crown, his symbol of office, a capillo singing from a small book of songs, women with candles and flowers, and the coffin carried by four men. The capillo's prayer is sometimes broken, since he himself is not particularly good at pronouncing Spanish. A grave has already been prepared at the cemetery by the close relatives of the deceased. To one side of the grave kneel the fiscal, capillo, and male participants, and on the other side the female mourners, holding candles and flowers. As two or three men pour earth on the coffin in the grave, the capillo recites prayers, together with the other mourners. More brief prayers by the mourners conclude the burial service.

The mourners leave the cemetery and assemble on the open space in front of the cemetery, where they drink a little mezcal and smoke cigarettes. Then they return home to eat and drink.

1. Some people in Mixistlán do not prepare a coffin, prefering to wrap a corpse in petate. In 1974, at the cemetery of Mixistlán, I found a ladder made of bamboo which had been used to carry a corpse wrapped in petate.

The manner in which the deceased's property is disposed of is noteworthy. Clothes, the *red* and *mecapal*, together with the leather sandals of the deceased, are placed on the tomb or draped over the branches of nearby trees.[2]

They keep mourning for nine days for a deceased male and seven days for a woman. On the final day of mourning, some families who can afford it invite musicians as well as the usual relatives and neighbors, to a farewell fiesta for the soul of the dead so that it will not bring disgrace like illness or bad dreams to those still living. But musicians are rarely invited on this occasion.

After the mourning period is over, a cross is placed on the grave. That used in Tlahui is very simple, unpainted and made of wood.[3] Only a few graves are covered by cement tombs.

No abnormal death, such as by suicide, has ever been reported. Although suicide happens, people hide the fact for fear that burial in the cemetery will not be permitted.

The concept of an afterlife remains as noted by Fray Agustín de Quintana in his *El Confessonario*: "Have you believed that when the people die, they will go to the other world to work as the idolaters say?" [DE QUINTANA 1732: 11]. This fatalistic concept perhaps originated from the Mixe way of life, according to which they can sustain themselves only through hard work. A young man added another realistic explanation for this concept: "Money is very precious in this world. Only with it we can get good things. To get it, we have to work hard. So why not in another world?"

Rituals both traditional to the Mixe and from the Catholic Church are performed to commemorate the dead. In the past, according to González [1973: 334], there was a communal sacrifice for all the dead of the community, but at present only family sacrifice for dead members is still performed by some families. All Saints' Day provides the best chance to pray for the dead, and whenever a chance occurs people buy the *responso* for the dead. Each time the family prays in church, they invoke the spirit of the dead one. During marriage ritual a padrino invokes the dead so that they will guarantee the happiness of the new couple. And each month family members are expected to visit the cemetery, taking flowers and candles.

AGRICULTURAL AND OTHER RITUALS

Agricultural rituals connected with corn growing are poorly developed among the Mixe. Rituals are performed only during sowing and harvesting. Before sow-

2. Tlahui is between Mixistlán and Ayutla in this custom. In Mixistlán they put clothes, leather sandals, and utensils such as ceramic pots in a cave. In Ayutla they do not leave personal belongings of the dead at the cemetery.

3. In this respect Tlahui is free from the great tradition. Mixistlán paints a black cross with a white plant design, possibly having been influenced by Yalálag. Ayutla puts up a big blue-and-white-painted cross, influenced by the Oaxaca Valley.

ing, people are expected to keep nine days of novena and four days of sexual abstinence. Some perform sacrifice at the cave or on the hilltop. People depend also on the Catholic symbols: they bring candles, flowers, and a few kernels or ears of corn to the saints of the church to pray for a good harvest.

On the day of sowing, they often eat a breakfast of *xejkuvia* (bean soup seasoned with avocado leaves) prepared especially for this day. In the field they make a hole with a digging stick to receive five corn seeds and a few seeds of bean and calabash. Seeds are carried in the carapace of an armadillo, in a gourd, or in any handy bag. Close relatives help with sowing. When the workers are thirsty the women of the family bring tepache, and they drink it in the ceremonial way. When the sowing is complete, the workers are served beef or guajolote soup together with bean tamales.

Growing corn is exposed to the depredations of animals. To ward off this danger a cross made of dried cornstalk is put on a spot where the field borders a footpath, in the hope that the animal which dares to eat corn will die on the spot. A minor but not obligatory fiesta with tepache and chicken soup may be held when immature ears form on the corn plant. More commonly, the appearance of the first ears of green corn is celebrated with tortillas and tamales made from a few of the first ears.

At harvest time they pray at the church. Some ask the priest for the *responsos* for the dead, believing that the dead family members provided the good harvest. Actually, harvest time falls near All Saints' Day and the prayers dedicated to the dead are blended into the Catholic rituals of All Saints' Day. Along with the Catholic rituals for harvesting, some people perform sacrifice at the cave or the hilltop.

When petitioning for livestock and poultry, people depend heavily on the traditional Mixe sacrifice. Livestock (cattle, sheep, goats, mules, and donkeys) and poultry (guajolote and chicken) are economically so important that people practice various rituals to ensure that their petition for animals and birds is rewarded.

When they sell animals and birds, they pull out feathers or hair and put them in a crack in the wall of their houses in the hope that they will not run short of animals and birds [BALLESTEROS Y RODRÍGUEZ 1974: 64].

To petition for animals or birds, people go to church to pray. At the same time some perform sacrifice at the cave or at the hilltop, where they make a miniature corral of small wooden sticks containing figures of livestock made of dried cornstalk, as referred to by Ballesteros y Rodríguez [1974: 64 footnote] and Beals [1945: 85–86]. Sometimes, they put there a so-called *yunta-vara* which symbolizes a yoke (as mentioned in Chapter 5 in connection with the sacrifice site description, Fig. 8). Santa Catarina Albarradas is known as a sanctuary where petition for animals is made, as is mentioned below in the description of pilgrimages.

The Mixe have not developed special rituals to ask for rainfall, as Beals observed [BEALS 1945: 99]. In the highlands, at least, there is no shortage of rain between June and October, when the corn is maturing. This perhaps explains the lack of

rituals for rain among the highland Mixe compared with well developed rain rituals among the Zapotec [DE LA FUENTE 1949: 303–305].

The fiesta of Santa Cruz can be understood as a remnant of communal rain ritual, and it is described in Chapter 7.

The period of heavy rain during the wet season from May to October causes landslides throughout the highlands. Tlahui suflered fewer calamities in 1974 than elsewhere, but in Huitepec a landslide hit the centro, destroying a house and killing the family, and in Tamazulapam a landslide near the road killed a pedestrian. Faced with such crises, the people turned to the priest for help. They paid for a mass to be said and they also put a wooden cross where the landslide occurred in the hope that the calamity will not be repeated.

When construction of a new house begins, people in the ranchos mostly still sacrifice a guajolote or chicken. This is an observation of the people in the centro, but I have not participated in this ritual. When the construction is finished, some families invite close relatives, neighbors, and friends to a small fiesta at which a soup of guajolote and tamales are served. If they cannot afford that, they celebrate the new house only with tepache. The priest may be invited to bless the house. Afterwards some people put an iron figure of Eucharistic custody or a cross as a protective symbol at the peak of the roof.

It is said that in former days people depended more on sacrifice in petition for safe traveling, but nowadays they rely more on Catholic symbols. When planning a journey, they go to pray at the church. Leaving the centro, the traveler comes to an ermita whatever footpath he takes. There he prays again.

Several types of crosses, erected to protect travelers, dot the footpaths radiating from the centro of Tlahui. The first is a large cross made of two square pieces of lumber. An example is the cross standing on the spot where the footpath to Mixistlán and Chichicaxtepec starts. This kind of cross serves to mark the border of the centro. The second type is a tree with almost horizontal branches which look like arms of the cross. The tree itself looks like a cross and serves as a marker of the middle of a path or sometimes to signal the entrance to a path. Sometimes a glass frame containing a print of a saint is placed at the foot of the tree. The third type, also a cross-shaped tree, is found on the footpath leading from the centro to Rancho Flores. Different from the second type, the branches of this tree are adorned with grey moss, green moss, and some highland plants. On the same footpath, near Rancho de Cuche, is a niche that guards a cross made from the branch of a tree. This is the fourth type of footpath cross.

NATIVE CURING

Although my data are too fragmentary to describe in detail the native curing

complex, some information and comments I have are presented below. Detailed discussion as was done by Gillin [1948], V. Turner [1967: 359–393], and Vogt and Vogt [1970], for example, is left for future study.

It is fairly difficult to distinguish between the categories of native curers and diviners. De la Fuente referred to the Mixe curers who visit Yalálag from Yacochi and Chichicaxtepec as *curanderos* or *brujos* [DE LA FUENTE 1949: 133, 325–337] to denote curers in general, including diviners who equal the xemabies I mentioned in Chapter 5. Their functions overlap, but according to my findings in Tlahui, native curers seem to be divided into three categories, differentiated by field of work: curanderos, *susto*-curers, and the *chupadoras*.

The Mixe depend heavily on some 200 varieties of medicinal herbs.[4] Old people know them well and prefer such herbs to modern medicine. Some old people have a good knowledge of such herbs, instruct those who need to use them, and sometimes diagnose patients. Such people are called *sabias* or curanderas. Female curanderas also assist at childbirth and preside over healing sweatbaths (temazcal—see p. 86).

Students of susto generally conclude that it occurs to a person caught in a tense situation [ADAMS and RUBEL 1967; O'NEIL and SELBY 1968; RUBEL 1964]. The data from Ayutla, presented in Chapter 10, confirm their conclusion. In Tlahui, however, it is said that children get susto more than adults. Since I was unable to participate in and observe susto-curing and could only obtain knowledge of the practice from the people, my data do not go beyond the information provided by Ballesteros and Rodríguez [1974: 63].

As noted by de Quintana [1732], a *chupadora* is one who cures the sick by sucking out intrusive objects thought to cause illness. A woman engaged in this curing is called *mukp* in Mixe, "one who sucks." Some mock the chupadora for her incredible way of curing. One informant, who had suffered pain in the shoulder, once went to see a chupadora in Yacochi who sucked his shoulder and spat out green chili, saying that the source of the pain was taken away. A friend of my informant found this incredible, and is now derisive toward chupadoras.

Two chupadoras live in the centro of Tlahui, one an old woman and the other young. Tlahui opinion about them is mixed. One woman informant has a negative view of xemabies but likes the young chupadora who lives in the centro. A few months ago she had pain throughout her body. She visited the church dispensary and the pain was reduced somewhat but not eliminated, so she decided to visit the young chupadora. The chupadora sucked her neck and shoulder, spat out chili, beans, bones of barbecued mutton, and even a piece of metal plate, according to the account of my informant. Each time she spat, she cleansed her mouth with mezcal. She did not pray. The informant was completely cured by this and paid the chupadora 30 pesos plus a bottle of mezcal.

This same informant's mother was once a chupadora, and explained the reason

4. Personal information from Sister Marta Garzafox, who collects and analyses herbs at the church dispensary of Tlahui.

why chupadoras have to receive payment by citing the following story about her mother:

A woman was washing her hair near the river, when another woman came there to get water (perhaps she had evil eyes). After washing her hair, the first woman came back home and felt a pain in her foot. She asked my mother, the chupadora, to suck her foot. My mother sucked and thereby cured it, but she did not charge anything or receive a gift of mezcal. Perhaps not charging may be a sin, as far as I judge from what happened to my mother.

Later, my mother's foot became painful and began swelling. She slept continuously, dreaming a great deal. A woman appeared in the dream and asked why my mother had received neither payment nor gift. The woman said, "There is mezcal, tamales, tepache, and so on. You could get anything." In the meantime my mother noticed that her room was full of smoke. Through the window she could see daybreak. Yes, dawn was breaking. Suddenly the woman in the dream disappeared. My mother awoke and discovered that her foot had been cured.

After this my mother lost her ability as a chupadora. She did not charge for her work, and so she was deprived of her ability. Therefore, I believe that not to charge is a sin.

RESPONSO, MISA PARTICULAR, AND SAINT WORSHIP

Every week many people make requests for responsos, mainly to console the dead. A responso costs one peso. In November, 1974, on All Saints' Day, responso requests totaled 1,000.

Sometimes a person requests many responsos at the same time. For example, a woman originally from Tlahui but now living in an ejido near Matías Romero returned to Tlahui during Holy Week and came to the parish house with the gift of a guajolote, requesting twenty-six responsos for the twenty-six dead persons of her family and relatives.

Sometimes people visit the parish house to request a responso, the motive of which does not conform to Church doctrines. One day a man from a rancho arrived at the parish house in a great hurry, and asked the priest with much anxiety, "Father! Did not someone come to ask you for a responso so that I will die soon?" This man misunderstood that a responso could be used as a kind of witchcraft.

Another example provides a clue to understand the orientation of those who request responsos. One day a woman came to the parish house with a piece of paper which conveyed a memo written in poor Spanish:

Father

Tlahuitoltepec, Mixes, Oaxaca, December 21, 1974. Today, Saturday

My beloved Father! Please, give me a favor. Give me a benediction. I ask

the God about my animal. I pray to the God so that my animal will recover from illness.

Father. How much does it cost? My name is Florentino Gutiérrez Vásquez.

Thank you

Tlahuitoltepec

The priest explained to the woman that the responso does not intercede for a sick animal, and invited her to the dispensary to obtain medicine for it. The woman, however, insisted on a responso and did not want to leave the parish house. According to her, her family believes that some dead family members had caused their animal to get sick and that only a responso could console their spirits.

During 1973 and 1974 the priest in Tlahui received one or two petitions for mass (*misa particular*) each week. The payment is 20 pesos for the low mass and 35 pesos for the high mass. The motives of people buying mass vary: celebration of the fiestas of the major saints (see Chapter 7); praying for the sick, the dead, the children, and domestic animals; petitioning for health, life, good harvest, and good dealing in the market; to avoid jealousy; and so forth. Some villagers buy a mass to express thanks. One day a young man, one of the topiles of the municipio in 1973, came to the parish house with 20 pesos and petitioned for a mass, saying, "I have completed my office of the topil de vara without disgrace, so I would like to buy a mass to express my thanks."

People who invoke a saint first touch the image with candles and flowers, and then touch their body with the candles and flowers (Plate 9), possibly on the supposition that these offerings, already endowed with the mercy and magical power of the saint, can transmit miraculous power to their bodies. The same behavior can be observed when people dedicate prayers to the prints (*estampas*) or the glass frames of the saints (*cuadros*).

People in Tlahui have a vague understanding about the images of the saints and the concepts they convey. In a more acculturated village like Ayutla, the people prefer certain saints, some people having their favorites, but in Tlahui saint worship is still communal and no particularization is evident. The priest puts an image of a saint near the main altar, according to the saint's day in the Catholic calendar, and people pray to it. As there is no special veneration for any particular saint, there is neither *cofradía* nor association organized for a particular saint. However, owing to the impact of the Salesians, who have María-Auxiliadora as their patron saint, the association of this saint will be organized in the near future.

Pilgrimages

During the 1970s pilgrimages have become less popular; the number of partici-

pants is decreasing, and group pilgrimages have become almost unfashionable, although remaining popular in midland villages. In 1973, for instance, many groups of pilgrims from Cacalotepec, Juquila, and Quetzaltepec left for the sanctuaries of Juquila Costa and Santa Catarina Albarradas. The musicians of Cotzocón and Mixistlán also visited Santa Catarina Albarradas in 1974, because the capillos of these villages had promised to go on a pilgrimage to this sanctuary. According to these capillos, it was formerly traditional in their municipios for a priest to organize group pilgrimages. No documentary sources confirm this, but it is not difficult to accept it as valid and consistent with the general trend of Mexican religious history. Until the mid-nineteenth century Reforma, the Catholic Church promoted pilgrimage, but after that time priests became skeptical about pilgrimages to regional sanctuaries whose origins were partly Catholic and partly "pagan" according to the churchmen's jargon. Unlike the municipios where the tradition of group pilgrimage still persists, in Tlahui—as well as in any highland municipio—people no longer organize group pilgrimages. Instead, they go with their family, relatives, neighbors, and friends.

People make pilgrimages to a number of sanctuaries scattered throughout Oaxaca (Table 5), two of which are within the territory of the Mixe. Alotepec, in the midlands, attracts pilgrims on May 3 for the celebration of Santa Cruz, but most of the pilgrims are from the midlands and lowlands or from Tehuantepec and Juchitán. About 2,000 people visit Alotepec but only a few Mixe from the highlands go there.

Ixcuintepec has a rock with water flowing out where, according to legend, the Virgin appeared. Pilgrims cleanse themselves with this water before proceeding to pray to the image of the Virgen de Purísima Concepción, on December 8 [BALLESTEROS y RODRÍGUEZ 1974: 98]. The pilgrimage to Ixcuintepec is not particularly popular in Tlahui, possibly owing to the distance involved and the rather hostile relations between the highlanders and the lowlanders.

Table 5. Pilgrimages: Sanctuaries, Dates, and Religious Symbols

Sanctuary	Location	Date	Religious symbol
Esquipulas	Guatemala	Jan. 15	Señor de Esquipulas
Santa Catarina (Albarradas)	Mountain Zapotec	Feb. 20–25	San Antonio
Villa Alta	Mountain Zapotec	3rd Friday of Lent	Nuestro Señor Jesucristo
Güila	Valley Zapotec	4th Friday of Lent	Nuestro Señor Jesucristo
Etla	Valley Zapotec	5th Friday of Lent	Nuestro Señor Jesucristo
Alotepec	Midland Mixe	May 3	Santa Cruz
Otatitlán	Veracruz	May 3	Nuestro Señor Jesucristo
Yalálag	Mountain Zapotec	June 13	San Antonio (de Padua)
Tlacolula	Valley Zapotec	Oct. 7	Virgen del Rosario
Juquila Costa	Chatino	Dec. 8	Virgen de Juquila
Ixcuintepec	Midland Mixe	Dec. 8	Purísima Concepción
Guadalupe	Mexico City	Dec. 12	Virgen de Guadalupe
La Soledad	Oaxaca City	Dec. 18	Virgen de la Soledad

People need not depend on pilgrimages to expand their mobility within Mixe territory, as other means of social interaction are available, such as participation in the fiestas of patron saints and regular visits to the markets in neighboring municipios. Pilgrimages within Mixe territory are therefore less attractive compared with pilgrimages to the world beyond.

Three pilgrimages are made to places in the world of the Mountain Zapotec: Villa Alta, Yalálag, and Santa Catarina Albarradas. These were also the sanctuaries visited most frequently by the Mixe during the periods of the Dominicans (from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century), and that of the secular clergy (from the mid-nineteenth century to 1963), owing to their geographical proximity and the Mixe's need to maintain contact with the cultural centers of the times. The centers of the Mountain Zapotec were of greater social importance for the Mixe in past centuries than at present. Now that Mixe territory is connected to the Valley of Oaxaca by the road, the present-day Mixe direct their attention toward the Valley of Oaxaca rather than to the pilgrimages in the land of the Mountain Zapotec (except for the one to Santa Catarina Albarradas).

Villa Alta attracts people to its large fiesta on the third Friday of the Lent, but people of Tlahui now pay less attention to Villa Alta, on which they once depended heavily during the Colonial period.

No documentary sources on the origins of the pilgrimages to Yalálag and Santa Catarina Albarradas were located. But based on the evidence of the long tradition well rooted among the Mixe of the highlands, and also on the evidence that the religious symbol in these sanctuaries is San Antonio, a favorite saint of the Franciscans, it appears that these two pilgrimages were initiated by the secular clergy who professed devotion to this Franciscan saint.

Many people from Tlahui, Yacochi, Chichicaxtepec, and Mixistlán go to San Antonio of Yalálag. The sanctuary had its origin as follows. A mason of Yalálag was constructing a brick wall; lime powder got into his eyes, which ached considerably. He dreamt that a woman from San Mateo Caxonos, a village of the Caxonos Zapotec, would come to Yalálag and cure his eyes, but his dream was not realized. Therefore, he prayed repeatedly to San Antonio, and suddenly one day San Antonio appeared and cured him. The present chapel of San Antonio is a modern, brick building, inside which, at the main altar, is an antique image of San Antonio de Padua adorned with artificial flowers. In the patio of the chapel remains part of the old atrium where widows dance the *jarabes* to ask San Antonio for husbands. In this way, San Antonio de Padua is regarded as a symbol for curing disease and for petitioning for husbands, as expressed in a popular Mexican song about San Antonio.

Another sanctuary dedicated to San Antonio is Santa Catarina Albarradas, the pilgrimage which provides a good example of syncretic features in the regional pilgrimage. Santa Catarina is located two days distant on foot from Ayutla, and a few days' journey from the municipios of the midlands and lowlands. Nevertheless, it is the most popular sanctuary among the Mixe. In 1973–74 many groups from Cacalotepec, Juquila, and Quetzaltepec passed through Ayutla en route to this

sanctuary. The date for the pilgrimage is a point of dispute. The saint revered is said to be San Antonio de Padua, whose fiesta falls on June 13 according to the Catholic calendar of Galvan. But, in June, in the area of Santa Catarina, the unbridged river overflows so much that travelers cannot cross it. Perhaps for this reason, the date of the fiesta was changed to a Sunday either at the end of February or at the beginning of March, thus making the fiesta of Santa Catarina movable. There is an interesting confusion regarding the San Antonio symbol of this sanctuary: San Antonio *abad* and San Antonio de Padua are fused in the minds of the pilgrims. San Antonio *abad* is the saint to ask for animals, and his fiesta falls on January 17, whereas San Antonio de Padua is the saint from whom to request babies, and the date of his fiesta is June 13. However, at the sanctuary people ask for animals, babies, and anything else they wish to receive. To the people of Tlahui, Santa Catarina is known as a place where petition for animals is made, and this sanctuary is accepted with the most fervent enthusiasm.

Three or four days before the day of Santa Catarina, many pilgrims from the midlands, some in families and others in larger groups, pass through Ayutla early in the morning, singing songs of praise. A leader, generally an elder, walks at the head of the group holding a wooden cross and small prayer book. Either a male or female singer follows him and leads men and women bearing loads of clothes and utensils on their shoulders. Sometimes their donkey is used to carry such items.

Santa Catarina is a small village, but on the day of San Antonio it is full of pilgrims and merchants from Oaxaca and Tehuantepec, who visit there to open the *feria.* A girl from Ayutla related her experience at Santa Catarina as follows. Just in front of the church and near a river is a cave which looks like a nice room. There the pilgrims sacrifice chickens and cook them. Later, on a rock near the cave, they place as petitions (*pedimentos*) miniature figures of the things that they wish to obtain, such as a house (the Yalaltecos petition for a two-story house), a baby, animals, corn, and the like. After this, they approach the church and pray to the saint, touching it with candles and flowers. At this moment, if one makes a promise to repeat a pilgrimage, he has to keep it. On the day of the fiesta pilgrims organize a procession, which starts from the rock where the image of the saint is kept. Many pilgrims like to carry the image. They must pay 1 peso to the church mayordomo to carry it for about just one meter. The Oaxaca merchants sell prints and figures of the saint of San Antonio de Padua, an image of San Antonio with a baby, and figures of animals made of ceramic or polyethylene. The prints of San Antonio are most popular for adorning Mixe family altars.

The return trip from the sanctuary is harder than going. In 1973, a woman of Tamazulapam fell sick and the people judged that she went to San Antonio with evil intentions. The pilgrimage to San Antonio takes place during a changeable period of weather, locally called "crazy February." On the way home from Santa Catarina some pilgrims are drenched to the skin on arrival at Ayutla, where they petition for lodging. On the following day they depart for their home villages.

In the Valley of Oaxaca, there are four sanctuaries to which the Mixe go: San

Pablo Güila, Tlacolula, Etla, and La Soledad of Oaxaca. San Pablo Güila, as a pilgrimage center, is less urbanized compared with the other three. This Zapotec sanctuary is less attractive to the Mixe than Santa Catarina, but many go there nevertheless. I could not obtain information on San Pablo Güila, but Parsons left us a vivid description of this sanctuary in the 1930s [PARSONS 1936: 381–385].[5]

Tlacolula and Etla are relatively unattractive to the Mixe, possibly because of the lack of a mysterious atmosphere at the sanctuaries.

Devotion to the virgin La Soledad of Oaxaca varies from municipio to municipio. In Ayutla and Chichicaxtepec, where the fiesta of La Soledad is celebrated, people go on a pilgrimage to the church of La Soledad in the City of Oaxaca. This church, despite its lavishness, retains a provincial atmosphere with less magnificence than the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, famous for its gold decoration of the Colonial style, and this might be a reason why the Mixe visit there. In former times those four sanctuaries in the Oaxaca Valley attracted the Mixe for their culturally advanced atmospheres, and since the 1960s, access to them is relatively easy, and visitors can enjoy shopping and walking around Oaxaca, spending a night in the city.

Pilgrimages beyond the Valley of Oaxaca are made to Otatitlán of Veracruz, Esquipulas of Guatemala, and Juquila Costa in the Chatino territory of Oaxaca. Owing to a lack of historical data on the origins of these sanctuaries, I can only present descriptive data on them and hazard a guess regarding the general trend in their popularity among pilgrims.

Otatitlán is less popular than formerly, and most Mixe do not visit it, partly because Veracruz is away from the transport lines, and partly because the pilgrimage date set for the Nuestro Señor Jesucristo of Otatitlán, May 3, falls on the date of the fiesta of Santa Cruz, which keeps Tlahui men at home.

Esquipulas, in Guatemala, is visited more frequently by the Mixe of the midlands and lowlands which are located close to the Guatemalan border. For instance, when I visited the church of Juquila Mixe in the midlands, I saw a small image of Nuestro Señor Jesucristo of Esquipulas decorated with a piece of Guatemalan cloth brought by the pilgrims from Esquipulas. However, to the Mixe of the highlands, Esquipulas is far away, and at present, people do not visit this national sanctuary of Guatemala. Nevertheless, the people of Tlahui always remember that Esquipulas is one of the major sanctuaries that they should visit. This is probably a remnant of the Dominican tradition, under which missionaries might have promoted pilgrimage to this sanctuary. De la Fuente recorded that at the end of the nineteenth century Yalaltecos still traveled to Esquipulas [DE LA FUENTE 1949: 21]. De Borhegyi reports the transmission of the image of Esquipulas to Chimayó, a Spanish-American village in New Mexico [DE BORHEGYI 1956: 2–4]. On the basis of these ethnographic data, I suggest that in former days the pilgrimage to Esquipulas attracted people from a wide radius that included Guatemala and Mexico.[6] The decline of the pilgrimage

5. She used Huilá's transcription for Güila.

6. Reina [1966: 176–179] reports a pilgrimage to this sanctuary from a Pokoman Maya village of Chinautla. Vogt [1969: 512–519] reports rituals dedicated to Señor Esquipulas at Zinacantan, Chiapas.

to Esquipulas may be attributed to two historical events: the Reforma, after which churchmen viewed the local pilgrimages negatively, and the separation of Guatemala from Mexico at the beginning of the nineteenth century. At present the missionaries of Mexican nationality tend not to promote this pilgrimage to the Guatemalan sanctuary.

Juquila, famous for its Virgen de Juquila, is known as Juquila Costa, for its location, and also as Juquila Grande in contrast to Juquila Mixe. Juquila Costa is also a remnant of the Colonial tradition of evangelization in the state of Oaxaca. This sanctuary, famous throughout the state, still retains its fame, and a variety of ethnic groups enthusiastically visit this Chatino village, despite its geographical isolation.

I visited Juquila on December 8, 1972, and collected data for the following brief description of this sanctuary. Many trucks arrive full of passengers, and on an airfield a light aircraft arrives repeatedly, bringing merchants and pilgrims from Oaxaca and Tehuantepec. The small village is crowded. In the plaza merchants erect market stalls in front of the church, and from their record players flows a song of the Virgen de Juquila. At the end of the song the merchants urge the pilgrims to buy prints and figures of the virgin encased in glass frames. On their knees, some women pilgrims gradually approach the church. Just in front of the church is a large cross around which pilgrims place candles, flowers, and miniature figures for petitions. Too many people rush toward the church to hear mass, and there is a danger of accidents. In the sacristy a visiting priest with his assistant is blessing the religious prints and miniature figures used for petition, and is receiving alms from the pilgrims. In general the atmosphere is very commercially oriented.

In December 1974, I was in Tlahui when the radio reported a major accident in Juquila Costa. A truck carrying passengers to Juquila toppled off a roughly cut road causing many deaths and injuries. Three of the injured and an old woman who died were from Tlahui. When she was killed, pilgrims from Tlahui raised almost 1,000 pesos from other sympathetic pilgrims. With the money thus collected they chartered an aircraft to carry the corpse to Oaxaca.

That was the saddest event during the year, but there is always a danger of loss of life during a pilgrimage to a distant sanctuary. Pascual, one of the mayordomos of the church in 1974, went to Juquila with his two children, carrying the younger one on his back. From Oaxaca they walked all the way to Juquila, where they arrived safely. But during the return trip, when passing Sola de Vega, the child fell off Pascual's back and died instantly. Although saddened, Pascual wants to repeat the pilgrimage to Juquila. These cases show that the attraction of Juquila Costa as a pilgrimage center is still great among the Mixe (Plate 10).

La Villa, the Basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe,[7] is emerging as a new pilgrimage center for the Mixe. The Virgin of Guadalupe, Mexico's patron saint, seems to have become important for the Mixe in the mid-1940s, and since around 1960, especially

7. For the origin and historical evolution of the cult of Guadalupe, see Lafaye [1976: 211–311], Ricard [1966: 188–193], and Wolf [1972].

after the opening of the road to Ayutla, Guadalupe has been gaining in importance and is gradually assuming dominance over the various other religious symbols in the Mixe universe.

Eric Wolf wrote a superb article on this religious symbol, explaining its three functional aspects—psychological, religious, and political. According to him, Guadalupe psychologically embodies "the provision of food and emotional warmth" in the Indian family and "the successful waging of the Oedipal struggle" in the Mexican family. Religiously, the myth of Guadalupe saved the "Indian faith in their own gods" (cited from Tannenbaum), and in consequence, politically, it guaranteed to the Indians and mestizos "a proper place in the [national] social order" [WOLF 1972: 151–152].

It is not certain whether Guadalupe can provide the Mixe with "a proper place in the social order" of present-day Mexico. But what is apparent is that this religious symbol will be of great service in the integration of this ethnic group into the stream of national life. Devotion to Guadalupe is a new element in the Mixe region. Originally, the region followed the tradition of the white virgins like those of Juquila, La Soledad, and Purísima Concepción. The dark Virgin of Guadalupe seems to have emerged as a religious symbol in the late 1930s or early 1940s in the Mixe region, although known before as an obscure symbol. In Tlahui the regard for Guadalupe began around 1945, when the village officials went to La Villa of Mexico and brought back a *lienzo* and a *cuadro* greater than those of former days to symbolize the restoration of peace after the boundary struggle with Santiago Atitlán, a midland village. During the course of my fieldwork, at the fiesta of Guadalupe, the Salesians taught the songs of praise for Guadalupe to the village children, and the missionaries put a Mexican national flag at the main altar of the church, alongside the *lienzo* of Guadalupe. In this way, the religious symbol of the Republic of Mexico penetrates deeper into rural peoples' psychology. The missionaries, who sometimes speak out against the nationalization policy of the Republic, contribute to the religious nationalization of the Mixe themselves through popularizing the symbol of Guadalupe.

The missionaries also promote a group pilgrimage to Mexico City. On August 5, 1973, the Salesian priests of the Mixe, Chinantec, and Zapotec Dioceses organized a Mixe assembly at the Basilica of Guadalupe in Mexico City. The musicians and dancers of Chichicaxtepec were transported to Mexico City by a truck. The dancers dedicated the dances of Los Negritos and the Jarabe Mixe to the altar of the Virgin, and at the end of the program all the Mixe assembled, from the Mixe region and from Mexico City, sang the national anthem. As Mixe contacts with Mexico City increase in the future, devotion to the Guadalupe will become more and more popular. In the history of Mexico from the sixteenth to the twentieth century the supremacy of the symbol of Guadalupe has been promoted to express national consciousness at the expense of other religious symbols such as Los Remedios and Nuestra Señora de Ocotlán and the other figures of the Marian cult [LAFAYE 1976: 211–311]. Following the same course, the symbol of Guadalupe will soon predominate over the mythical figures at the local and state-level shrines.

Chapter 7

Religious Fiestas

In Tlahui there are at present three categories of communal rituals or fiestas: religious fiestas, rituals of the officials, and the national fiestas. The rituals of the officials have a long history, but, unfortunately, there is no way of reconstructing it. The national fiestas are a product of the years after 1960. Only the religious fiestas can be understood in historical perspective. First, it is necessary to find out when the present annual cycle of religious fiestas took form in Tlahui.

Historical Background

No documented sources are available on the annual round of fiestas during the period of Dominican evangelization. I know of only one documented source on the period of the secular clergy, which succeeded that of the Dominicans. Entitled *Libros de Ingresos y Egresos de la Mayordomías de la Santa Iglesia de Tlahuitoltepec, 1914* (Books of Incomes and Expenditures of the Mayordomías of the Holy Church of Tlahuitoltepec), it is kept in the parish house of Tlahui. This book records annual incomes and expenditures for the fiestas from 1917 to 1950, records that provide information on a variety of past fiestas and which also provide data on their gradual reduction to the present fiesta cycle.

Two periods can be distinguished between 1917 and 1950 according to the degree of prosperity of the fiestas. The period around 1925–27, the epoch of religious persecution in Mexico, marks a line of demarcation between the two periods. That from 1917 to 1925–27 is characterized by the celebration of innumerable fiestas. Despite a slight variation from year to year, the general cycle of fiestas celebrated during this period is summarized in Table 6.

Assuming that a fiesta is represented by one saint, a cross-check can be made to see if the names of these fiestas listed in Table 6 correspond to the images of the saints still in the church. This will verify that the fiestas recorded in the record book actually existed. In 1973 and 1974 the roof of the church was being repaired and the saints (Table 7) were kept in the chapel to avoid rain damage. Six saints were left installed in the altarpiece.

Table 6. Calendar of the Religious Fiestas (Tlahui 1917–27)

	Fiesta	Date
	Circuncisión	Jan. 1
	Dulce Nombre de Jesús	Jan. 2
○	Purificación (Candelaria)	Feb. 2
	Carnestolendas	Sunday before Ash Wednesday
	San José	Mar. 19
	Preciosa Sangre de Cristo	Mar. 29
○	Santa Cruz	May 3
	San Isidro	May 15
○	Ascensión	May 23
○	San Antonio	June 13
	San Juan Bautista	June 24
	San Pedro	June 29
	Santiago	July 25
	San Miguel Arcángel	July 30
○	Asunción	Aug. 15
○	San Nicolás	Sept. 10
	Dolores de María Santísima	Sept. 15
○	Santísima Virgen del Rosario	Oct. 7
○	Todos los Santos	Nov. 1–2
○	Inmaculada (Juquila)	Dec. 8
○	Guadalupe	Dec. 12
○	Navidad	Dec. 25

( ) fiesta celebrated in a new name
○ fiesta still celebrated in 1973–74
Source: *Libros de Ingresos y Egresos de la Mayordomía de la Santa Iglesia de Tlahuitoltepec, 1914,* pp. 5–34.

In Table 7 the symbol "●" shows the saints which correspond to the names of the fiestas recorded in the record book. The symbol "+" indicates the new saints not recorded. Among these, Santa Cecilia seems to have been brought to Tlahui by the musicians around 1945. The other four saints were brought by the secular clergy and the Salesians. Multiple representations occur of Santa María and Jesús, such as Dolorosa, Soledad, Jesús Nazareno, and San Ramos, which are used for Holy Week.

During the persecution period of 1925–27, the fiestas were reduced, and although some continued to be celebrated, less money was spent on them than hitherto. In 1930 the records were not kept regularly, but the fiestas celebrated until 1925 were so reduced that the priest complained of the negligence of the mayordomos. His reproach in the record book reads:

> *On this date the mayordomos, with the purpose of using the alms more freely, agreed that they would not give an account of incomes and expenditures, declaring that it is not important to the priest.... It is to be reported that the mayordomos here do not cooperate for anything. They just collect and grasp all the alms and*

Table 7. Saints in the Church at Tlahui (1973–74)

At the chapel

- ● Dolorosa
- ● Soledad
- ● Jesús Nazareno
- ● Esquipulas
- ● Juquila
- ● San Juan Bautista
- ● San Isidro
- ● San Miguel Arcángel
- ● Santiago
- ● San Antonio*
- ● San Nicolás
- ● Santa María Asunción
- ● Candelaria
- ● Santísima Virgen del Rosario
- ● Guadalupe
- \+ Santa Cecilia
- \+ María-Auxiliadora
- ● Señor Ascensión**
- \+ Corazón de Jesús
- ● La Sagrada Familia

At the altarpiece

- ● Santa María Asunción
- ● San Pedro
  San Pablo
- ● San Ramos
- \+ Domingo Sabio
- \+ San Juan Bosco

● old saint, + new saint see p. 104

* the favorite saint of the Franciscan order

** Around 1960 a secular clergy brought this image. As far as iconographic details are concerned, it is not Señor Ascensión but Santo Cristo.

nothing but their willingness decides whether or not they celebrate fiestas. Everything else is decided in the same way. For the convenience of my successor it should be recorded that in fact various fiestas, which the Archangel mentioned, are not celebrated. The mayordomos rationalize this by saying that there are no funds, even when the priest knows there are. The fiestas abolished are as follows: Preciosa Sangre de Cristo, Ist Friday of Lent, San José, Santa Cruz, San Isidro, and San Miguel Arcángel [TLAHUITOLTEPEC, PARISH HOUSE 1914: 86–87, my trans].

Between 1932 and 1950 there are no records. For 1950 there are some casual notes. After the religious persecution the Mixe region was virtually abandoned by

the secular clergy, and under the general influence of social changes in Mexico, Tlahui never saw the complete restoration of the abolished fiestas.

Returning to Table 6, I reviewed each fiesta, using the symbol "○" to indicate the fiestas still celebrated in 1973 and 1974. Some generalizations emerge from this review. First, it is clear that many fiestas have been abolished. Second, some fiestas continue to be celebrated under different names—for example, Purificación as Candelaria and Inmaculada as Juquila. Third, four fiestas have been added between 1917–25 and 1973–74: Esquipulas, Santa Ana, Santa Cecilia, and Zempoaltépetl (see Table 8). De la Fuente records that the Yalaltecos still visited Esquipulas even at the end of the nineteenth century [DE LA FUENTE 1949: 21], so it is not difficult to imagine that the highland Mixe also visited this Guatemalan center in those days. Santa Ana and Santa Cecilia seem to have been added when the ermitas were constructed around 1945, and Santa Cecilia, the saint of music, was promoted by the musicians. The fiesta of Zempoaltépetl is said to have been created around 1959 through the initiative of the Zapotec merchants of Yalálag, but the details of its origin are unknown.

From the foregoing data it seems reasonable to suppose that the annual cycle of the fiestas found in 1973 and 1974 had been established by 1945, and that it had not undergone much change prior to 1963, when the Salesians arrived at Tlahui. Since 1963 the fiesta cycle has remained unchanged, according to those missionaries resident in Tlahui since 1963.

With that historical background of the religious fiestas in mind, I will now try to describe and comment on the present-day religious fiestas of Tlahui, the calendar of which is shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Calendar of the Religious Fiestas (Tlahui 1973–74)

New Year's Day	Jan. 1
Esquipulas	Jan. 15
Candelaria	Feb. 2
Lent	movable
Holy Week	movable
Fiesta of Zempoaltépetl	April 24
Santa Cruz	May 3
Ascensión	movable
San Antonio	June 13
Santa Ana	July 26
Asunción	Aug. 15
San Nicolás	Sept. 10
Stma. Virgen del Rosario	Oct. 7
All Saints' Day	Nov. 1–2
Santa Cecilia	Nov. 22
Juquila	Dec. 8
Guadalupe	Dec. 12
Christmas	Dec. 25

Fiestas of the Major Saints

There are three major fiestas: the fiesta of Sr. Ascensión, on the 40th day after Easter, that of Santa María Asunción, on August 15, and the fiesta of Guadalupe, on December 12. In theory, the fiesta of Asunción should be the most important because it is that of the patron saint of the municipio. But in reality, the fiesta of Guadalupe tends to be celebrated more grandiosely than the other two because the fiestas of Ascensión and Asunción fall in the rainy season, when people are living without a supply of corn. In contrast, in December, which falls in the harvest season, people have a stock of corn and are ready to enjoy participation in the fiesta of Guadalupe.

It is fairly difficult to observe the fiesta of a major saint in its entirety. Sometimes, fiestas are not celebrated according to the set pattern, and a single observer cannot study two or more different events taking place simultaneously. However, the fiestas of the three major saints show a uniformity in their elements and processes which can be fairly accurately summarized by observing the fiestas repeatedly. There follows a summary of the fiesta. The first part describes the processes of the fiesta of the major saint, and the second consists of commentaries on the elements of the fiesta.

The Processes of the Fiesta

Novena

When the novena approaches, the officials begin preparation for the fiesta. The municipal officials send invitations to some villages inviting their bands and basketball teams. At the same time they designate some villagers as the *capitanes* for the band, who will provide food for the bands invited from other villages. At the fiesta of Guadalupe, when the bullfight (*jaripeo, corrida de toros*) takes place, the municipal officials send the topiles to the ranchos to obtain lumber with which to construct a corral in the plaza.

The church officials send topiles to Oaxaca or Ayutla to buy wax, China paper, and the other items needed for decorating the church. The school teachers teach popular dances and recreational programs (*actos sociales*) to the pupils of the school.

At each house, tepache is prepared in the big pottery jars and food is cooked for the fiesta. One week before the beginning of the fiesta, many people come to the Saturday market to provision their kitchens with items needed for the fiesta. The musicians are rehearsing at the houses of the capillos.

The village seems silent and tranquil, but everyone is involved in the preparations.

Calenda

On the day of the *calenda* the church topiles decorate the church and its façade with the flower-shaped decoration made of maguey leaves, called *cucharas de maguey*. The corral stands ready in the plaza, and the topiles, directed by the mayores, sweep the plaza.

Before dark, a visiting band arrives, but sometimes no bands arrive until the day of the *víspera.* Usually one visiting band arrives for the calenda and the others for the víspera. The reception of the band takes place on the footpath by which it arrived. On the footpath an arch decorated with bamboo is prepared for the reception. Accompanied by the capitanes of the band, madrinas (godmothers) for the mass, the sacristán, and the band of Tlahui, the presidente of Tlahui marches from the plaza to the arch, where he greets the presidente of the visiting band. The presidente of Tlahui thanks the band for visiting from afar, and in return the presidente of the visiting band expresses his gratitude for the invitation and prays for the success of the fiesta. The band of Tlahui plays a tune, and then the two bands walk down to the church, playing a joyous march.

They stop in front of the church. The capitanes receive the visiting musicians, serving each of them three cups of mezcal and three cigarettes (Plate 11), after which the musicians enter the church, playing a march or a *paso doble.* In the church they usually play Letanía and the capillo prays after it. Then, the musicians and their capillo light the candles brought as offerings. When this is finished, they assemble in front of the church and play music together with the band of Tlahui. After a while the visiting musicians are invited to the house of a capitán and the band of Tlahui leads the visitors there. With *marmotas* (lanterns of China paper on top of long *carrizo* poles) and *monos* (puppets of bamboo framework decorated with China paper in the figures of animals, airplanes, or giants) at the head, the band of Tlahui proceeds to the house of the capitán or sometimes to the house of the capillo of the band. Only men accompany the band, and they dance with the marmotas and monos on the patio of the house. If the capitán lives in a rancho, he asks a relative in the centro to let him use the house on this occasion. The musicians, animated by tepache and mezcal, are eager to play. After the finish of the dance with marmotas and monos, the musicians again receive tepache, mezcal, beans, and tortillas. Meanwhile, the church bell is rung to call the people to rosary, but few people seem to go to church.

At 9 : 00 or 10 : 00 P.M. the *paseo de la calenda* (pass of the calenda) is performed, which officially announces the fiesta. The musicians of Tlahui and the visiting band play music. Topiles set off skyrockets (*cohetes*), and children carry marmotas and monos with candles inside. They all walk around the centro and return to the patio in front of the church. There the two bands play and the people dance for more than an hour. Again the same group passes around the centro to the tune of the bands. The music continues until the following morning.

Víspera

From early in the morning the flute and drum are played. Mass is said in the morning. In the afternoon the madrinas for the mass bring big candles adorned with ribbons or colorful China paper to the church (Plate 12). With the flutist and drummer at the head, the procession of more than ten madrinas goes to the church accompanied by the band playing Letanía. The alcalde brings up the rear. This

is the procession for the handing over of candles, which is understood as the petition for the mass for the fiesta. Somewhat later, the same madrinas return to the church with the flutist, drummer, and the band, and in the church they pray to the tune of Letanía.

About 7:00 P.M. *vísperas* and *maitines* are said. In the meantime, some invited bands arrive, and the alcalde and his suplente receive them according to the set pattern. When the lengthy religious liturgy of vísperas and maitines ends, people sit in the plaza, waiting for the beginning of the fireworks. The bands play, lighted by pine torches. Some drunkards have already begun to dance. Shortly afterwards, the bands are invited to a meal at the houses of the capitanes.

Close to midnight the church bell is rung to announce the burning of the fireworks. The bands arrive at the plaza. One band takes its place at the new municipio, another at the kiosk, and the others at the old municipio. Suddenly the band of Tlahui begins to play short, joyous pieces, and the fireworks (*castillo*) begin in the crowded plaza. The firework display continues for almost half an hour (Plate 13).

The whole proceeding is nicely calculated for entertainment. From a corner of the plaza appears a *torito* dancing to the tune of a *paso doble* and clowning for the children. At the same corner of the plaza Catherine wheels (*ruedas Catarinas*) are burning. Meanwhile, at another corner of the plaza some men erect a wooden frame for the tightrope walker's performance (*maromas*), and a trapeze for the performance of a clown (*payaso*) and other acrobats.

As the torito's performance ends, a group of some eight young men wearing the colorful blouses and skirts of women enter the plaza to perform tightrope walking (Plate 14). A clown arrives with a bottle of mezcal. Wearing an ivory and blue tiger-stripe suit, his face is whitened with powder. The clown dances to the gay tune of the band, jokes in the clown's rhymes (*rimas del payaso*) (Plate 15), and blows a spray of mezcal from his mouth. This spray is understood as an offering in petition for the protection of the performers of tightrope walking. When he jests in Spanish, people do not understand and remain silent, but everybody laughs uproariously at his Mixe jokes. In the meantime, tightrope walkers (*maromeros*) begin performing. Skilled performers are applauded. When they tire, the clown climbs to the trapeze, and cracking jokes, performs acrobatics.

Now the popular dances begin to the tunes of the Jarabe Mixe, Fandango Mixe, and Rey Kondoy. The jarabe and fandango are dances for couples, but men dance in one group and the women in another. Only drunkards dance in mixed pairs. The music continues until morning. Popular music, particularly popular mariachi music, the songs of the popular group Acapulco Tropical and various *norteño* songs, is broadcast from the record player of the municipio, cheering the celebration. This event was new in 1974. The noise is such that nobody can sleep in those houses near the plaza.

The Day of the Fiesta

In the morning two masses are said, the second of which is the high mass dedicat-

ed to the fiesta. When this is over, the flute and drum are played, the church bell tolled, and skyrockets set off. At the plaza the tightrope walkers perform again, and some are so tired that they lose their balance and fall from the rope, to the amusement of the audience.

Only at the fiesta of Guadalupe is there a bullfight, after the morning mass and again in the afternoon. The band plays a special, joyful piece, and then the fight begins. An enthusiastic crowd gathers at the corral to watch (Plate 16). The municipio topiles and their temporary helpers patrol the corral to control the crowd. Young men introduce bulls into the arena. The fighters are young men from Tlahui, who face the bulls in the fashion of professional fighter, using *petates* or *gabanes* in place of a *muleta*. The bulls, borrowed for this occasion from the people in the ranchos, walk about peacefully and the young "bullfighters" have to bite them in the tail so that they become angry enough to fight.

Around 2 : 00 or 3 : 00 P.M. Los Cubanos, Los Negritos, Santiago, Los Mal Viejos (Plates 17–20), and Coloquios are also performed at the plaza. The program of the dances varies from fiesta to fiesta, but Los Negritos is always danced.

Around 3 : 00 P.M. the madrinas for the fireworks present themselves with their male relatives at the patio in front of the municipio. In the presence of the presidente, they hand over the payment for the fireworks to the firework-makers. On receiving it, the firework-makers dance three *sones*, which the madrinas perform in return. This ends the handing over of the payment.

At the playground, invited teams play basketball. Later, at the same grounds, the federal school teachers direct recreational programs consisting of theatrical dialogues and various Mexican regional dances performed by their pupils.

In the evening another mass is celebrated, but few come for it. The plaza is full of happy drunkards, some of whom continue dancing late into the night.

After the Day of the Fiesta

On the day following the fiesta a mass is celebrated in the morning and a rosary is recited in the afternoon. Around 3 : 00 P.M. the dance is performed. At the playground, basketball teams compete for the championship, and at the same time the procession of the madrinas for the mass leaves from the church for the house of one of the madrinas. This procession does not attract much attention since people are occupied with the various entertainments. When too few people participate in their procession, the capillo orders the band to play an animated march instead of songs of praise. Arriving at the house, madrinas and others drink ceremonially and set off skyrockets to symbolize the fulfillment of their obligation.

The fiesta continues for the next two or three days. The dance and the basketball games are performed and many drunkards still wander around the plaza. But the bands from other villages go home one by one, after being sent off ceremoniously by the band of Tlahui. The fiesta gradually loses its color and the village slowly returns to normal.

The above describes a formal procedure for the fiestas of the major saints, but in

1974, when Tlahui absorbed the *agats* residents of the SOP and Coconal, conflicts between them and Tlahui people were visible. Skirmishes with non-Mixe have escalated gradually. Dissension between the two groups broke out early on the day of the fiesta of Sr. Ascensión, in May 1974. Some employees of Coconal went to the house of a capitán of the band. Getting drunk, they tried to catch some Tlahui girls, which led to a quarrel with a young Tlahui man who tried to protect the girls.

The fiesta of Guadalupe in December 1974 witnessed another quarrel. In contrast to the animated fiesta of Guadalupe in 1973, that of 1974 was poorly prepared, owing to disorder and lack of zeal among the officials. Few people appeared on the plaza and the fiesta looked sad. At night, however, an animated quarrel broke out concerning the dancing. That night the dancing took on a mixture of Mixe and *agats* style. In the plaza, men in one group and women in another danced to the traditional tune of the band. But inside the market building young Tlahui men organized a dancing party animated by a modern musical band called Conjunto Ayuuk, invited from Ayutla. The popular Mexican music resounded throughout the large building and young couples were dancing in a narrow space. To the non-Mixe it seemed that the youngsters of Tlahui danced in an unnatural and awkward way, like puppets. On hearing the popular music, the employees of SOP and Coconal came to the market and tried to find girls to dance with. To protect the girls, the boys began to quarrel with the outsiders. The argument ended without an exchange of many blows, but very late at night, at the plaza, three Coconal men beat up a Tlahui boy. The following day the officials were asked to investigate but did not dare to talk with the chief of the Coconal employees. Only with the departure of the members of SOP and Coconal for the workcamp in Yacochi, early in 1975, did Tlahui regain its calm.

The Elements of the Fiesta: Some Commentary

Flute and Drum

Flute and drum are of Indian origin. Everyday during the fiesta they are played before and after the mass. Together with the band, they animate the procession of the madrinas for the mass. They play *sones* for the dance of Santiago. In Tlahui there are two or three pairs of players of flute and drum. Those who are interested and talented enough to learn pass on their knowledge to succeeding generations. In Rancho Guadalupe some flute and mandolin players play some non-Spanish rhythms unknown in the centro. These pieces should be recorded before they disappear.

Except for the flute and drum, all the elements of the fiestas of the major saints are of Postconquest origin. The Catholic fiesta complex based on the theme of the Moors and the Christians originated in the twelfth century; it diffused and became spectacular during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries [WARMAN 1972: 17–55. For the theme in general, see KURATH 1967; KURATH and MARTÍ 1964]. This fiesta complex was brought to the New World as a part of the conquest culture and is found also

in Tlahui in the form of various dances with the theme of the Moors and the Christians, the firework display, torito, the bullfight, tightrope walking, and the clown. Marmota and mono also are included in this fiesta complex.

Marmotas and *Monos*[1] of the *Calenda*

It is said that in the past in Tlahui, prints of the saint instead of China paper were put on the marmotas so that the figure of the saint could be illuminated by the candle. Parsons, who did fieldwork at Mitla from 1929 to 1933, reports the "marmoto" [marmota] of San Pablo, "a huge globe of cotton cloth on which are painted the saint and his horse swimming a river" [PARSONS 1936: 241].

Dances

Most of the Colonial dances performed in Tlahui are based on the theme of the Moors and the Christians: Los Negritos, Los Cubanos, Santiago, and Coloquios. Only Los Mal Viejos does not belong to this category.

Los Negritos is the most popular dance in Tlahui, as well as in other highland Mixe villages, and is performed at any fiesta of the major saints. The others are performed only irregularly at one or another fiesta. In any village a group of eight dancers perform Los Negritos, but the rhythm of the music and the steps of the dancers vary from village to village.

Los Cubanos is performed only in Tlahui. The costume is more colorful and the rhythm of the music is more lively, but this dance is very similar to that of Los Negritos.

Santiago is performed also in Tamazulapam, where two people dance with cardboard figures of horses fixed to wooden frames attached to the waists of the dancers who represent the saint Santiago. They appear with a bearer of a red flag and dance to the tune of flute and drum. In Tlahui, Santiago is performed by a group of five dancers: one as Santiago, three as his followers with red flags to symbolize conquest, and one *viejo* (old man) wearing a dark brown mask. The old man clowns, thus acting as a guard to defend the dancers from the onlookers. He also tries to mock and catch children with his rope. The music for Santiago, played on a flute and drum, is divided into four parts, between which the dancers rest. The performance takes more than two hours.

Coloquios has not been performed for the last eighteen years. In November 1974, to celebrate the priest's birthday, the cantor taught this long-forgotten dance to the children. Among a group of infant performers, one girl acted as Malinche, and one masked man played *pícaro*. The music for this dance is composed of thirty-six sones, but in 1974 only six were played.

A dance free from the Conquest theme is Los Mal Viejos, which may be related

1. I am assuming that the *mono* was modeled on the Spanish *gigantes*, supposed to be pagan deities, which head a procession of the fiesta [GÓMEZ-TABANERA 1968: 189–193]. In Tlahui, on the eve of the calenda, the mono is carried through the village. In Ayutla, the procession, headed by the village officials, brings the mono to two village boundaries.

to Huenches performed in Yalálag [DE LA FUENTE 1949: 280] as well as in Chichicaxtepec, where I observed this dance. In Chichicaxtepec, which might have imitated Huenches of Yalálag, six dancers, with large, wooden, clownish masks, three of whom in woman's attire, dance jovially and orgiastically. In Tlahui, some ten men with clownish-looking rubber masks dance orgiastically, and one with a dark brown, wooden mask controls the movements of the dancers. The traditional wooden masks disappeared years ago and the priest brought the rubber masks from Mexico City. Though less stylized and less *zapateados*, Los Mal Viejos of Tlahui and Huenches of Yalálag and Chichicaxtepec are similar to Los Viejitos of Michoacán, which the Tarascans created, mixing Spanish zapateados with their traditional Los Viejitos [KURATH and MARTÍ 1964: 166].[2]

According to some aged informants, San Miguel and San Tehuacan were performed at one time, but data are lacking on them.

The centers from which these Colonial dances were transmitted are supposed to have been Villa Alta and Yalálag. Villa Alta was the military and religious center at which the Spaniards, Tlaxcalans, and the Dominican friars arrived at the time of the Conquest. In the Colonial period, Villa Alta was the center of Colonial culture, through which the Mixe made contact with the great tradition. On the other hand, Yalálag, which had frequent commercial contacts with Tlacolula and the Oaxaca Valley, could have transmitted various Colonial dances to the neighboring Mixe villages such as Chichicaxtepec.

The above supposition on the route of transmission of the Colonial dances is partially verified by the present data on the transmission and conservation of the Colonial dances. According to some old dancers, they used to buy the masks for Los Negritos and Los Cubanos at Yalálag. The masks for Los Mal Viejos were lost and replaced by the rubber masks which the priest bought in Mexico City. Only one wooden mask is preserved and is said to have been bought in Yalálag.

In Chichicaxtepec people say that they "bought Huenches" at Yalálag. This expression explains an aspect of the transmission of the Colonial culture to the Mixe region. The Mixe depended on cultural centers such as Villa Alta and Yalálag to "buy" the culture of the great tradition. A cantor of Tlahui who planned the revival of Coloquios in 1974 said, "I remember the time when we bought this dance many years ago. The teacher of Coloquios came from Totontepec with many helpers. We of Tlahui paid 500 pesos. Despite this expenditure, we lost the paper on which the dancers' speeches[3] were written." Because of this, the cantor taught a dancer of Malinche a fragment of a speech which might not be found in the original text. She

2. Los Mal Viejos and Huenches are dances of the same style. Huenches might have derived from the *huehuenche* (buffoons who assume the characters of old men) dance which "has affinities with the Aztec dance of hunchbacked old men" [BRICKER 1973: 201, citing Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de la Tierra Firme*].

3. Father Octavio Vilches, a Salesian priest resident in Juquila in 1973, recorded the speeches of the dance of Conquista preserved in San Pedro Ocotepec, a midland village. In the dialogue appear various characters, such as Montezuma, Malinche, captains, messengers, Teótil, Saguapila, astrologer, Cortés, and Alvarado, and Montezuma surrenders to Cortés.

said, "To you we dedicate this dance.... I adore your God for the monarch which we do not have, and for the glory of the sky we do not have" (*A ti Guadalupana dedicamos esta danza.... Le adoro a su Dios por la monarca que no tenemos y por la gloria del cielo que no tenemos*), but after this she is taught to recite a modern song of Guadalupe.

A story from Ayutla will serve as another example of the transmission of the Colonial dances. About forty years ago a dancer from Ayutla traveled to Villa Alta to learn the dance of San José. He paid a considerable amount for the instruction. Coming back to Ayutla, he taught it to other dancers who transmitted this dance to the succeeding generations. Now San José, along with Los Negritos, is the favorite dance in Ayutla. I found the speeches for San José on a piece of paper in a wooden chest at the house of the dancer who went to Villa Alta (see Chapter 10).

The time for the dance performance should be noted. Originally, the dances were dedicated to the church, and so tended to be performed before liturgical rituals. Mixistlán preserves this original significance as far as we can judge from the time at which they perform the dance. Before mass, the dancers of the Conquista or Malinche dance in front of the church and it is understood as a dedication to the holy mass. When there is a procession, the dancers participate in the mass which precedes it. They walk in the procession composed of a flutist and drummer, sacristán and acolytes with candleholders and incense burners, the dancers, the band, the image of the saint, the priest, and the general participants. In Tlahui the original significance of the time for the performance of the dances seems now to be ignored. They perform dances about 3 : 00 P.M., a time which has no religious meaning. In Ayutla the dancers begin their performance during the mass, sometimes disturbing it by attracting the people away from the church.

The Firework (*castillo*)[4] Display, *Torito*,[5] and the Bullfight

The firework-makers used to come from Tlacolula or Yalálag, and later some from Zacatepec, who learned the technique from the Zapotec, began to visit Tlahui for the fiesta. About ten years ago three men from Tlahui learned how to make fireworks in Zacatepec and began to work not only for the fiesta of Tlahui but also for those of surrounding villages such as Ayutla and Tamazulapam.

Tightrope Walking and the Clown

The *maroma* is performed by a group of men talented in this field. The same faces appear at every fiesta.

4. The firework display and the bullfight belong to the fiesta complex of the Moors and Christians theme popularized in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries [WARMAN 1972: 28–55]. The burning of the *castillo* (castle) represents the fall of the Moors' castle, giving the origin of the name of *castillo* for fireworks [WARMAN 1972: 38, 50, 60]. The bullfight was a component of the fiesta complex in those days [WARMAN 1972: 33, 43, 48].

5. The first mention of *torito* as fiesta element in Mexico is in the sixteenth century [WARMAN 1972 : 100].

At every fiesta one person acts as a clown. He is the one who performs a role of centurion during Holy Week. The clown of Tlahui is less sophisticated than that of Chichicaxtepec, where two clowns know how to manage rhymes according to the people's taste. Their rhymes are very long, and greatly influenced by the rhymes for the Guelaguetza.[6] The clowns of Chichicaxtepec create rhymes and jokes in Spanish which the people of this village, more bilingual than the inhabitants of Tlahui, can understand and enjoy. The rhymes of the clown at Tlahui are very simple and rustic like that of Mixistlán, where the almost monolingual inhabitants do not know how to enjoy Spanish rhymes. Clown's rhymes in Spanish are taught at Yalálag or at Oaxaca.

The Musical Band

As has been shown in the description of the fiesta, the musical band is an indispensable element in all the processes. The band, called *banda filarmónica*, equipped with metal instruments, may be a product of the time around the turn of this century, but it is not known when and how it was introduced to the Mixe villages. What is clear is that the Mixe accepted and maintained it at the expense of the village economy. At present the bands of the Mixe villages sometimes surpass those of the villages in the Oaxaca Valley. In fact, Mixe bands are often invited to Oaxaca to animate the political campaign and to participate in the fiestas.

The musicians of the highland Mixe villages formerly invited a music teacher from Betaza, and Mixistlán still invites one from there. Tlahui does not invite an outside teacher.

Participation in the band offers a chance for Mixe youth to visit other Mixe villages. At each of the fiestas of the major saints two or three bands are invited. In former days the bands of Jayacaxtepec, Zacatepec, Quetzaltepec, Yalálag, Betaza, San Mateo Caxonos, and the neighboring villages came to Tlahui. But recently the bands are invited from nearby villages such as Mixistlán, Chichicaxtepec, Huitepec, Yacochi, Estancia de Morelos, Tamazulapam, and Ayutla.

Popular Dances

Popular dances take place to the tunes of "Jarabe Mixe,"[7] "Fandango Mixe,"[8] "Rey Kondoy," and other pieces transmitted from Betaza or other Zapotec villages. Although jarabe and fandango are intended for couples, men and women in Tlahui never dance in pairs, except when drunk: men and women dance solemnly by themselves in two different places. People of the same sex dance in the fashion of Yalálag,

6. Father Leopoldo Ballesteros, personal communication. Guelaguetza is the Zapotec term for reciprocal exchange, but the Guelaguetza here means the big Indian fiesta held annually in July at Oaxaca City.

7. The origin of *jarabe* might be sought in the *jota Aragonesa* [KURATH 1967: 181]. For the diffusion of jarabe in Mexico, see Stevenson [1971: 183–185, 216–217].

8. *Fandango* belongs to the same category as *huapango*, a mestizo dance from the lowlands between Tampico and Veracruz [KURATH 1967: 179; STEVENSON 1971: 217–218].

holding hands, but the popularity of this way of dancing is much less than in Chichicaxtepec, where the influence of Yalálag is more accentuated.

Lent and Holy Week

In the rituals of Holy Week season, Tlahui, unlike highland and lowland Chiapas [Bricker 1973: 68–144; Nash, J. 1970: 224–229; Vogt 1969: 551–559], lacks the orgy of Carnival.[9] It also lacks the intensified ritual dualism between Christ and Judas such as is seen among the Yaqui [Painter 1976; Spicer 1954: 146–154] and Cora [Benítez1973] and the rituals of the *penitentes* of Michoacán [Foster 1948: 213] and New Mexico [Weigle 1976]. All in all, Lent and Holy Week in Tlahui are a simple dramatization of the Passion of Christ.

Ash Wednesday

People go to church to hear the mass in the evening, at the end of which the priest paints the people's foreheads with ashes, according to the authentic Catholic liturgy. Other than this, nothing else deserves special mention.

The Fridays of Lent

On the six Fridays between Ash Wednesday and Holy Week, the *Vía Crucis* procession takes place.

Before describing the Vía Crucis in Tlahui, I will describe it in other highland Mixe villages situated deeper in the mountains than Tlahui. In Huitepec, Yacochi, and Mixistlán the image of Jesús en Cruz is carried in procession under the canopy, and at each of the 14 stations symbolically set around the church, the visiting priest reads the account of Christ's ordeal and what happened at each fall on his way to Calvary. In Chichicaxtepec the educational purpose of the Vía Crucis is more obvious. At each stop, near the image of Jesús en Cruz a man, chosen from among the pious men, presents a glass-framed picture which depicts the scene of each fall of Christ as described in the Bible, and the visiting priest explains the meaning of the picture. In Mixistlán the image of Jesús en Cruz is carried by an important member of the officials.

In Tlahui, during the years from 1963 to 1974, the Vía Crucis was performed from cross station to station symbolically set inside the church. In 1974 the Vía Crucis was performed around the church and the parish house. When the priest is at the village, he attends it. If not, people perform the Vía Crucis under the direction of the alcalde, his suplente, sacristán, cantor, and the musicians. Each year the alcalde and his suplente play an important role. In 1974 an old man, who each year

9. The Carnival is reported also from the Tarascan area [Beals 1946: 127; Foster 1948: 209].

as *varon* (wise and virtuous man) carried the image of Jesús en Cruz, became suplente of the alcalde. Therefore, his activities in the performance of the Vía Crucis were more conspicuous than in ordinary years. The suplente carried the image of Jesús en Cruz, and at each station he held the image while the priest prayed and explained the story of the Passion. Meanwhile, the alcalde walked with the musicians for the procession.

During Lent the alcalde and his suplente order the mayordomos to carry out the preparations for Holy Week. In 1974 they also did the preparations: for example, the alcalde himself with the suplente tried to find a place to install the image of Jesús en Cruz inside the church.

On the sixth Friday of Lent, in 1974, the alcalde had the idea of performing the procession of San Juan and Dolorosa. However, it rained so much that this could not be done, and only prayers were dedicated to the image of Jesús en Cruz installed at the main altar.

People are prepared for Holy Week through the repetition of the Vía Crucis procession for six weeks. To sponsor the rituals of Holy Week one peso was formerly collected from each family. In 1974, under the influence of worldwide inflation, the alcalde announced the collection of alms set at 2 pesos, and the regidores belonging to the alcalde manned the table at the main entrance of the church to collect the sum from the head of each family leaving the church.[10]

Palm Sunday

At 7 : 00 A.M. the small mass is said. At 10 : 30 A.M. the procession of San Ramos or Salvador, the image of Christ riding an ass, starts for Calvary. The topiles of the church bring palm leaves blessed with water by the priest. At the Calvary site, the priest explains the Biblical story of the entrance of Christ to Jerusalem. After the prayer, palms are distributed to the participants. The palms are beautifully plaited for the notable officials such as alcalde, presidente, their suplentes, and mayordomos, but just ordinary ones for the musicians and the general participants in the procession. Later, these palms are put at the family altar or in a crack in the wall of the house as a charm against misfortune.

When everybody has received a palm, the procession returns to the church,[11] and the big mass begins. At 12 : 30 the mass ends, and the musicians begin to play in front of the church and later at the kiosk in the plaza.

10. During Lent, Tlahui lacks the *judios* who act as collectors of alms, as well as guarding and clowning, as reported from Amatenango [NASH, J. 1970: 226–229, a straw figure of the Jew] and Chichicastenango [BUNZEL 1952: 215].

11. Before the procession enters the church in Chichicastenango and Mitla, the door of the church is closed. When the people in the procession knock the door, it is opened. Thus, they act the drama of the entry of Christ into Jerusalem [BUNZEL 1952: 214; PARSONS 1936: 267].

Holy Monday

On this day only the people of Rancho Esquipulas are busy. On the Saturday before Holy Monday, at 9 : 00 A.M., the musicians leave for Ermita Esquipulas to bring the image of Señor Esquipulas to the church. At 12 : 00 the procession, composed of the band, two cantores, the image of Esquipulas carried by the two mayordomos of Rancho Esquipulas, and finally a group of men and women of the same rancho, arrives at the plaza (Plate 21). People attending the Saturday market give alms to the image. The mayordomos of the church receive the image and keep it in the church until Holy Monday, when a procession is again organized to return the image to the ermita in Rancho Esquipulas.

Holy Wednesday

On this day people are ordered to confess. No other Holy Wednesday rituals are performed in Tlahui. In the villages which were the parish centers, such as Ayutla and Juquila, people perform some rituals to symbolize the fate of Christ: 1) the *Tinieblas*, in which fourteen candles are extinguished one after another as each *salmo* is recited; 2) all the images of the saints in the church are covered with purple veils to express sorrow and mourning; and 3) the image of Jesús en Cruz is stripped of his purple robe and his cross, and clothed with a white robe.

Two suppositions may possibly explain the absence of these rituals in Tlahui. They may have been taught by the missionaries but eventually lost them, or the priest did not visit Tlahui frequently enough to teach these details of the Holy Week rituals. It is hard to decide from the present data which supposition is more appropriate.

In 1974, the rituals of the Tinieblas was performed only by the missionaries in the parish house. They performed it with fifteen candles, the number deriving from the fact that they pray three *nocturnos* and that each time they pray a nocturno they say five salmos, for a total of fifteen salmos. After each salmo a candle was extinguished, and a noise was made by tapping a book of salmos by fingers. The candles symbolize the life of Christ, and the noise, the coming of Judas and Pilate's soldiers. In this way, Holy Wednesday in Tlahui passed with few rituals.[12]

Holy Thursday

The church bell tolls to summon people to the morning mass. From then until the moment of *Gloria* the bell is replaced by wooden clapper (*matraca*). From morning until past midnight people are occupied in the dramatization of the events that happened to Christ on the last Thursday, as depicted in the Bible.

In the morning all the priests of Ayutla, Matagallinas, Juquila, and Tlahui

12. The time after the *Tinieblas* is understood as one of disorder. So, for instance, in Mitla, noise making is permitted [PARSONS 1936: 269]. In Tzintzuntzan, "spies" are chosen, and they patrol the village to prohibit the villagers from working [FOSTER 1948: 210].

gather in Ayutla, and on the patio of the parish house celebrate the Holy Oil, after which the priest of Tlahui hurries back to Tlahui to begin the rituals of the Holy Thursday.

At 12 : 00 the Last Supper begins. The apostles in purple robes (Plate 22), with crowns of white roses, come out of the house of the mayordomos and enter the church to guard the image of Jesus. The twelve apostles are chosen from among the old and pious men. A man who plays the role of apostle every year became suplente of the alcalde in 1974, and had to direct the rituals of Holy Week with this alcalde. So, in this year he could not play his favorite role. When the Salesians arrived at Tlahui in 1963, they wanted to appoint children as apostles, but the children in Tlahui could not endure this task, which obliges them to participate in the rituals for many long hours.

Every year a person well acquainted with the role plays the part of the centurion (Plate 22). He also performs the role of clown at the fiestas of the major saints. The centurion on mule back, bearing his lance and helmet of tin plate, heads a procession of twelve apostles carrying the image of Jesus. A sorrowful silence dominates as the procession goes toward the table for the Last Supper.[13]

The table for the Last Supper used to be put at the patio of the parish house, but in 1974 the patio was used to store sacks of cement needed to repair the church roof. So the table was arranged at the patio of the church kindergarten. The image of Jesus is put at the end of the long table and then the centurion and the apostles receive the ritual meal composed of "twelve dishes."[14]

Six of these twelve dishes are sponsored by the Church and prepared by the wives of the fiscales and their topiles in the kitchen of the parish house. The other six dishes are paid for by the municipio, and in 1974 were prepared in the kitchen of the suplente of the alcalde. Symbolizing this duality, the first six dishes are brought by the topiles of the church, and the remainder by the topiles of the municipio under the direction of the alcalde and his suplente. The so-called "twelve dishes" do not con-

13. In most Mesoamerican communities, around Holy Thursday the *judíos* play an active role in guarding, clowning, and collecting alms, symbolizing their betrayal of Christ. In Chinautla the village officials play dice for money in the church, possibly to symbolize the act of Judas [REINA 1966: 159]. In Amatenango a figure of the Jew dressed in *ladino* clothing is tied to a horse to go around the village to ask for alms, and finally his straw body is burned by fire [NASH,J. 1970: 226–229]. The burning of Judas is widely reported [for example, REINA 1966: 161]. In Yalálag there are two judíos, but they lack orgiastic character [DE LA FUENTE 1949: 286]. In Potam, a Yaqui village, the Judas element is more accentuated. Judas and Horseman Society dramatizes the scene of Gethsemane on Holy Thursday, performs a big mock victory over Christ on Holy Friday, and acts out the mock attack against the church before the *Gloria* [SPICER 1954: 152–154]. A more symbolic drama representing dualism of Christ (good) and anti-Christ (evil, Judas element) is performed among the Cora [BENÍTEZ 1973].

14. Theoretically, in most Mesoamerican communities, they serve 12 dishes, but in practice the number varies from community to community. In Mitla, for example, they serve 13 plates [PARSONS 1936: 270]. The menu varies from community to community. In some, like in Mitla, the menu for the dishes is strictly observed [PARSONS 1936: 270], whereas in Tzintzuntzan it is "a basket of communion wafers and a bottle of brandy" [FOSTER 1948: 211].

sist of twelve distinct foods, the same food being brought repeatedly. The menu is noodle soup, beans, fried eggs, peas cooked with eggs, cooked rice, and fish with red chili sauce. Throughout the Supper *chilacayote*, cooked with sugar, is served to the apostles (chilacayote is eaten frequently during Lent and Holy Week). The Last Supper continues until 2 : 00 P.M.

When it is finished, the image of Jesus is returned to the church. The priest explains what happened to Jesus on Thursday and Friday, and accepts confessors. For confession, a line of people walk to the priest seated at the chapel which is decorated with the small altar for the *Santísimo* (*Hostia* and *Corpus Christi*).

Meanwhile the apostles guard the image of Salvador installed near the main door of the church. The image of Jesus is now put in an obscure corner. The apostles make two lines in front of Salvador, and sing *miserere*. Behind these lines the people stand and recite rosaries. The general atmosphere is solemn and sorrowful.

At 5 : 00 P.M. the ritual of the *Lavatorio* is performed in the church and at 5 : 30 mass begins. When the mass ends, the priest puts the host on the altar of the chapel. At 6 : 40 P.M. all the church rituals end. From the church tower a piece of funeral music is played by a flutist.

If one attends all the rituals on this day, there is no time to sleep. At 9 : 00 P.M. the topiles of the church take a nap on the patio of the parish house kitchen. The wives of the fiscales of the church prepare coffee for them and for the other officials responsible for a midnight procession. Inside the chruch the apostles keep on praying solemnly.

At 10 : 45 P.M. the images of San Juan and Dolorosa are taken from the church for the procession composed of bearers of big pine knot torches, Cristo Crucificado, a cantor, San Juan carried by men, and Dolorosa carried by women.[15] The procession moves slowly toward Calvary in the cold darkness of night. At Calvary some apostles are guarding the tomb decorated with pine leaves. Perhaps because of coldness and fatigue, the people in procession did not stop for even a moment to pray at Calvary, and the procession hurriedly returned to the church, where the images were placed at the chapel. The long and tiresome rituals of Holy Thursday ended at 12 : 30 A.M.[16]

Holy Friday

Very early in the morning the apostles' prayer is heard from the church. They have been praying throughout the night without sleeping. The topiles of the church arise, and take coffee and bread. At 11 : 00 A.M., the processions of the Encounter are acted. The image of Jesus is carried toward Calvary by the apostles and men via the footpath just above the plaza. The centurion on muleback accompanies the

15. It seems that in communities richer in ritual orientations (Mitla, Yalálag, Chichicastenango, Chinautla, Zinacantan, etc.) numerous saints are mobilized: San Pedro, San Pablo, María Magdalena, Lázaros, and the like, plus the images used in the Mixe villages.

16. In Tzintzuntzan they have the antics of Judas and Barabbas [FOSTER 1948: 211].

image. Dolorosa and San Juan are carried by women along the footpath leading from the plaza toward Calvary. The Encounter takes place at Calvary and then the priest gives a sermon on the story of Holy Friday. When this is over, the three images are carried back to the church. The return procession is composed of the band, people, the image of Jesus carried by the twelve apostles, and Dolorosa and San Juan carried by women. When the procession enters the church, La Soledad is seen at the main altar, symbolizing the beginning of the time in which the pain of Dolorosa will be transformed into solitude through the crucifixion of her son. Dolorosa is put in an obscure corner of the chapel and Jesus and San Juan in a hidden corner near the main church door.

At 3 : 00 P.M. the crucifixion[17] and the descent from the cross (*descendimiento*) are enacted (Plate 23), according to the Bible story in which Christ died at 3 : 00 P.M. In 1974, it rained heavily, so the ritual was postponed until 4 : 00 P.M. In past years the crucifixion was enacted in the church, but since about 1964, on the advice of the priest, the people began to act out this ritual in the open air, just in front of the main church door, so that it could be seen more clearly. The sacristanes and some apostles are in charge of the crucifixion. The façáde of the church is covered with a black veil, which is suddenly removed. Cristo Crucificado is seen high on the cross.[18] The image is taken down, its crown of thorns removed, and the image is placed in the box of Santo Entierro, which has been put near the church door. Santo Entierro, now with the image inside, is carried by the apostles to the main altar through the side door of the church.

In the church, prayers are said for a long time. Then, Santa Cruz with the small image of Christ is taken by the priest from the sacristy to the main altar, where the apostles and all the entire congregation kiss it. The priest and the apostles walk to the chapel to bring the *Santísimo* back to the main altar. Then, the priest gives hosts to the congregation.

Men carry Santo Entierro in procession to Calvary. The apostles head the procession, which includes Santo Entierro carried by men and many other people. This is the most popular procession during Holy Week. Walking near the procession, the topiles of the church continue to make noise with small wooden *ruidos* (clappers). As the procession heads to Calvary, the sacristanes and the topiles of the church remove all decorations from the church to prepare it for the day of grief.

At 10 : 45 P.M. Dolorosa is carried in procession to Calvary along the footpath above the plaza. Arriving at Calvary, people in the procession pray to Santo

17. In Cuapan, in the Valley of Cholula, people perform double crucifixions, perhaps due to the historical origin of this village, which developed from different groups of inhabitants, each of which might have needed the ritual of crucifixion for its own group and its saint [OLIVERA 1968: 37].

18. In some communities, like Mitla, the "image of the Mother of Sorrows, the image of San Pedro, the living impersonations of Apostles, Centurion, and soldiers, and the four Santo(s) Barónes" and Nicodemos are seen at the foot of the cross [PARSONS 1936: 273].

Entierro, which is installed and guarded by the apostles there. After this, the procession returns quickly to the church.[19]

Easter Saturday

Rancho Esquipulas, which has the image of Cristo Crucificado, i.e., Señor Esquipulas, for its patron saint, participates actively in the rituals of Holy Week. At 9 : 00 A.M. the musicians go to Rancho Esquipulas and return to the centro, at 10 : 00 A.M., carrying the image of Señor Esquipulas, which they install in the church.

At 1 : 00 P.M. the band goes to the Calvary site to retrieve Santo Entierro to return it to the church. As Santo Entierro approaches the church, the topiles of the church make noise with small wooden clappers. The procession slowly enters the church. The alcalde and his suplente, already drunk, try in vain to control the procession. The sacristán whispers to the priest, "Padre! The people are pretty drunk. We cannot expect them to organize a procession of Cristo Resucitado to be brought to Calvary." Due to this problem, Cristo Resucitado remained in the church in 1974. In theory, it should have been borne to Calvary to pass the night.

At 11 : 00 P.M. a wooden clapper is heard from the church tower. In the church the priest performs the benediction of fire and water. At 12 : 00 midnight some ten children are baptized. Then, the Mass of Glory is celebrated, the end of which is announced by the church bells, skyrockets, and Catherine wheels. Now tired, everybody goes home to sleep.[20]

Easter Sunday

At 9 : 30 A.M. Cristo Resucitado is carried in procession by men along the footpath above the plaza. The procession passes Calvary, and on the footpath leading to the plaza it encounters Dolorosa, carried from the church by women. This Encounter is performed under an arch decorated with flowers. The band plays joyous pieces and the procession of the Encounter marches to the church; as it enters the church through the main door, the wooden clapper sounds cease and the large church bell tolls to symbolize the resurrection of Christ. At 11 : 00 P.M. a mass is celebrated which lasts till midnight. When this is over, the band begins to play joyously at the kiosk.

19. On Holy Friday in Chichicastenango the penitentes walk around the village with the cross on their back, symbolizing the ordeal of Christ on the Vía Crucis [BUNZEL 1952: 222]. Also, in Tzintzuntzan, the penitentes go around the village, symbolically aided by cirineos [cireneos] (Simon of Cyrenaica who helped Christ to carry the cross at the fifth station) [FOSTER 1948: 213]. Taos, a Spanish-American community in New Mexico, presents a series of the rituals of the penitentes [OTTAWAY 1975].

20. In many communities that show intense ethnic conflict between the ladino and the Indian, the burning of the Judas image is enthusiastically performed. This has been interpreted as an expression of the Indian frustration toward mestizos or ladinos [for example, BUNZEL 1952: 223; NASH, J. 1970: 226–229]. In this respect the lack of this ritual and the Carnival in Tlahui as well as in Mitla and Yalálag may be due to the monoethnic composition of the communities.

With so many rituals and masses during Holy Week, people seem tired, and feeling that they have completed all their duties, they start drinking mezcal or pulque at the plaza.

All Saints' Day and Christmas

All Saints' Day

This is a fiesta for all the deceased. In Mixe it is called *ap xew* (*ap*=grandparents, *xew*=fiesta), which means the fiesta of grandparents. Conceptually, the *ap*, the dead grandparents, include all the dead forefathers in the municipio, as explained in Chapter 4 and Appendix 6, but in reality the dead whom the living invoke on all Saints' Day are limited to the dead relatives of Ego within the second or third generation.

The period between the beginning of the novena to the end of the mass and responsos on November 2 is a sacred time, when the living feel the presence of the deceased grandparents, and propitiate them with songs and offerings. With the mass and responsos, said on November 2, the living send their dead ancestors back to the sky, and then return to profane time and normal enjoyment of the fiesta and this world.

During the novena people go to the cemetery and pray to the dead, cleaning tombs and adorning them with the yellow *flores de muertos* (*tsen peex* in Mixe) or *cempasúchil* (*makpuijy* in Mixe).[21] They also go to church to pray for the dead. Some abstain from sexual intercourse in honor of the souls of the dead.

On October 31 they decorate family altars and the topiles of the municipio and the church decorate the municipio, the parish house, and the house of the mayordomos. Above the altar they place an arch of *carrizo* adorned with flores de muertos or cempasúchil, and on the altar table they place offerings of lime, orange, *chayote*, sugar cane, *pan de muertos* (bread made in Tlahui is not decorated with the face of the dead), tortilla, tamales, green ears of corn, cooked squash, a cup of tepache, and a quart of mezcal. It is believed that the souls of the dead return to receive food and that if they find nothing on the altar, they will be dissatisfied with their descendants and may bring disgrace to them.

On October 31 the topiles of the church and the regidores of the municipio clean the cemetery. This obligation of the regidores shows that they originally belonged to the alcalde, who is responsible for religious and moral matters.

October 31 is called the Day of Angels or the Day of Dead Children in the Oaxaca Valley. In Tlahui they know this concept but perform no rituals for the dead children.

21. These yellow flowers are very similar to each other. The *Diccionario de Mejicanismos* says that *cempasúchil* is commonly called *flor de muerto*, but among the Mixe and Yalaltecos they are distinguished from each other [DE LA FUENTE 1949: 290].

November 1 and 2 are the days of dead adults. On November 1 the villagers are involved in the rituals for the change of the officials, as mentioned in Chapter 8.

On November 2 at 2:00 A.M. the flute and drum are played at the church bell tower to "call the souls of the dead." After this people feel that the souls are omnipresent in the village.

At 12:00 noon the musicians and the people go to the cemetery, singing songs of praise and carrying the image of Cristo Rey. In the villages of the midlands and lowlands sometimes joyful music is played, but in Tlahui there are only funeral marches. The procession arrives at the cemetery decorated with yellow flowers but with no offerings as in Ayutla. A mass is said in front of the large communal cross and five rosaries are recited. Then, the priest receives requests for responsos. One thousand responsos were solicited on this day. With the mass, rosaries, and responsos finished, people feel that they have completed their promise to the dead, and thus sacred time ends.[22] Some say joyfully, "We have already completed our promise of no drinking till the end of the mass." Outside the cemetery women with pottery jars of tepache wait in a line, and the men rush to them. Now the band plays joyful music and some men begin to dance in an open space outside the cemetery.

People go home from the cemetery to wait for the capillos who will come to collect the offerings from the family altars. As long as these offerings remain on the altar, it is believed that the souls of their dead ancestors are still present. The capillos come and get the offerings, praying responsos and salmos. When they come, the people call out, "Please, enter. Still the ancestors are here." Then, the capillos pray and receive the offerings. In the ranchos, far from the centro where the capillos cannot go, old men of the ranchos visit the houses to receive the offerings [BALLESTEROS y RODRÍGUEZ 1974: 115]. In either case, when this formal visit ends, relatives, neighbors, and friends visit the houses, and they are served tepache, foods taken from the altar, and sometimes fish tamales.

Christmas

In Tlahui the church takes the initiative in celebrating Christmas. When the novena for rosary approaches, the sacristanes and the topiles of the church decorate the church with grey moss and colorful China paper.

The rituals of the *posada* are performed for eight nights. The posada is the dramatization of the Sagrada Familia seeking shelter eight nights before the birth of Jesus. The fiscales look for eight padrinos of the posada, but it is quite difficult to

22. In the villages without resident priests, a villager plays the role of the priest, dedicating prayers to the dead at the request of the people. In Yacochi, for example, on Nov. 3, 1974, the mayordomos of the church prayed for the dead. In front of the church they held four large candles on big candleholders, poured water on the earth, and dedicated prayers to the souls of the dead, saying, "Go back to the sky, Souls!" Most of the remoter villages used to depend on this form of ritual, but recently, owing to the regular visits of the priests, this custom has been disappearing.

find candidates. This situation seems rather rare compared with other Mixe villages. Perhaps it is attributable to two reasons: first, the people have already used up their savings for the fiesta of Guadalupe on December 12, and cannot afford the expenditures for the posada; second, peripheral Tlahui may never have learned these rituals. Tlahui used to receive only pastoral visits from the priest at Ayutla or Zacatepec before 1963, and it is supposed that at Christmas time the priest occupied in the rituals at the center of the parish could not find time to set up the authentic rituals of Christmas in the peripheral villages like Tlahui. This supposition is partly verified by counterevidence showing that in the centers of evangelization like Ayutla, Zacatepec, and Juquila, people do preserve the stylized form of church rituals at the time of Christmas and Holy Week.

The posada, which is sometimes called *los peregrinos* in Tlahui, is acted out there in an abbreviated form. Each night after the mass, the procession of Sagrada Familia under the canopy is brought to the kitchen of the parish house. There the posada is requested and symbolically refused once. After this, the procession returns to the church. Later, a small glass case containing images of Sagrada Familia is brought to the house of the padrino, accompanied by the band. At the house, the figures are venerated by the people, to whom bread and coffee are served. Next morning, Sagrada Familia is brought back to the church before the mass. This process is repeated for eight consecutive nights. On Christmas Eve in other villages, a padrino for the birth of Niño Jesús is appointed. The image of Niño Jesús is carried from the church to the padrino's house, and returned to the church to symbolize the birth of Chirst. In Tlahui this ritual is not performed.

On December 23, in the church the officials of the church make a miniature stable of pine tree branches, decorated with flowers and fruits as is done elsewhere in Mexico, with figurines of Niño Jesús, Tres Reyes, and sheep in it.

On December 24 the víspera is celebrated. People come to church bearing candles decorated with the purple flowers of Christmas. After the víspera the *piñata*, the pottery jar with fringes of China paper, filled with sweets and fruits, is broken by children instructed by the missionaries. Later, at the church school theater, recreational programs are performed by youths. At 12:00 A.M. the midnight mass begins. When it is over, the congregation forms a line to touch and kiss the image of Niño Jesús installed at the main altar, and passes through the sacristy to the porch of the parish house to offer New Year greetings to the priest. Thus New Year's Day arrives.

Minor Religious Fiestas

Fiestas of the Minor Saints

The names and dates of the fiestas which fall into this category are as follows: Esquipulas (January 15), Candelaria (February 2), Santa Ana (July 26), San Antonio

(June 13), San Nicolás (September 10), Santísima Virgen del Rosario (October 7), Santa Cecilia (November 22), and Juquila (December 8).

Esquipulas

On January 15, when the change of the religious officials is publicly ritualized at the plaza, the fiesta of Esquipulas is celebrated at Ermita Esquipulas. This fiesta is held in low esteem, being overshadowed by the gay and conspicuous rituals of the officials and, therefore, nobody wants to pay for a mass for this fiesta. The mayordomos of Ermita Esquipulas therefore pay for it.

At 9:30 A.M. a group of men and women from Rancho Esquipulas removes the image of Esquipulas from the church, and organizes a procession with the band, for Ermita Esquipulas. They climb the steep footpath leading up to the ermita, singing the Song of Jesus Christ of Esquipulas which runs as follows:

Vea la imagen milagrosa de Esquipulas, Redentor.
Cuando está negro y oscurecido,
siendo más lindo que el sol
(See the miraculous image of Esquipulas, Redeemer.
When it gets black and dark,
it looks more beautiful than the sun.)

The cantor, carrying a small song book, leads the singing, and the same song is repeated monotonously by the participants in the procession until they reach the ermita, where the inhabitants of Rancho Esquipulas receive the procession. The small mass is read by the priest who came from the centro. When the mass ends, people enjoy the fiesta with tepache and tamales prepared at the house of the mayordomos of the ermita.

Candelaria

Before 1925–27 the fiesta was celebrated on February 2 under the name of Purificación. The alcalde of 1974 was interested in revitalizing the fiesta of Candelaria, and said to the priest the day before the fiesta: "Father! Let us restore old customs. This fiesta has been forgotten. Let us celebrate it very beautifully. We, the twelve (alcalde, his suplente, his secretario, and nine regidores) are responsible for religious rituals. The presidente has to obey us in religious matters. Before, we used to have a procession of the image of Candelaria with two doves attached to it. Let us send the fiscales to get two doves for the procession."

The following morning, the alcalde himself rang a bell with the topiles of the church. While the rosary was being recited in the church, the alcalde and his suplente tied two doves to the image of Candelaria. After the rosary, they held a procession carrying the image around the parish house and the church. At the main church door the mayordomos with candles waited for the people, thus acting out the legend of Candelaria. The participants in the procession took the candles and listened to the mass. When the mass ended, benediction was said for the officials by the priest. Many musicians were absent and the alcalde himself played the trombone.

Santa Ana

Ermita Santa Ana is larger than the others, and its mayordomos can sell a large number of candles owing to the good location of the ermita, passed by many travelers going to and from the centro. With the rich fund from the sale of candles, the mayordomos celebrate their fiesta more gayly than the other ermitas.

The calenda is enacted in lively fashion. On the day of the fiesta, July 26, a mass is said at the ermita and, at night, people play maromas.

San Antonio, San Nicolás, and Santísima Virgen del Rosario

At present only a mass is said on the days of the fiestas and it is paid for by the fund of the mayordomos of the church. San Nicolás and Santísima Virgen del Rosario are saints favored by the Dominicans. Perhaps in the Dominican missionary era the fiestas were more important than they are now, and the period of the secular clergy diminished the fervor with which they used to be celebrated. San Antonio is a saint favored by the Franciscan order. Perhaps this fiesta was introduced by the secular clergy who succeeded the Dominicans.

Santa Cecilia

This is a fiesta introduced by the musicians around 1945. They celebrate it with the ample fund which the capillos of the band receive on All Saints' Day, collecting alms from each family in return for saying responsos and salves.

On November 20 they have a calenda. Marmotas are brought to the ermita, and the musicians play late into the night. They are served food and drink at the houses of the capillos.

The mass is paid for collectively. In 1974 two padrinos and nine madrinas were chosen, and they pooled a fund for the mass said at Ermita Santa Cecilia; one of the padrinos, who was himself a musician, became a capitán who prepared food and drinks to entertain musicians. But this expenditure is voluntary.

The padrinos and madrinas, carrying candles decorated with colorful China paper, a symbol of their office, enter the church with the band at the head of the procession, receive the color print of Santa Cecilia encased in a large glass frame and take it to Ermita Santa Cecilia. Mass is celebrated at the ermita, after which people enjoy tepache and tamales in the open air.

Juquila

There are numerous followers of the Virgen de Juquila. Many undertake pilgrimages to Juquila Costa in Chatino land, and do not return to Tlahui until about December 12. Therefore, in Tlahui the fiesta for this saint is not celebrated gayly, although the mayordomos of Ermita Juquila begin preparations for the fiesta early in December.

On December 1, 1973, at about 2:00 P.M., the procession with the figure of the virgin encased in a glass frame (*cuadro*) came down to the centro, starting from the ermita. The procession was headed by the band and was composed of several

madrinas for the mass, carrying the figure. Men from Rancho Juquila brought up the rear. This was a Saturday, market day, and the people at the market gave alms to the mayordomos of Ermita Juquila who walked alongside the figure. These alms help considerably to finance the little fiesta at the ermita. The figure was kept at the church until the day of the fiesta.

On December 7 the víspera is said at the church and the figure of Juquila is brought back to the ermita. On December 8, the day of the fiesta, a mass is usually celebrated at the ermita. This is a regular schedule but in 1973 it rained heavily, so a mass was celebrated in the church at the centro.

Fiestas of Syncretic Origin

Santa Cruz

The day of Santa Cruz, May 3, is called the "day of the cave" by the Mixe. In former days they used to perform a sacrifice at the cave on May 3, but it is not known how many of the people of Tlahui continue this practice.

The church of Ayutla openly opposes the idea of celebrating the day of Santa Cruz as the day of the cave, but the priest of Tlahui is ambivalent toward it. Until 1974, according to village custom, he used to celebrate the mass at Ermita El Santuario, situated below the hilltop El Santuario, which is the place of sacrifice most frequently visited by the people of Tlahui. However, in 1974 he did not want to celebrate the mass there, thinking that "in this way I am going to authorize or permit the custom of sacrifice," according to his expression. Notwithstanding his decision, people gathered at the hill and the ermita, and enjoyed a fiesta with tepache and tamales.

The Fiesta of Zempoaltépetl

This fiesta is celebrated near a large round rock at the summit of Zempoaltépetl, near the Yacochi–Zacatepec footpath frequently passed by the people of Yacochi, Tlahui, and Yalálag when visiting the market of Zacatepec. It is said that around 1959 several Yalálag merchants built a small ermita and installed a *lienzo* of Guadalupe. Every April 24 since then, a mass with the music of the Guadalupana played by the band of Yacochi is celebrated at the ermita. The missionaries accept the request for the mass in order to replace sacrifice on Mt. Zempoaltépetl with the mass. After the mass, the entire congregation enjoys tepache, mezcal, and tamales in the open air.

The Fiesta of the Salesians

María-Auxiliadora is the patron saint of the Salesians, but the fiesta for this new saint is not yet well established in Tlahui, in contrast to Ayutla. The date for this

saint falls within the days of the fiesta of Sr. Ascensión, so it is obscured by the latter. On May 23 a víspera is celebrated and on May 24 a mass celebrated in the church. At Ermita Flores, where the image of the saint was installed around 1970, a mass is celebrated on May 31, the date for the priest's visit.

Chapter 8

Rituals of the Officials and National Fiestas

The rituals of the officials, which represent the static order and solidarity of the civil and religious organizations, still revolve around the Catholic symbols as well as the national flag of Mexico. The tequio, a barometer of communal solidarity and the power of the officials over the community, is well organized in Tlahui. The national fiestas are a new type of ritual whose political efficacy is not yet visible in the Tlahui of the 1970s.

Rituals of the Officials

Each year the changes of the officials enrich the calendar of Tlahui with a variety of rituals. The period of two or three months before November 1, the first date for the change of some of the officials, is the "liminal" phase [VAN GENNEP 1960]. During this period the social order is debilitated owing to the fatigue and irresponsibility of the officials who have been holding their offices for more than half a year. This is the period in which the people begin to complain about them. It is a period of decadence in the social order which the officials established on New Year's Day. This disorder continues until November 1, after which, with the recruitment of some new officials, the community is reoriented to the new order for the coming year. The establishment of the new order is dramatically acted out at the fiesta of the officials on New Year's Day. From New Year's Day, the political and moral order of the community, thus rejuvenated, moves forward until around August or September when the presidente and the síndico of the coming year are appointed at a communal meeting.

The rituals of the changes of the officials are described and commented on below. Along with the rituals on November 1, December 25, New Year's Day, and January 15, the tequio is dealt with as a ritualistic representation of the power and solidarity of the officials.

Dates for the Changes of the Officials

The dates of the rituals run as follows:

November 1: Presentation of the mayores and topiles of the municipio; the mayores of the church and their eight topiles; and the Comité de la Escuela (Committee for the School) (of the ranchos).
December 25: Presentation of the alcalde, the officials of the municipio higher than the mayores and of the two secretarios of the municipio; and the Committee for the School (of the centro).
New Year's Day: Fiesta to celebrate the New Year by the officials of the municipio, the church, and the Committee for the School, who were presented to the community on November 1 and December 25.
January 15: Presentation of the mayordomos of the church, the fiscales, four topiles beloning to them, the capillos, and the Comité de la Banda.

November 1 is New Year's Day in the Mixe calendar [WEITLANER and WEITLANER 1963: 48]. This might not be a mere coincidence with the fact that November 1 is the date for the first presentation of officials, though there are no specific data to verify this supposition. People have their own explanation for the selection of this date. November 1 falls on All Saints' Day, on which, according to the Mixe way of thinking, they can act out the handing over (*entrega*) of the batons (*bastones*) of the officials under the eyes of the ancestors. Besides, in terms of convenience, on this date the handing over can be performed under the observation of the many people who gather in the centro for the church rituals on All Saints' Day.

December 25 is related to Christmas in that the birth of Christ is correlated to the birth of the officials, as is symbolized by the ritual act of the presidente, who carries the image of Ninõ Jesús (Child Jesus) in the procession on New Year's Day. Besides, at Christmas people gather in the centro to participate in the church rituals. Possibly for these two reasons the second presentation of the officials is performed on December 25.

New Year's Day—the first of January—is the date imposed by the Spaniards for the change of the officials.

The selection of January 15 as the date for the presentation of the officials of the church can be explained neither by objective data nor by folk knowledge.

November 1: The First Presentation of the Officials

On October 31, at the grounds of the municipio, the mayores and topiles of the municipio, the mayores of the church and the eight topiles belonging to them, and finally the Committee for the School (of the ranchos) are publicly nominated. On the same day, after mass and evening prayers, the topiles of the church begin to sweep the floor and patio of the church. Around midnight they adorn the entrance of the church, the house of the mayordomos, the parish house, the house of the religious sisters, and the small truck of the priest with the flores de muertos or cempasúchil. This work ends around 2: 00 A.M. All through the night the officials go back and forth in the dark plaza with flashlights and kerosene lamps, and the voices of the people occupied in preparation sound through the dark and cold air.

On November 1 the presentation of these officials is acted out in front of a crowd gathered at the plaza. The following description is based on my observations on November 1, 1974:

10:00 A.M.

At the grounds of the municipio the handing over of batons begins. The batons are brought from the new municipio while the newly appointed officials make a line to enter the grounds. First, the civil officials, second, the religious officials, and third, the Committee for the School (of the ranchos) enter. In this entrance ritual the mayores enter before the topiles. They take seats as shown in Figure 10. In all of the rituals of the officials the higher officials walk and take seats before the lower ones. When all are seated, the alcalde hands a baton to each; first to the mayores of the municipio, second to the topiles of the municipio, third to the mayores of the church, fourth to the topiles of the church, and finally to the Committee for the School (of the ranchos) (Plate 24). The batons for the mayores and topiles of the municipio and the church are long and thick, made from recently cut wood. These batons are made and thrown away each year by those who come into office, but the short and thin batons for the officials higher than the mayor are saved and handed over each year. The batons for the Committee for the School (of the ranchos) are short and thin, and decorated with red and green ribbons. The handing over of batons ends around 10:30 A.M.

10:30 A.M.

The band leads the line of the new officials to the church where they hear the mass. The new officials walk slowly in a line to the sound of the band (Fig. 10). The patio in front of the major entrance of the church is adorned with two lines of flores de muertos. The officials enter the church in a line, walking between the two lines of flowers. The priest comes to the entrance and receives the new officials, sprinkling blessed water over them.

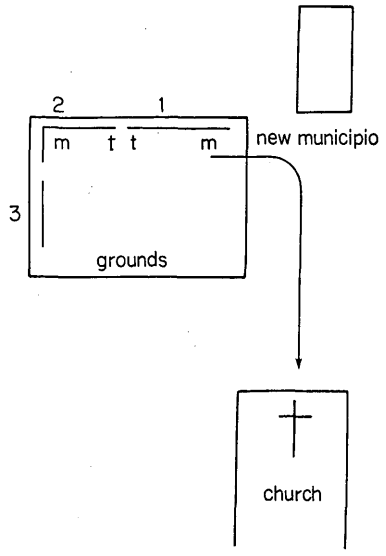
12:00 P.M.

The mass ends around noon. The officials thus consecrated by the mass leave the church, passing through the major entrance, which is also adorned with flowers, and make two lines as shown in Figure 11. The band is waiting for them at the side of the entrance of the church. The alcalde and his suplente are watching the officials line up. The band leads, first, the line of civil officials to the municipio, then the line of religious officials to the parish house, and finally the line of the Committee for the School (of the ranchos) to the house of the committee (Fig. 11).

At these three places, that is, at the municipio, the parish house, and the house of the Committee for the School, the officials of 1974 receive the newly appointed officials for the next year, and give them blessings and instruct them in the Mixe way. The following example is from the reception at the parish house.

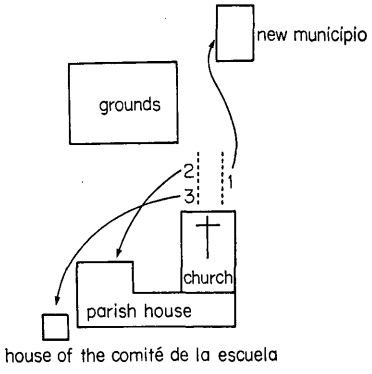
12:20 P.M.

The line of the new officials arrives at the patio of the kitchen of the parish house, and first the mayores and then the topiles sit down in a line on a bench. One of the fiscales is watching over them. One of the mayordomos goes to the first of the



1 civil officials
2 religious officials
3 comité de la escuela (of the ranchos)
m mayor
t topil

Fig. 10. The First Presentation of Officials (Transferring of Batons)



1 civil officials
2 religious officials
3 comité de la escuela (of the ranchos)

Fig. 11. The First Presentation of Officials (The Ritual Procession of Officials after the Mass of Inauguration)

mayores and gives him instructions on the duties of his office: "Fulfill your duty. Obey the Padre (priest). Treat him well. Ring the bell at the proper time. Chop the firewood for the kitchen of the Padre . . . ." The mayordomo holds a bottle of mezcal with both hands, according to the traditional Mixe ritual way of drinking, and hands it to the mayor. The mayor receives it with the right hand, supporting the forearm with his left hand. He then spills three drops of mezcal on the ground, reciting the set oration of "Dios, Hijo, y Tierra (God, Son, and Earth)", or "Que me perdone Dios, Que me perdone la Tierra, Que me perdone el Cerro" (May God pardon me, may Earth pardon me, may the Hill pardon me!), and he takes three drops of mezcal from the bottle. Then, the mayordomo hands him three cigarettes. This ritual is repeated for all of the new mayores and topiles. This being over, the priest greets them with words of thanks.

This kind of reception proceeds simultaneously at the three places: the parish house, the municipio, and the house of the Committee for the School. When everything is finished, the band plays joyful pieces, and the new officials and people begin to dance and drink in the plaza.

Commentary

The rituals on November 1 are a simple repetition of a ritual which lays stress on the hierarchical order and the responsibility it involves. The consecration of the officials is doubly performed: by the mass at the church and by the traditional Mixe communion of mezcal and cigarettes.

Possibly because the newly presented officials are of the lower category, the rituals on November 1 are rather simple in comparison with those on New Year's Day for the officials of the higher and lower categories. The latter set of rituals needs more complexity to symbolize the continuity and harmony of the officials as a whole.

December 25: The Second Presentation of the Officials

Around noon the outgoing officials set up a microphone at the grounds and present to the people the alcalde, the new civil officials higher than mayores, the two secretarios, and the Committee for the School (of the centro). In the order of the offices mentioned, they take seats on the benches put around the grounds as on November 1. There, they are served mezcal and cigarettes. The presentation is followed by the recreational program planned by the teachers and the promotores. The symbolic consecration of the officials is postponed until New Year's Day.

New Year's Day: The Fiesta of the Officials

It is no exaggeration to say that New Year's Day exists for the performance of the rituals of the officials. From December 25, the entire community has been involved in preparation for New Year's Day, and from midnight on December 31 through January 2 the plaza serves as a theater for the rituals played by the officials. The following is a chronological description of events observed from December 27, 1973 through January 2, 1974. Commentary is added last.

December 27, 1973

Early in the morning the entering presidente and alcalde visit the parish house to request that midnight mass be read on December 31. The presidente has his own ideas on the procession of Niño Jesús performed on New Year's Day, and says to the priest, "Padre, I'll pay much. I would like to have a procession not only around the church but also all around the centro."

December 31, 1973

The alcalde, the presidente, and the síndico pool their money, and their wives use it to prepare food at the alcalde's house. The outgoing and incoming officials, the priest, and the religious sisters are invited to the meal. The light of kerosene lamps at the house of the alcalde is not extinguished until late at night and numerous skyrockets are sent up.

6:00 P.M.

The rosary is recited at the church. Not many people attend.

12:00 A.M.

Before 12: 00 midnight, the bell is rung three times. Many people come to church. The benches in the church are full of people and those who cannot sit stand at the sides. The band enters the church. Some of the musicians are slightly drunk. The new officials, carrying candles, enter the church in a line with the alcalde and presidente at the head, and take seats near the main altar. The mass begins, taking about an hour. When the mass is over, the priest asks the alcalde, the presidente, and the síndico to make rogations. They say, "Thank you, God. The last year ended without calamities.... So that the people can be happy also in the New Year, so that the people can have a good harvest, so that we, the new officials, can complete our responsibilities. . . ." After each rogation, the priest invokes, "Santa María, Madre de Dios, Dios en el cielo" (Holy Mary, Mother of God, God in the sky), and so forth. Then all the participants in the mass say together, "Ruega por nosotros" (Pray for us).

1:00 A.M.

The bell is rung repeatedly and the new topiles of the church shoot skyrockets. This is understood as the symbolic representation of the passing of the old year. The band begins to play Santo Dios, but cannot play well because many of the musicians are drunk. People leave the church. The plaza is dark and cold. People pull their ponchos and shawls close and hurry home.

January 1, 1974

Throughout the day the rituals of the officials take place.

7:30 A.M.

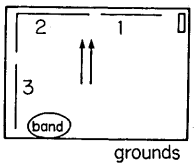
Before mass there is the procession of Niño Jesús. The new presidente carries the image and marches in procession with the other officials around the church and the parish house. The officials walk with lighted candles adorned with ribbons. The candles of the higher officials are adorned with more ribbons than those of the lower officials. When the procession is over, the small mass begins, continuing until around 9 : 30 A.M.

10 : 30 A.M.

The mass paid for by the higher officials begins, and the church is full of people.

12 : 00 P.M.

At noon the handing over of the batons begins. The band leads a line of new officials to the grounds (the officials presented on November 1 also participate in the rituals on New Year's Day, although the handing over of their batons was finished on the earlier date). They enter the grounds, with the alcalde and presidente at the head of two lines, and then take seats in order of civil, religious, and school officials, and also in order of the higher and lower categories as shown in Figure 12. At one side of the grounds is placed a table for the microphone. A teacher, native to Tlahui, plays the role of master of ceremonies. Until around 1960, an old man, well informed about



1 civil officials
2 religious officials
3 comité de la escuela

Fig. 12. The Presentation of Officials on New Year's Day (Transferring of Batons)

the community and its customs, played this role on the days of the changes of the officials or on other important communal occasions, but the wisdom of the old folks is gradually being replaced by knowledge gained through formal education. After the introductory speeches by the teacher, the presidente and the síndico of the previous year greet the people using the microphone. Then, the alcalde, presidente, síndico, two secretarios, and the tesorero make two lines in front of the new alcalde and presidente (Fig. 12). The old presidente hands the Mexican national flag to the new presidente. They hand over the flag in a military way, a way which is unfamiliar to the Mixe, and so all the observers and performers cannot but giggle at each step. In the meantime the batons are being brought from the municipio. These batons are for the officials presented on December 25. First, the old síndico hands over the stamp of the municipio and the baton to the new síndico. Then, a baton is handed over by each old official to the new one. Short and thin batons adorned with ribbons are for the civil and school high officials and long and thick, recently cut ones are for the vocales of the Committee for the School. The handing over of the batons being over, the officials of the previous year bring mezcal and cigarettes which are enjoyed by the new officials who follow the ritual way of drinking. The band begins to play joyful pieces. A little later a recreational program planned by the teachers begins. The program is composed of short theatrical plays and regional dances.

2 : 00 P.M.

With the program over, the new presidente greets the people, manifesting his decision for better administration and asking for the cooperation of the officials and the people.

2 : 40 P.M.

All the civil officials go to the municipio and receive the stamps, official records, and so forth handed over by the old officials. The band is playing joyfully on the veranda of the second floor of the municipio.

3 : 00 P.M.

All the new officials, with the band at the head of the procession, walk to the house of the alcalde. After arriving there, they are offered food and drinks.

5 : 00 P.M.

At the patio of the house of the alcalde the dance of the officials begins. Four dances are performed (Fig. 13).

First, the dance of the mayores and topiles of the municipio begins. Six mayores form an inner circle and twelve topiles form an outer one. The two circles move in opposite directions to the tune. As soon as the mayores in the inner circle change direction, the topiles in the outer circle change also. They dance to three pieces of

music. When the third piece is over, the alcalde embraces each one of the topiles and all of them are offered tepache and mezcal.

Second, the dance of the religious officials begins. Four mayores make an inner circle and eight topiles an outer one. They dance to three pieces of music, but their dance is shorter than that of the civil officials.

Third, the dance of the higher civil officials begins. The alcalde, presidente, síndico, and their three suplentes form an inner circle and the others an outer one. All of them dance animatedly to many pieces of music such as Nunca el Domingo (composed by a teacher of music in Totontepec), a part of the original Fandango Mixe (which sounds lighter than the Fandango Mixe popular at present in the Mixe region) and the Jarabe Mixe. They are so animated that they do not want to stop dancing. While dancing, the alcalde cheers and embraces each official. It gets dark and fog begins to cover the sky.

1 dance of the civil officials
inner circle: mayor (6)
outer circle: topil (12)

2 dance of the religious officials
inner circle: mayor (4)
outer circle: topil (8)

3 dance of the higher civil officials
inner circle: alcalde (1)
presidente (1)
síndico (1)
suplente (3)
outer circle: others

4 dance of the wives of the officials

Fig. 13. Dance at the House of the *Alcalde*

Fourth, the dance of the wives of the officials, who have finished their work in the kitchen, begins. Each of them dances passionately in her own way. According to their explanation, this dance is in thanks to the officials for coming to the banquet on this day.

January 2, 1974

The plaza looks quiet in comparison with yesterday.

9 : 00 A.M.

Near the school building the handing over of the batons for the Committee for the School (of the centro) is performed once again to the music of the band, but there are no onlookers at this ritual. The new school officials are invited to the house of the Committee for the School, and there they drink and dance to the sound of the band.

Commentary

The symbolic authorization of the officials by the church is dominant in the ritualization of New Year's Day: for example, the mass and the procession of the officials with the image of Niño Jesús. The handing over of batons is performed on whatever the date for the change of the officials may be. The new element on New Year's Day is the dance of the officials. In each of the three dances of the officials the inner circle formed by the higher officials is protected by the outer circle formed by the lower

officials. Command, however, is always in the hands of the higher officials. When those in the inner circle change the direction of their movement, those of the outer circle have to change also. This can be understood as a ritualization of solidarity and the hierarchical order among the officials. Thus, the first three dances symbolize the ideology of the civil and religious hierarchies. The dances are performed in a formal and sacred atmosphere. When the dance of the wives of the officials begins, the atmosphere suddenly changes to profane joviality and the tension of the earlier sacred and formal atmosphere is neutralized. The dances of the officials on New Year's Day are the single example in Tlahui of stylization of dances as a ritualization of communal life.

January 15: The Fiesta of the Religious Officials

As New Year's Day is a great event for the civil officials, so is January 15 for the religious officials. On this day the change of the mayordomos, the fiscales, the topiles belonging to the fiscales, the capillos, and the Committee for the Musical Band is ritualized. At the same time the handing over of the fund of the mayordomos to the new mayordomos is performed. The total process centering around January 15 is that of what Victor Turner calls the "social drama" [TURNER, V. 1957] played by the officials of the church, the priest, and the people of the village represented by the civil officials. It could be a drama in which the latent schisms among the three may come to the surface, but this is not the case in Tlahui, at least in 1973 and 1974. Unlike Zacatepec and Ixcuintepec, where the mayordomos have had conflicts with the church for the past few years, in Tlahui the civil officials, the religious officials, and the priest have cooperated with one another for the last fifteen years. In 1974 I observed an excellent case of the cooperation between the three powers.

January 13, 1974

The priest begins to work with the *Libro de los Mayordomos* (Book of the Mayordomos) to figure income and expenditure for the last year.

January 14, 1974

12 : 00 P.M.

The secretario of the church and three mayordomos come to the parish house, bringing a bag of alms full of loose coins (5, 10, and 20 centavos). They are allowed to go to the second floor of the parish house to count these coins and the coins in a chest kept by the priest. The priest, on the first floor, continues his figuring.

3 : 30 P.M.

When the mayordomos finish counting the coins, they want to have mezcal, and hint of their desire to the priest, who gives them a bottle. This is the time for the fiscales to bring the tithe they have collected. They have brought it piecemeal since November, and now they try to bring the last portion before the term of their office expires on January 15. The fiscales, the alcalde, and his suplente come to the parish house. The alcalde is here, because as head of the civil and religious hierarchies he is re-

sponsible for the work of the fiscales. The fiscales bring three bags containing corn for the tithe, and the alcalde takes note of the quantity of corn, saying, "Padre! We are poor. We cannot bring much."

4 : 40 P.M.

The presidente comes to the parish house and observes the handing over of the tithe. An old fiscal is somewhat drunk and says to the priest, "Padre! This is the last day of my service. I really enjoyed my work, and today I am going to complete my duty."

6 : 00 P.M.

All the officials leave the parish house. The musicians come to the church and the mass begins.

9 : 00 P.M.

On January 15 the capillos and the Committee for the Musical Band are going to be replaced. As today is the eve of the fiesta, the musicians play music until late at night at the houses of the departing and incoming capillos.

January 15, 1974

10 : 00 A.M.

Four mayordomos bring the last bag of alms to the parish house. All are drunk and greet the priest sentimentally. In the meantime the presidente speaks loudly, using a microphone, from the second floor of the municipio, informing the people of the start of the change of the religious officials. In front of the municipio, the incoming mayordomos and fiscales make a line waiting for the handing over of the batons, and those leaving office, bearing the batons with crown, come down from the second floor. First, the alcalde and his suplente greet the departing and incoming mayordomos and fiscales. Next, the outgoing mayordomos greet the entering ones, shaking hands with one another. The departing fiscales hand their batons to those entering office (Plate 25). Third, the new Committee for the Musical Band and the capillos are introduced to the people. The band begins to play and leads the newly appointed officials to the church. On entering the church, they are offered mezcal. They take three drops each. The priest waits for them near the entrance and invites them to seats near the altar. This is the day of Esquipulas, and so the priest wears a green *chasuble* while saying mass. At the end of the mass, he says, "Don't lose this beautiful custom of celebrating the change of the officials." Then the new officials make various rogations for their offices.

12 : 00 P.M.

The presidente and the two mayordomos of the previous year bring the chest containing the fund of the mayordomos from the parish house to a table set in front of the house of the mayordomos. The men occupy a place near the entrance of the church, and the women a place in front of the house, to listen to the report on the fund (Fig. 14). First, the priest reports on the income and expenditure of the previous year. The secretario interprets in Mixe. According to this report, in addition to the sale of candles and prints of the saints, income includes financial help from a German Catholic organization and from the bishop for the repair of the roof of the church.

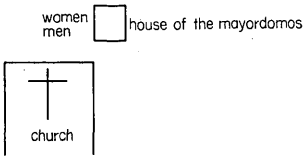


Fig. 14. Fiesta of the Religious Officials

When the report is over, the presidente thanks the priest for his personal service in buying and bringing cement from Juchitán. In the meantime, the mayordomos of the last year weigh the candles of cofrades and hand them, along with the estampas of Ascensión, Asunción, and Esquipulas, to the new mayordomos (Plate 26). The loose coins of the alms, being counted and spread on the table, fall on the ground. The people laugh, and the general atmosphere is joyful. After a brief interval, the mayordomos of the previous year report that they can hand over another 1,000 pesos from the gross sale of candles handed over to them by the mayordomos of 1972.

1 : 00 P.M.

The outgoing secretario makes a farewell speech, after which the election of the secretario for the new year begins. Three candidates are nominated by the people, and the one who receives a majority of raised hands becomes the new secretario. The women participate in the election, raising their hands more actively than do the men. This year the person chosen was one of the principales noted all through the village for his honesty and wisdom.

2 : 00 P.M.

The old and new mayordomos and fiscales, with the band, visit the parish house. The priest makes a little gift to each of the four outgoing topiles, as well as to the eight ex-topiles who left their offices on November 1. After greeting the priest, the new officials of the church dance at the patio of the parish house.

Commentary

January 15 is the fiesta of the officials of the church and the band. The alcalde, as leader of the civil and religious organizations, attends the payment of the tithe to the priest, and supervises the change of the mayordomos and fiscales. The presidente, as leader of the civil organization, announces the ritual of the change of the religious officials, later participates in the handing over of the fund of the mayordomos, and also thanks the priest for his service to the village. Thus, in Tlahui, the original functions of the alcalde are well preserved and there exists a state of harmonious cooperation between the civil and religious organizations.

The relations between the priest and the mayordomos have latent tensions, because both have rights in the management of the church. In Tlahui their relationships are characterized by mutual respect and cooperation based on continuous consultation and uprightness in the management of the budget of the church. Usually the mayordomos withdraw some money from their fund to hold a little fiesta for themselves with mezcal and food after the handing over of the fund on January 15. The priest knows this; he thinks that the mayordomos, who have to devote themselves to community service without payment, have a right to benefit from their fund as

long as the quantity of money they withdraw is reasonable. However, the priest keeps an eye on the mayordomos so that they don't abuse their official authority. On the other hand, the mayordomos seem totally obedient to the priest, but they also watch him so that he may not manage the fund of the church as he likes. When they counted the alms at the parish house, they learned that the fund of the church is managed with fairness by the priest. Therefore, on the following day at the communal meeting, they made it public that they had the "secret" fund of 1,000 pesos. If such a delicate balance between the two sides were broken, a great conflict could emerge and ruin the harmony within the religious organization.

Communal participation in the handing over of the fund of the mayordomos is active. Different from an acculturated village like Ayutla, women also participate actively in the meeting and influence the election of the secretario. In church affairs, women's "power" is not to be ignored. All in all, it can be said that Tlahui, at least in 1973 and 1974, preserved a good example of the democracy of a little community.

Tequio as Ritual Representation of Community Solidarity and the Power of the Officials

Tequio, or the concept of communal work obligations, is a barometer by which one may estimate communal solidarity and the power and control of the officials over the community. Tlahui had a great deal of tequio in 1973 and 1974. Since 1953, when the village was totally involved in the tequio for the construction of the market, Tlahui has never had a year so occupied with tequio as it did in 1973 and 1974. In these years, with the opening of the road, the people of Tlahui were feeling the coming of the new age and they decided to prepare the village for the new epoch.

In ordinary years the obligation for tequio is not particularly heavy. The head of the family, as a taxpayer, has to dedicate twelve days to tequio. Musicians and dancers are supposed to be exempt but in reality they participate. In 1973 and 1974 the obligation exceeded the norm and they had to work three days a month—36 days a year, or three times the regular obligation. In these two years there was an urgent demand for tequio for the extension of the road from the main route to the centro; the construction of the school with the help of CAPFCE; repairing the roof of the old municipio, which was rented to the employees of Coconal; construction of the Conasupo; and reconstruction of the church roof.

The extension of the road was rapidly completed, partly because of the enthusiasm of the people and partly because of the encouragement of the higher officials, the majority of whom are storekeepers interested in transportation of merchandise by truck. Although the people worked only with picks and shovels, their work was very efficient. From the main route of the road nearest to the centro, to Santa Ana, where the storehouse of the *Comisiôn del Papaloapan* was stationed, the road was opened in only two days; from Santa Ana to Santa Cecilia, in four days; and from Santa Cecilia to the centro in a little more than four days. In less than fifteen days, the road was opened from the main route to the centro, a distance of more than

10 kilometers. During this time some forty to fifty men, and sometimes more than a hundred, worked on the road.

To promote the construction of the school in accordance with the plan of the CAPFCE, the teachers ordered their pupils to carry sand, using the nylon bags which they usually use to carry books for classes. They got the sand kept at the centro and walked down the steep footpath leading to Santa Cecilia carrying the heavy nylon bags. At the same time, the vocales of the Committee for the School carried bags of cement from the centro to the building site for the school near Santa Cecilia.

The repairing of the roof of the old municipio in 1973 was completed by tequio in a short time so that the employees of Coconal could be stationed in Tlahui as soon as possible. With the completion of the roof, the main Coconal camp was transferred from Tamazulapam to Tlahui, although the warehouse remained in Tamazulapam until 1974.

In contrast with these three projects, the construction of the Conasupo was delayed because many of the higher officials were storekeepers unwilling to invite the Conasupo, which would adversely affect their small businesses. They ordered tequio to make *tabique* (adobe) for the repair of the church and for the construction of the Conasupo, which was going to pay for the construction materials. The men for the tequio made and dried tabique in front of the old municipio.

The tequio most significant in ritual and social organizational aspects was the one organized for the repair of the roof of the church. This huge project was a great event to the village. It cost about 44,000 pesos. To reduce the cost, the priest cooperated from early 1973; that summer he began to buy cement from Juchitán, and brought it to Tlahui using his own truck. He brought more than thirty tons of cement in the six months before December 1973. Just before Christmas, the cement that he transported to a hut built on the main route nearest to the centro was carried to the centro by the topiles of the church and men doing tequio. On December 30, when additional bags of cement were brought from Juchitán, some three hundred men, working from 7 : 30 A.M. to 5 : 00 P.M., were able to cement one-third of the roof. To reward the people for their service, the priest offered them 600 pieces of bread and soft drinks at lunch time. When the work was over in the evening, the presidente of the *Comité de Obras Materiales* (Committee for Construction) rewarded everyone with two gallons of mezcal, bought by the committee and the mayordomos of the church, who had saved some money from their fund for this purpose.

In 1974, from Holy Week to July, each Sunday after the big mass the male communicants climbed up to the roof to cement it, and the women, using their shawls, carried gravel which was brought to the centro by the priest from near the cemetery. At the main and side doors of the church the mayores of the church, holding their batons, waited to catch the communicants coming out of the church so that they might not escape the tequio.

The tequio for the church roof culminated on July 13, during the season of rain and fog. At 9 : 00 A.M. some 500 men came to the centro from the ranchos. They climbed to the roof to set and cement the arches. All through the day the presidente

directed the work, speaking loudly through the microphone, which the people liked very much. They kept on working despite the weather. When half the work was finished, the priest gave them refreshments of lemon juice and snacks. When the work was completed at 3 : 00 P.M., all the men formed two lines in front of the church. Flute and tambour were played at the church tower. Traditionally, these musical instruments were played to call the people for tequio, but on this day they were played to announce the end of the tequio for the church roof. The presidente spoke, thanking the people; next, the old sacristán greeted the people to express his gratitude for their service to the church, and offered them two big jars of mezcal. This was a personal contribution from the sacristán, who devoted himself to church affairs. The heavy tequio effort made the people susceptible to getting drunk quickly, and the band began to play joyful pieces to announce the end of the ritual drinking.

This tequio on July 13, 1974, was completed by the cooperation of three forces: the priest, the mayordomos and the sacristán, and the presidente and the Committee for Construction. In 1974 these three social groups, representing the church, the religious officials, and the civil officials, showed an excellent attitude of cooperation and no schisms were noted among them.

National Fiestas

National fiestas are a new element in Tlahui. Their promoters are teachers at federal schools and promotores of INI. In response to orders from the state and the Ministry of Education, they try to organize a parade with the national flag and pageants and programs by the pupils to celebrate the following flag days: Day of the Constitution (February 5), Birthday of Benito Juárez (March 21), Day of the Defense of Puebla (May 5), Mothers' Day (May 10), Teachers' Day (May 15), Day of Independence (September 16), Day of the Discovery of America, i.e., the Day of the Race (October 12), and Day of the Mexican Revolution (November 20).

These dates are memorable occasions in Mexican national history, but were still unpopular among the people of Tlahui in 1973 and 1974. The Mexican national anthem, the national flag, the military-style parade, and the significance of the fiestas are foreign to most people of Tlahui.

I have so far described Tlahui as a traditional world, but at the same time I have noted several symptoms of change in the social organizational and ritual aspects of traditional life in Tlahui. Tlahui is at the threshold of modernization, which will be accelerated by the opening of the road. How will the people of Tlahui confront the wave of changes which will flood their traditional world in the near future? Ayutla, with all the social and cultural modifications it has adopted—as we will see in Part 3—seems to show the way toward adaptation and survival in this century of immense transformation.

Part 3

Ayutla : Changing World

Chapter 9

Preeminence of the Civil Organization and Transformation of the *Mayordomías*

During the forty years from 1933 to 1973–74 Ayutla witnessed a change in the civil-religious hierarchy which was very much a result of change in the mayordomías. The mayordomías were transformed around 1962, when people cooperated with the Salesians in modifying them according to the "egalitarian" fiesta economy of the Tlahui type. The year 1962 was four years before the opening of the road; people in general aspired to changes, an atmosphere which influenced their decision for a change in the mayordomías. By 1973–74, some remnants of the mayordomías still existed, but they were no longer a crucial factor influencing the civil and religious organizations, and the civil organization of the municipio is now separated from the religious organization of the church, and now the municipio and the church tend to be in conflict.

This chapter describes and analyses these changes in the mayordomías and the civil-religious organization in Ayutla.

The Civil-Religious Hierarchy and the Mayordomías in 1933

The first data on the civil-religious hierarchy in Ayutla are from 1933, as reported by Ralph L. Beals, who did fieldwork among the western [highland] Mixe for more than three months, starting in the latter part of January 1933. Chapter 3 of his monograph, *The Ethnology of the Western Mixe* [1945], presents his data on the "Mixe Government" in various villages of the highland Mixe. In this chapter, pages 21–25 are dedicated to a description of the civil-religious hierarchy in Ayutla. This, together with the fragmentary data on pages 64 to 83, is the only source available on the civil-religious hierarchy in Ayutla of the 1930s.

Beals produced a table of the civil-religious hierarchy, arranged in a single column as in Table 9. Utilizing Beals's other data [Beals 1945: 21–31, 64–83], I reconstructed Table 9 and drew Table 10, dividing the officials into a dual hierarchy, and supplementing Table 9 with temporary offices and the offices outside the hierarchy, for the purpose of understanding the civil-religious hierarchy in the context

Table 9. The Civil-Religious Hierarchy (Ayutla 1933) [BEALS 1945: 22]

Office	Number
topilillo	12
topil	16
cabo	2
teniente	2
mayor de vara	2
secretario	1
regidor	5
suplente	1
síndico	1
suplente	1
presidente	1
suplente	1
alcalde	1
fiscal	2

Table 10. The Revised Civil-Religious Hierarchy (Ayutla 1933)

Civil hierarchy			Religious hierarchy	
	Traditional offices			
Office	Number		Office	Number
topil	16		topilillo	12
cabo	2			
teniente	2			
mayor de vara	2		mayordomo	1**
secretario	1			
regidor	3		regidor	2
suplente	1			
síndico	1			
suplente	1			
presidente	1			
(capitán)	2–3*			
	suplente	1		
	alcalde	1	fiscal	2
	principal	many		
			Offices outside the hierarchy	
			capillo	1
			sacristán	5

Parenthesis around capitán indicates a temporary office.
* for each fiesta of the patron saints
** for each saint

of a prestige economy as represented by the existence of the mayordomo and the capitán for the band.

An official called by the same name plays a similar role in any Mixe village, although, strictly speaking, the role of each official changes slightly from village to village depending upon the degree of acculturation and the peculiarities of the village. I have extracted some features of the hierarchy in Beals's description which no longer exist in 1973 and 1974:[1]

1. The *topilillo*, that is, the topil of the church, was the first office to be taken by young men, at around seventeen years of age. There were twelve in all and their service was performed on alternate weeks. Every man had to take the office of topilillo before he could reach the rank of topil [BEALS 1945: 23];
2. The *cabo* and the *teniente*, though they are assistants to the mayor de vara, were considered to have completed the same service as the mayor de vara, so they were exempt from that office [BEALS 1945: 23];
3. Already, in 1933, the office of secretario showed the mestizoization which is markedly present in Tlahui late in 1973 and 1974. An ability to speak Spanish was a prerequisite for secretario. He was not required to enter any offices lower than secretario. After completing this office, he could skip the office of regidor and advance to the suplente of the síndico [BEALS 1945: 23], or sometimes go up to the suplente of the presidente. This was possibly due to the progressive administration of Daniel Martínez, the "cacique" who promoted modernization in the 1930s [BEALS 1945: 25]. In addition, the secretario was exempt from the office of mayordomo [BEALS 1945: 25];
4. A mayordomo was chosen for each saint and was responsible for the budget and fiesta for that saint [BEALS 1945: 24, 65–67];
5. Of the five regidores, two were for the church. These two were entrusted with the collection of tithes [BEALS 1945: 23];
6. The offices of the higher category were combined in a complex way with the mayordomías. Before taking the office of regidor it was preferable to have served as mayordomo at least once. But in 1933, this was already not prescriptive [BEALS 1945: 24];
7. If one had completed two mayordomías, he was excused from the office of presidente [BEALS 1945: 66]. This rule seems to have been rather new in 1933, for Beals comments in another place, "In former times no one was eligible for the office of mayor [*presidente* in Spanish] who had not given two *mayordomías* or fiestas for a saint. Although this rule is now abrogated, two mayordomías are still required before a man finishes his service to the village" [BEALS 1945: 24];
8. One who had completed the office of capitán for the band was excused from becoming mayordomo [BEALS 1945: 66]. Sometimes, he could get the office of alcalde

1. Cámara set up two ideal types of civil and religious organizations: the "centripetal organization" and the "centrifugal organization." He classified Ayutla, as recorded by Beals, as a "centripetal organization," which is "traditional, homogeneous, collectivistic, well-integrated, and obligatory" [CÁMARA 1952: 143–144].

or suplente of alcalde faster than one who had completed the office of presidente, because being capitán for the fiesta of the patron saint was considered equivalent to presidente [BEALS 1945: 25];

9. Those who completed the office of fiscal composed an informal group of principales whose influence was later taken over by the power of Daniel Martínez [BEALS 1945: 25]; and

10. The service of capillo was equivalent to completing one mayordomía. At the fiesta of San Pedro, in June, the capillo had to give food to the band [BEALS 1945: 25].

The characteristics of the civil-religious hierarchy of 1933, as contrasted with those of 1973 and 1974, are: 1) the civil hierarchy co-existed with the religious one, that is, the municipio was not separate from the church; 2) the hierarchy permitted a fair degree of skipping of offices, but still there were some regulations controlling it; and 3) the civil-religious hierarchy was well combined with the mayordomías.

The sponsorship of the Catholic religious fiestas in Ayutla was "individualistic and capitalistic." The origin of this orientation is obscure, but my supposition is that Ayutla, a capitalistically oriented market center, possibly developed this type of sponsorship under influences from the Oaxaca Valley, especially from Mitla. I am inclined to suppose that Mitla might have offered Ayutla a model of mayordomías and the fiesta complex, because of the remarkable similarities in these aspects between the data from Ayutla and those of Mitla [PARSONS 1936: 192–200, Chapter 6]. In the following, I will reconstruct the mayordomías of Ayutla, using Beals's data plus information that I obtained.

There were 14 mayordomos: San José, Corazón de Jesús, Jesús Nazareno, La Sagrada Familia, La Dolorosa, La Soledad, San Antonio, Santa Cruz, San Pablo, San Pedro, Santo Entierro, Corazón de María, San Isidro, and Guadalupe [BEALS 1945: 65]. Except for the relative high rank of the mayordomos of San Pablo and San Pedro, two patron saints, there seems to have been no ranking to be mentioned in social and economic importance among the mayordomos as is often reported from Mesoamerican Indian communities, especially from highland Chiapas [CANCIAN 1965]. Beals did not mention rankings, and my informants confirm that individual choice (*gusto*) for the saint is the criterion for the mayordomía, not prestige.

The candidates for mayordomos were recommended by the presidente and nominated at the communal meeting [BEALS 1945: 66]. According to Beals, this service was for three years [BEALS 1945: 66], but according to my informants, this rule was not observed. Once a person was recommended by the presidente, it was hard for him to escape from taking the mayordomía. Along with this obligatory acceptance, some took the mayordomía voluntarily because of their devotion to some specific saint.

Each year a little after the fiesta of the saint, the change of the mayordomo took place. The date for the change, however, seems to have varied from mayordomía to mayordomía. Beals cited the case of the change of the mayordomía of Santa Cruz on February 4 (the fiesta date is May 3). Under the supervision of the presi-

dente, the mayordomo received candles, wax, and the fund for the saint passed on by his predecessor. This handing over of the mayordomía is called *entrega.* On this occasion the entering mayordomo had to offer tepache and mezcal [BEALS 1945: 67]. His term of service began on this day and ended with the next handing over to the mayordomo for the coming year.

The fund of the mayordomo was from three sources: that handed over by his predecessor; the sale of candles (he had a right to extinguish the candles dedicated to the saint so that he could take advantage of the wax to produce more candles); and the sale of corn and beans dedicated to the saint as alms [BEALS 1945: 66].

To be a successful mayordomo he had to start his activities as soon as the entrega was over. He dared to sell candles as far as Tepuxtepec, Tepantlali, and Zacatepec. Some mayordomos with a spirit of capitalism could be very successful. For example, one of my female informants, who is a cheerful and dependable character and a devotee to Corazón de Jesús, served as mayordomo three times.[2] She was successful each time partly because Corazón de Jesús had many devotees and partly because this lady, who was beloved by the people, could sell many candles. Beals also reports a successful mayordomo "businessman": a coffee and corn buyer served as mayordomo of La Dolorosa for a number of years, taking advantage of the fund of the saint in his commerce. As a result he could maintain the fund, and even donated a new image of the saint to the Church [BEALS 1945: 66]. In contrast to these successful cases, some lost the fund of the saint. For instance, one man, who was a friend of an informant, voluntarily took the mayordomía of Corazón de Jesús, but he reduced the fund tremendously. In such a case, when the term of service was over, the individual had to restore the fund, even if it ruined him financially [BEALS 1945: 66]. If the person could not afford to pay, the municipio would have to restore the fund.

The fiestas of the mayordomos, except those of the patron saints, began with a mass paid for by the mayordomo. After the mass, he returned home with the band and opened a fiesta with dances, tepache, mezcal, and tamales. The image of the saint was not taken to the house of the mayordomo [BEALS 1945: 66–67]. His total expenditure was payment for one or more masses, payment to the band, purchase of skyrockets, and purchase of food and drink. For the fiestas of the patron saints, San Pablo and San Pedro, the mayordomos could get help from two or three capitanes. One capitán paid for one or more fireworks and served three meals to the band, and another capitán served meals to the band and to all the visitors. When a band was invited from a neighboring village, a third capitán was appointed to serve it with food and drink. The expenditure of the capitán was more than that of the mayordomo. However, there was a tendency to attach more prestige to the service of mayordomo than to that of capitán [BEALS 1945: 66].

In addition to the 14 mayordomías, Rosario and Corpus Christi were celebrated by a mass paid for by the *regidor de los Gastos* [BEALS 1945: 65].

2. This information contradicts the established Mesoamerican ethnographic "fact" that only a man can be a mayordomo. I assume that her husband was a mayordomo.

Changes after 1960

The civil-religious hierarchy of Ayutla, as reported by Beals, seems to have been functioning till around 1960, though with slight modifications. Salomón Nahmad, who did extensive fieldwork in the Mixe region around 1960, prepared a listing of the officials of Ayutla as shown in Table 11. A comparison of Table 11 with the data reported by Beals shows that one difference is the disappearance of the principales, which Nahmad confirmed with his informants [Nahmad 1965: 85]. Neither is the fiscal recorded in Table 11. However, the disappearance of the fiscal as the top official of the church is not believable because the topilillo, the lowest church office, still exists in the hierarchy. So it is to be supposed that the informants of Nahmad made an error in giving him the hierarchy.

Shortly after Nahmad's visit, a drastic change occurred which gave Ayutla the present form of its civil and religious organizations. The Salesians arrived in 1962. Finding the church devastated after the age of the secular clergy, the first Salesian priest who came to Ayutla wanted to take the saints down from the altars to clean them. This caused a furor which the people still remember clearly. Thinking that the new priest wanted to take the old saints away, a group of women, headed by a female leader, rushed to the church and pummeled him with sticks. Frightened by this outrage, the priest escaped at night to Tlahui, where another Salesian was stationed. Thus relations between Ayutla and the Salesian missionaries began with a quarrel. In the course of time, however, Ayutla began to harmonize with the Salesians and gradually cooperated with them in the "modernization" of the mayordomías. As the people had been feeling that the mayordomías were a burden for a long time, they accepted the Salesian proposal to replace the "capitalistic" mayordomías with group sponsorship by the *Comité de la Iglesia* (Committee for the Church). The shift from the mayordomía to the committee system was already reported from Tarascan communities of the 1940s [Carrasco 1952: 26–35]. Re-

Table 11. The Civil-Religious Hierarchy (Ayutla ca. 1960) [Nahmad 1965: 84]

Office	Age
topilillo	12 to 15
topil (can be mayordomo)	15 to 19
auxiliar	19 or older
cabo	25 to 30
mayor de vara	30 or older
regidor de vara to the 1st suplente	35 or older
síndico	35 or older
suplente of the presidente	
presidente	
alcalde	
,and secretario and tesorero	

cently W. Smith reported a similar case from Guatemalan Maya communities [SMITH 1977: 103–159]. I found the same trend in Ayutla among the Mixe.

From around 1962, four years before the opening of the road, people had general aspirations for changes anyway, and this trend influenced their decision to change the mayordomías. At present they try to explain their decision with the blunt oversimplification "The Salesians took away the mayordomías." Then they like to add a remark about how they miss the traditional mayordomías. This remark shows why Ayutla, even after 1962, retains its economy of prestige, mixing a capitalistic orientation with an egalitarian, Tlahui style distribution of communal expenditures, as will be mentioned below.

THE 1970S

The civil officials compose the *ayuntamiento* (municipal government), which is completely separated from the religious organization (Table 12). Noteworthy in Table 12 is the ranking of presidente. In the traditional hierarchy, the presidente occupied a position lower than the alcalde, who is the highest leader of the civil-religious hierarchy. But in 1973, the presidente is ranked higher than the alcalde. Owing to the increase in contacts with the world of the *agats*, the importance of the presidente increased as the leader of the political world, whereas the alcalde, as the leader of the spiritual world, lost his prestigious position.

To climb the hierarchy in the ayuntamiento one is required to take neither the office of mayordomo nor of capitán. These were prerequisites for the higher offices in traditional Ayutla. In addition to the elimination of this regulation, any degree of skipping offices is permitted when one is considered adequate for a specific office. One need not climb the hierarchy step by step but can skip from a lower office to a much higher one. The degree of skipping depends on the talent of the person and on the degree of difficulty in recruiting for the office each year.

What is noticeable in the recruitment for the officials of the ayuntamiento is the "absentee presidente." By 1973 Ayutla had had two cases. One was a Mixe teacher living and working in Oaxaca who came from a successful family in Ayutla, influential in the political affairs of the village for the last 15 years. At the end of the 1960s he was appointed presidente. For a year he was in Ayutla to hold office. Utilizing his connections with the Oaxaca world, he decided he could then handle the municipal politics from Oaxaca, with the help of sympathizers back in the village.

Another case of absentee presidente occurred in 1973. The presidente for that year was an Ayutleño living in Mexico City and working in connection with the Ministry of Education. Living in the metropolis more than 20 years, he had had no experience with any office in Ayutla. However, he had been interested in becoming presidente once in his life, and had been listed as candidate for the office. Finally, in 1973, he was elected. When he started his office, he was excited to begin work in

Table 12. Civil and Religious Organizations (Ayutla 1973–74)

Ayuntamiento		Religious organization	
Traditional offices			
Office	Number	Office	Number
topil	30	comité de la iglesia	
mayor de vara	4	presidente	1
comandante	2	tesorero	1
tesorero municipal	1	secretario	1
suplente del regidor	4	vocal	6
regidor	4		
suplente	1		
síndico municipal	1		
suplente	1		
alcalde único constitucional	1		
suplente	1		
presidente municipal	1		
secretario	1		
(Rancho)			
agente	1		
vocal	5–6	**Specialists**	
		capillo	1
New offices		comité de la banda	
comité del kindergarten		presidente	1
presidente	1	vocal	6–9
tesorero	1	musicians	20–30
secretaria	1		
vocal	2	organist	1
comité de la enseñanza primaria			
presidente	1	auxiliar	several
tesorero	1	catequista	several
secretario	1		
vocal	5–11		
comité de bienes comunales			
presidente	1		
suplente	1		
tesorero	1		
secretario	1		
vocal	2		
comité de riego			
presidente	1		
tesorero	1		
secretario	1		
vocal	2		
comité de la luz			
presidente	1		
suplente	1		
tesorero	1		
secretario	1		
vocal	some		

his native village, and his wife took care to visit Ayutla from Mexico City on the occasions of the rituals of the officials. The new presidente moved in with one of his relatives in Ayutla and tried to be at the municipio to receive the people. But life in Ayutla was difficult for one accustomed to city life. Gradually he stayed away from Ayutla, visiting his family in Mexico City, and soon was seldom seen at the municipio. On the outskirts of the centro were seen piles of rubbish, which in ordinary years the topiles removed and burned under the proper order of their higher officials. Under these conditions the complaints of the people increased daily. In addition, there was discord among the officials. The presidente, alien to the Mixe world, could not control them and they openly criticized his inability and lack of enthusiasm. The secretario entrusted with the municipal stamp began to use it without the consent of the presidente. The síndico and his helpers continued with municipal construction work with which the presidente was not well acquainted. The presidente made a public promise to construct a new market, but no work was being done. This man, who was a nobody in the metropolitan city, had an ambition to be a leader of his native village, possibly to advance his hope of getting personal connections with the federal and state governments. But his ambitions were totally crushed by the barrier of cultural distance between him and the Mixe village. Absentee presidentes may be more viable in Ayutla and Totontepec, which have many influential countrymen living outside the Mixe region in such places as Mexico City and Oaxaca.

Another conspicuous feature of the civil organization around 1973 is the role played by young Mixe, most of whom are teachers and promotores of INI and IIISEO. They are the emerging elites, highly influential in the affairs of the village through their knowledge, Spanish speaking ability, and their enthusiasm for development. They are requested to take higher offices in spite of having no experience in the lower offices. The secretario is also chosen from this young elite. Their alliance with PRI seems to have deepened in the last few years, as far as can be judged from the list of the members of the *Comitê del* PRI of Ayutla. It is composed of a presidente, a secretario general, and three secretarios, one for political action, one for peasant action, and one for progressive action. For women's affairs, a presidente and two vocales are nominated. These offices tend to be occupied by members of the young elite. The civil officials did not show this tendency in 1973, but it was obvious in 1974. The presidente of the municipio for 1974 is a young promotor of INI, around thirty years of age, who was the secretario general of the Committee for PRI of Ayutla in 1973. Also in 1974, another unmarried young man, who was the secretario for political action of the committee in 1973, became the suplente of the síndico. In 1975 a promotor of INI, who was the presidente of the PRI committee in 1973, took the office of suplente of the presidente.

In 1973 there are many new offices in addition to the traditional ones. All of these have been added since 1970 to meet social necessity, under the impact of the federal and state governments, as in the case in Tlahui. For the management of the kindergarten there is the *Comitê del Kindergarten*, composed of a presidente, a tesorero, a secretaria chosen from among the teachers, and two vocales. For the

management of the primary school there is the *Comité de la Enseñanza Primaria* (Committee for Primary Education), composed of a presidente, a tesorero, a secretario chosen from among the teachers, and five to eleven vocales—the number of which is variable according to the needs for the year. For the problems regarding communal land there is the *Comité de Bienes Comunales* (Committee for Communal Property), composed of a presidente, a suplente, a tesorero, a secretario, and two vocales. For irrigation policy there is the *Comité de Riego* (Committee for Irrigation), composed of a presidente, a tesorero, a secretario, and two vocales. The promotores of INI and IIISEO are obliged to participate in the meetings of this committee by order of the municipal presidente. For the introduction and management of electricity there is the *Comité de la Luz* (Committee for Electricity), composed of a presidente, a suplente, a tesorero, a secretario, and some vocales—the number of which is changeable according to the year. The dancers trained in the Colonial dances have not yet organized a committee, but for the purpose of conserving their dances they have a teacher who plays the role of leader.

On the religious side, the *Comité de la Iglesia* (Committee for the Church) is composed of a presidente, a tesorero, a secretario, and six vocales. This committee organizes the minor religious fiestas in cooperation with the missionaries but independently of the municipio. At the fiesta of the patron saints, however, the committee cooperates with the municipio. As the manager of church affairs, the committee is entrusted with the collection of alms and the sale of candles which women, entrusted by the committee, do at the major entrance of the church. Six vocales are divided into two groups of three, and each group takes care of the church every other week. Outside the Committee for the Church there are an organist, some auxiliares who work as interpreters for the priest, and some catechists whose number varies from time to time. In 1974 the Mixe Bishopric of the Salesians was not yet well organized, and these helpers of the church were not given official positions in the missionary organization. In the near future, however, according to the plans of the Salesians, they will be given official positions and small payments.

The transformation of the mayordomías into communal sponsorship of the fiestas is a notable feature of the Ayutla of 1973 and 1974. The expenditures for the minor religious fiestas, formerly sponsored by the mayordomos, are now paid for by the Committee for the Church, which manages the church fund. The committee pays for the mass, adorns the altar, and buys the skyrockets. Usually the fiesta ends with this, but details vary from fiesta to fiesta.

Two saints, La Soledad and Guadalupe, retain their "mayordomos." They are still called "mayordomos" by the people but, more precisely speaking, they are padrinos for the mass who pay for the mass and the food on the day of the fiesta but do not manage the funds of the saints. Two new saints not reported by Beals, Santa Cecilia and Juquila, also have "mayordomos" which are really padrinos for the mass.

The fiestas of the patron saints are organized by the *Comité de Festejos* (Feast Committee) which is temporarily organized by the municipal officials. It is composed

of a presidente, a secretario, and three *ayudantes* (assistants), chosen from among the promotores and teachers who were born and raised in Ayutla.

The "mayordomo" (padrino for the mass) is selected by the Feast Committee in cooperation with the municipal officials. In case the committee cannot get a candidate, it has to play the role of the "mayordomo" by getting financial help from the municipal fund and collecting alms from individuals. This happened in 1970. But usually the committee can find a candidate for "mayordomo" each year, and sometimes there is more than one candidate. In January 1973, at the fiesta of San Pablo, the committee secured two "mayordomos," so the village could have mass on two days. The expenditure of the "mayordomo" is not small. He pays for the mass and gives food to the band and all the visitors. According to the estimates, he will spend 2,000 to 4,000 pesos. This so-called "mayordomo" system in the Ayutla of 1973 corresponds to the "madrina for the mass" in Tlahui. In Tlahui the expenditures are collectively paid by numerous madrinas, while in Ayutla a "mayordomo" pays it all. In this respect, even in 1973, Ayutla retains her prestige economy.

The capitán for the band is an economically heavy office, but in Ayutla, where the storekeepers and intermediary merchants (between the monopolistic buyers and the small Mixe vendors) earn more than before, it is not hard to find candidates. In 1973 and 1974 small restaurants called *fondas* flourished in Ayutla, serving food to the federal and state employees who traveled in the region. Even women owners of restaurants aspired to become capitán.[3] At the fiesta of San Pablo, in January, three to fifteen capitanes are appointed. The number varies each year according to the number of bands invited. At the fiesta of San Pedro, in June, usually no bands are invited, so no capitanes are appointed.

There is a difference in the psychological orientation of those interested in "mayordomo" and those interested in capitán for the band. Those who are religiously oriented want to accept "mayordomía" (padrino for the mass), while those interested in economic prestige tend to serve as capitán. The social prestige enjoyed by the holders of these two offices differs in character but not in degree. In 1973 it is difficult to confirm Beals's statement on the Ayutla of 1933 that "the service of *mayordomo* has more prestige and involves in the native mind somewhat greater spiritual rewards than does service as a captain" [BEALS 1945: 66].

The padrinos for fireworks is still an office for a single person. It is never done collectively as in Tlahui. At each fiesta of the patron saints, makers of fireworks are invited from Tlahui, Tepantlali, or Tlacolula. Usually two or three firework displays are burned and one padrino is sought to pay for each firework.

The "mayordomo" (padrino) for the mass, the capitán for the band, and the padrino for the fireworks sponsor the fiesta in cooperation with the Feast Committee and the municipio. They assume the economic burden necessary to equip the fiesta

3. In Mesoamerican ethnography the capitán is an office taken only by a male member of the community. In 1975 most of the government agencies left Ayutla. So in 1976 the restaurants had far fewer customers than in 1973 and 1974. It is supposed that the owners of the restaurants were, therefore, less inclined to serve as capitanes, but I could not confirm this.

in a traditional manner. In the Ayutla of 1973, in which the fiesta increases in its festive elements, there are many new kinds of entertainment. The Feast Committee has to invite an orchestra from Oaxaca, sponsor the basketball game, and set up the merry-go-round. To accumulate funds to sponsor this new entertainment the committee, many days before the date of the fiesta, organizes popular dances with the help of a modern band named Conjunto Ayuuk, which specializes in modern Mexican music, and sells tickets, the profit of which is channeled to cover the new types of expenditure. Usually the storehouse of the INI is used as the dance hall. Women are also authorized by the committee to sell soft drinks and snacks. The profits are deposited in the fund of the Feast Committee. For one or two months before the day of the fiesta, families near the centro have to suffer the noise of these dances.

On the day of the fiesta, when the orchestra comes from Oaxaca, the committee sells tickets for the event. In 1973 and 1974 this method of collecting funds became very popular, not only for sponsoring the fiesta but also for raising funds for any communal project, such as the construction of toilets for the kindergarten.

The municipio and the Feast Committee buy trophies and offer food to the visiting players for the basketball championship. A trophy is given to the winning team and on this occasion some madrinas for sportsmen are appointed to contribute 10 pesos and pin ribbons on the winning players. This mestizo element has already been reported by Beals from the Ayutla of 1933 [BEALS 1945: 73].

At the fiesta of San Pablo in January 1973 a merry-go-round was requested from Oaxaca. The municipal presidente, along with the Feast Committee, had to look for somebody who could give food to the engineers of the merry-go-round. The "mayordomo" (padrino) for the mass was obliged to accept the request of the presidente and the committee, and he was appointed *capitán de la máquina* (captain for the machine).

To sponsor the bullfight, madrinas for the bullfight were appointed by the Feast Committee. Several young ladies as madrinas were to buy sombreros adorned with ribbons. At the closing ceremony, at the corral, they gave the sombreros to the winning fighters and then danced with them.

In addition to the series of traditional fiestas mentioned above, some fiestas are organized by the religious associations in cooperation with the missionaries. Beals reported only one *cofradía*, that of the Corazón de Jesús which originated, he supposed, close to 1933 [BEALS 1945: 68]. In 1973 and 1974, in addition to this cofradía, there are associations of Carmen, Adoradores, and María-Auxiliadora. The cofradía of the Corazón de Jesús, composed of some 80 male and female members, is the most popular of the four associations. That of Carmen is composed of female members; that of the Adoradores is of recent origin, having been promoted by the Salesians, and is composed of approximately 80 men. The Salesians organized also an association of María-Auxiliadora, their patron saint. It is composed of fifteen young women and a group of small girls. All these associations share a similarity in their way of celebrating fiestas: the members contribute a small amount of money,

foods, and flowers, and any particular member is not obliged to carry the economic burden for the celebration of their saints.

As we have seen so far, in the Ayutla of the 1970s the civil organization is completely separated from the religious one and is going to overshadow it. With the increase in contacts with the world of the *agats,* the civil organization, actively staffed by the young educational elite such as the teachers and the INI promotores, will become more important year by year. Another trend noticeable in the time span between 1933 and 1973–74 is the transformation of the mayordomías into the communal sponsorship of the fiestas. Some fiestas are organized and sponsored by the religious associations in cooperation with the missionaries. Minor fiestas are sponsored by the Committee for the Church, sometimes assisted by the padrinos for the mass (still called "mayordomos" by the villagers). The fiestas of the major saints are managed by the Feast Committee temporarily organized by the municipio, assisted financially by the padrinos for the mass (expenditure of more than 2,000 pesos), capitanes for the band (expenditure of around 2,000 pesos) and for the merry-go-round, the padrinos for fireworks (expenditure of 800 pesos), and madrinas for the basketball game and for the bullfight. In addition to this way of equipping the fiestas of the major saints with necessary fiesta elements, the people of Ayutla invite new types of entertainment from Oaxaca such as orchestra and merry-go-round. For raising funds, people sell tickets and food, channeling the profits into the fund of the Feast Committee. Thus, sponsoring fiestas at Ayutla has been transformed in accordance with the new needs and new social realities of the people.

Chapter 10

Changes in Rituals

This chapter describes and comments on the changes which have occurred in the rituals of Ayutla: 1) the decline of family and individual rituals, 2) the strong influence of the missionaries on religious fiestas, 3) the simplification and secularization of religious fiestas, 4) the politicization of the rituals of the officials, and 5) the advent of national fiestas.

Decline of Family and Individual Rituals

Family and individual rituals have been affected by the decline of traditional Mixe sacrifice, the advance of Catholic rituals, and the influence of the customs of the Oaxaca Valley and of the Republic in general. The data are presented with reference to comparative data from Tlahui and the 1933 data from Ayutla reported by Beals.

Rituals of Life Crisis

Owing to the difficulty of obtaining firewood, pregnant women cannot enjoy the temazcal (sweatbath) as do the women in Tlahui. For many years the temazcal has been a luxury in Ayutla, and now even more so.

In Ayutla midwives are invited more frequently than in Tlahui. In Tlahui, on the twentieth day after the delivery of a child, a little fiesta celebrates the birth, but the baptism tends to be delayed several years. In Ayutla a fiesta is held on the day of baptism, which is performed earlier than in Tlahui.

Communion and confirmation are performed in conformity with church doctrine more regularly in Ayutla. Communion is given to a group of children of five to seven years old. For a boy the parents must seek a padrino and for a girl a madrina. Sometimes, communion for girls is combined with the fiesta of María-Auxiliadora, the patron saint of the Salesians. For example, girls who received communion on May 24, 1973, the day of this saint, made a procession for the image of the saint, after which they performed recreational programs at the patio of the church, under the instruction of the nuns. Confirmation for a group of children is also performed when the bishop visits Ayutla.

In Ayutla the church is pursuing a tenacious policy of evangelization, and children who are to undergo communion and confirmation are obliged to receive catechism from the nuns.

Most marriages follow the traditional municipio endogamy, but marriage with *agats* is increasing gradually, especially with those of Santa María Albarradas and San Lorenzo Albarradas, and the people of the Oaxaca Valley, owing to the increase in contacts with the external world.

Betrothal has not yet become popular except among highly acculturated youths. The conservative people criticize them, calling them "disagreeable and provoking young ones like *agats*."

In Tlahui the traditional Mixe form of marriage has been maintained. The people follow a series of detailed processes that include repeated petitions, an informal fiesta before living together, and finally formal marriage sanctioned by the church after the arrival of at least the first child. This traditional form of marriage has long since disappeared in Ayutla. Already in 1933, when Beals visited this village, Ayutla more than the other "conservative" villages favored religious marriage [BEALS 1945: 41]. At present, under the impact of evangelization, the people in Ayutla, especially young ones, feel morally obliged to conform to the Catholic doctrine, and they like to be married formally at the church before living together.

Under these circumstances "living together," which was an indispensable process before performing religious marriage, tends to be understood now as an immoral condition. Despite this trend in Ayutla, there are many unmarried mothers, as Beals commented [BEALS 1945: 48–49]. The large number of unmarried mothers might be attributed to economic affluence that enables some to support more than one woman. During Beals's time it was customary to ridicule them at the fiesta of the patron saint [BEALS 1945: 49, 75], but this custom disappeared many years ago.

A religious marriage requires a mass and the fiesta of *fandango*, which costs at least 300 pesos. First, a mass is celebrated by the priest in conformity with the formal doctrine as described in reference to Tlahui. When the party returns to the husband's house, the fandango begins. Already, around 1930, the great fandango had ceased in Ayutla [BEALS 1945: 41]. At present people spend only one day for it. The Ayutla fandango is now influenced by the marriage ceremony in the Oaxaca Valley. The band is invited and the fandango dances are enjoyed as in the Oaxaca Valley. First, the padrino and the madrina dance, followed by the padrino and the bride together with the madrina and the bridegroom; then the padrino dances with the mother of the bridegroom and the madrina with the father of the bride. After that, the bride and the bridegroom dance, and finally, all the people invited dance among themselves. In the Oaxaca Valley various *sones* are played in turn, but in Ayutla some sones are repeated during the fandango. When the fandango is over, everybody returns home carrying flowers presented by the sponsor of the fandango.

For confession and extreme unction, people invite the priest, and a wake is the same as in Tlahui. People bring flowers and candles to the wake, and are entertained with coffee and bread.

The people of the ranchos make a coarse coffin, but some of the centro buy an elegant one from the funeral home at Oaxaca City. The color of shroud used in Ayutla reflects the Christianization of this village. White, green, or blue is chosen. Blue is their favorite color, for they believe that the dead in a blue shroud can go to the sky. Red is never used since it is believed that red invites the flames of purgatory. *Huaraches* of pure leather must be placed in the coffin. Nylon huaraches are never used because it is believed that they, too, invite the flames of purgatory.

In Tlahui, on the night of the wake, a mayordomo of the church visits the house of the deceased bringing two candles, and on the day of the funeral a cantor and a fiscal come to invite the deceased to the church and then to the cemetery. In Ayutla religious officials do not participate actively in the funeral. Only the cantor comes to the cemetery, with the band that attends the funeral procession.

The funeral mass is performed more frequently in Ayutla than in Tlahui, partly because it is easier to obtain a priest there, and partly because of the people's willingness to accept the formal Catholic ritual.

The funeral procession, especially that of the inhabitants of the centro, is better organized than that of Tlahui; many people participate with candles and flowers, and the band plays the funeral march. Some Ayutleños can afford to pay for the funeral ritual, which is a luxury to the people of Tlahui. It costs 50–70 pesos for the mass and about 200 pesos for the band (about 10 pesos is paid to each musician).

The novena in Ayutla is equally long—nine days—for members of both sexes. In Tlahui the solemn novena continues for nine days for men and seven for women. Again, in Ayutla the novena is more expensive than in Tlahui; more people are invited and entertained with coffee and bread, and sometimes the band is invited.

After the funeral some people visit the cemetery every fifteen days to put flowers and candles on the tomb. After this there is no special ritual dedicated to the dead until All Saints' Day.

Other Rituals

Sacrifice has declined markedly in Ayutla for agricultural rituals, leaving its traces only in the ritual drinking of tepache and mezcal. Already in 1933 Beals noted the decline of sacrifice in Ayutla as compared with the other, more conservative villages [BEALS 1945: Chapter 7]. Since about 1962, when the Salesian missionaries started evangelization, the attitudes of Ayutleños toward sacrifice seem to have become negative.

At present the people like to refer to a *xemabie* not by this Mixe term but by the Spanish euphemism *abogado* (lawyer). In the ranchos, the power of "*abogados*" still persists, but in the centro mere mention of the term *abogado* incurs sneers or refusals to continue conversation. The usual response is: "We are civilized. Don't make fools of us. We are not like those of Tlahui or Mixistlán."

In 1933 Beals [1945: 92] noted two forms of ritual activities for planting: the Catholic form and the conservative Mixe form. In 1973 and 1974 the Catholic form

continues to be practiced, but the traditional Mixe form has lost its crucial process of sacrifice, and only the drinking of tepache and mezcal persists.

The publicly known date for planting is March 15, although the date actually varies from place to place according to altitude. Before starting for the field on the morning of the planting day, the family eats a bean soup seasoned with avocado leaves, called *xejkuvia.* Then the family and its helpers go to the field with the pick-ax and bags containing the seeds of corn, squash, and beans. While planting, they take a rest, enjoying tepache with pozole. When planting is over, they are offered mezcal, beef soup, and bean tamales. They follow the ritual way of drinking tepache and mezcal, the same as the people of Tlahui, but the associated prayer in Ayutla is more Christianized. It runs, "San Pedro, San Pablo, y Tierra (Earth)" or "San Pedro, San Pablo, y Espíritu Santo (Holy Spirit)."

When Beals visited Ayutla, "turkey sacrifices" still survived to celebrate corn growth [BEALS 1945: 93]. At present no sacrifice is practiced for the celebration of any phase of corn growth. People just bring the first ears of corn to their favorite saints in the church. The family fiesta of eating the first ears is still practiced as described by Beals [1945: 93], except for the women's act of striking the guests with the ears of corn cooked and roasted in the ashes.

For livestock, each family gets benediction from the priest in an open space near the plaza, after the mass is said for San Isidro Labrador on May 15.

When petitioning for rain in time of drought, around 1933, the conservatives used to sacrifice a guajolote at the great cave above the village, according to Beals [1945: 94]. Even in those days no communal sacrifice was practiced for rain.[1] Along with sacrifice there was a Catholic ritual for the community. In times of serious drought people had a procession of the image of San Pablo. After the procession, the priest and the people brought the image up to the cross near the big cave above the village, where the priest said the mass, after which all of them enjoyed tepache [BEALS 1945: 94], as they still do on the Day of the Cave. At present neither sacrifice nor procession is practiced for rain-making.

To bless a new house, people invite the priest and hold a little fiesta after the benediction. In Tlahui some people put figures of Eucharistic custody or crosses at the peak of the roof. In Ayutla some old houses have figures of crosses on the roof peak, but today nobody decorates a newly constructed house in this way.

The curing of *susto* is like that in Tlahui except for a slight difference in the process. In Tlahui, people eat earth taken from the place where they fall down. In Ayutla they take earth from the place, mix it with spittle, and make a sign of cross on the chest and forehead. In this way the people of Ayutla indicate that they are more accustomed to Christian symbolism than those of Tlahui.

In Ayutla I learned of an interesting case of susto which happened to a girl malad-

1. The relative scarcity of rain-making ritual in the Mixe region, as compared with that of Zapotec villages, was noted by Beals [1945: 98–99].

justed in an urban situation. The girl, once a maid in Mexico City, told me her case of susto as follows:

> *When I was in Mexico, I happened to pass near a water tank where I almost fell down. I was frightened a great deal but I did not tell this to anybody. Later, I became ill. The patron gave me various types of medicine, but I was not cured. When I came back to Ayutla, I took a lot of medicine but all was in vain. Then, my family sent me to a susto-curer. He cured me by using a red cock to catch my soul....I did not return to Mexico City. With the money I saved there, I opened a small restaurant on my mother's lot, and began my life in Ayutla.*

In this case the frustration she had endured turned out to be a syndrome of susto, which gave her a chance to rationalize her decision to return home, leaving behind the urban situation in which she had suffered.

The curanderos still function in Ayutla. They depend on curing by temazcal sessions and various medicinal plants. Along with this traditional medicine, the dispensaries of the church, INI, and the *Comisión del Papaloapan* dispense modern medicine.

The people, however, do not want to abandon the procession of San Pablo that serves to defend the village against epidemic, a custom already reported by Beals [1945: 95]. On June 30, 1973, the day of the fiesta of San Pedro, another patron saint, the religious officials came to the parish house and said to the priest, "Father! The weather is bad, and we have many sick people. Let us have a procession of San Pedro to clean the village." The procession in Ayutla is a simplified version of the traditional one found in Mixistlán and Yacochi. In these villages the procession is composed of a flutist and a tambour player who play only outside the church, topiles who set off skyrockets, musicians of the band, the sacristán with an incense burner, acolytes, those carrying the image of the saint, carriers of the canopy, the priest, capillos, fiscales, mayordomos, and finally the villagers carrying candles and flowers walking separately according to their sex. In Ayutla the procession is simpler, and is composed of the people who set off skyrockets, musicians, the carriers of the image of the saint, the priest, and the villagers grouped according to sex.

To buy mass or responso, people of Ayutla visit the parish house for motives which are more closely aligned with Catholic ideas than in Tlahui.

People's attention to the saints seems to have developed more than in Tlahui. Among the many saints, Carmen and María-Auxiliadora have associations of female members (*socias*), and the Corazón de Jesús has a *cofradía* of male and female members (*cofrades*).

The zeal for pilgrimages has declined markedly in Ayutla. Ayutleños no longer go to the sanctuaries deep in the mountains, nor to the places in the region of the Mountain Zapotec. However, Santa Catarina Albarradas and Juquila Costa, the two famous pilgrimage centers in the state of Oaxaca, still attract them. Recently, the Soledad of Oaxaca City and the Villa of Mexico City have become the sanctuaries most favored by the people of Ayutla.

Strong Influence of the Missionaries on Religious Fiestas

First, let us look at a list of religious fiestas celebrated in Ayutla (Table 13). In the first column the names of the fiestas reported by Beals are listed, of which fourteen had mayordomos. The fiestas celebrated in 1974 are listed in the second column. Comparing the two columns, it can be seen that five fiestas have been added in the forty years between 1933 and 1973–74: Carmen, Santa Cecilia, Juquila, and San Juan Bosco and María-Auxiliadora, the patron saints of the Salesians.

Beals did not provide a firm description of each fiesta and its mayordomía. Therefore, much must be assumed in attempting to reconstruct the changes that have occurred in the fiestas of Ayutla. However, a comparison of the data on each fiesta celebrated in 1973 and 1974 with some of the fragmentary descriptions left by Beals, and the information that I obtained, reveals some general tendencies in the changes that have taken place in the religious fiestas. The first tendency to be mentioned is the strong influence of evangelization by the Salesians.

Table 13. Calendar of the Religious Fiestas (Ayutla 1933–1974)

Fiestas in 1933 [Beals 1945: 65]	Fiestas in 1974	Dates
○ San Pablo	● San Pablo	Jan. 25
○ San José	+ San Juan Bosco	Jan. 31
○ Dolorosa	San José	Mar. 19
○ Santo Entierro	Lent and Holy Week	movable
○ Jesús Nazaleno		
○ Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	May 3
○ San Isidro	San Isidro	May 15
○ Corazón de María	+ María-Auxiliadora	May 24
○ San Antonio (de Padua)	San Antonio	June 13
= Corpus Christi		
○ Corazón de Jesús	Corazón de Jesús	movable
○ San Pedro	● San Pedro	June 29
= Virgen del Rosario	+ Carmen	July 16
○ Todos los Santos	Todos los Santos	Nov. 1–2
○ Guadalupe	+ Santa Cecilia	Nov. 22
○ La Soledad	● + Juquila	Dec. 8
La Sagrada Familia*	Guadalupe	Dec. 12
	● La Soledad	Dec. 18
	● La Navidad	Dec. 25

○ mayordomía
● "mayordomía" (=padrino for the mass)
= there was only a mass paid for by the regidores in 1933
\+ fiesta added between 1933 and 1974
* Beals wrote, "Whether the New Year is a true mayordomía or not, I could not learn" [Beals 1945: 68]. According to my informants, the New Year is not a mayordomía. It was and still is sponsored by a padrino.

The first phenomenon to be observed is the increase in ritual activities of the religious associations (see Chapter 9), in consonance with the missionaries. The members of the cofradía of the Corazón de Jesús gather each first Friday of the month for the morning mass, after which they listen to sermons given by the priest. They then take breakfast together in the parish house. On the day of the fiesta in June (in 1974 it fell on June 21, but this is a movable fiesta) the morning song (*mañanita*) is played very early in the morning and the high mass is celebrated at noon with the band. When it is over, a snack is served to the members at the parish house. The dancers are invited and Los Negritos is danced at the patio of the parish house. Then the members have a procession of the image walking around the church and parish house. The members of the association of Carmen come to church to hear a mass on the sixteenth of each month. On July 16, the day of Carmen, the high mass is read for them. They organize the procession and a snack is offered to them. The members of the Adoradores gather and listen to the priest's sermon on the first Saturday of each month. The members of the association of María-Auxiliadora meet on the twenty-fourth of each month. From May 24 to May 31, the *posada* ritual is performed. In the morning the image is carried in procession from the church to the house of a madrina of the posada. There the members are offered coffee and bread. In the evening, before the mass, the image is brought back to the church. This process is repeated for eight days. On the day of the fiesta (usually May 24, but the date is movable according to the convenience of the missionaries), the bishop visits Ayutla to attend the first communion of female children. From Oaxaca many patrons of the Salesians come to celebrate the fiesta of the patron saint of this religious order. At the patio of the parish house recreational programs are performed by the members and all the participants are offered a snack. Thus, the missionaries are extending their influence year by year, organizing religious associations and teaching orthodox Mexican Catholicism.

The influence of evangelization by the missionaries is best exemplified in the transformation of the fiesta of Santa Cruz. Beals provided the data on the practice of the fiesta of Santa Cruz in 1933, which shows the relationship between Santa Cruz and the Day of the Cave [BEALS 1945: 67–68]. The fiesta of Santa Cruz in 1973–74 is separated from the Day of the Cave (it is connected with the Mothers' Day rituals on May 10, as described later). Since around 1967, Santa Cruz began to be celebrated at the Salesian school in Matagallinas. Since this place belongs to Rancho Santa Cruz Portillo, the missionaries could justify the celebration of the fiesta there. The following information is based on my observation of this fiesta of May 3, 1973.

At a spot from which the footpath to Matagallinas starts, the missionaries organized a procession of Santa Cruz, the image carried by the uniformed pupils of their school. To the tune of the band, the procession slowly descended to the chapel of Matagallinas around which the people set up many stalls to sell snacks, bread, and coffee. The silent field of Matagallinas turned into a noisy place on this day. Three buses arrived from Oaxaca, bringing the patrons of the Salesians, guests of honor, whose presence gave a different look to Matagallinas, which is usually visited only

by the Mixe and the Salesian missionaries. On this day 12 priests belonging to the Mixe Bishopric also came and read a group mass on a platform decorated especially for this day. The general atmosphere typifies the passionate, militaristic, and aggressive evangelization of this religious order.

Formerly, May 3 was celebrated as the Day of the Cave, but now people of the centro celebrate it on May 10, which corresponds to Mothers' Day in the Mexican calendar. Early in the morning on this day the band plays a morning song and children of the school sing all through the centro under the instruction of the teachers. The mass begins at 10:00 A.M. When it is over, the people walk along the footpath leading to the big cave located above the village, about an hour distant.[2] The cave is hidden in dense woods, the entrance decorated with plants; in front of the rock wall inside the cave are three images—San Pedro, Santa Cruz, and San Pablo, from left to right (Plate 32). In front of these images alms of corn, potatos, and coins are left. Santa Cruz was installed sometime before 1933. The images of San Pedro and San Pablo were installed by the bishop about 1965 for the purpose of dealing a fatal blow to the custom of sacrifice. This decision is criticized by some priests, who think that the bishop accepted the syncretism in putting the sacred images of Catholic saints in the "pagan" center of sacrifice. Other priests feel that it might be better to dynamite this cave. A little above the cave is a large wooden cross with the date 1911 written on it. The priest reads the mass near the cross, and speaks out against the custom of sacrifice. When the mass is over, the congregation proceeds higher up to a small open field where they enjoy tepache and tamales, and dance the Fandango Mixe. Usually, higher category officials participate in this communion, but in 1973, they came but left early to prepare the Mothers' Day fiesta that took place that same evening at the municipio.

Simplification and Secularization of Religious Fiestas

Simplification in the Major Catholic Fiestas

Partly as a result of evangelization by the Salesians, the major Catholic fiestas are being simplified and standardized.

Lent

The *ceniza* and the Vía Crucis are performed in conformity with the liturgy. The civil officials play no role in the Vía Crucis, unlike in Tlahui and the other highland

2. Beals [1945: 87–88] describes how this big cave was in 1933. There is in Ayutla another cave (named the Cave of the Spring in Beals [1945: 88, 90]) near a stream at the boundary between the centro and Rancho Cerro Amole. In this cave a large wooden cross has been erected as a symbol against sacrifice. I visited this cave three times, and each time I found corn leaves used for tamales, some guajolote feathers, and broken eggs (eggs are favorite offerings of the people of Tamazulapam who live near here). This demonstrates that the cave is still used for sacrifice, but possibly because of its small size and lack of popularity, no special fiesta is celebrated there.

villages. In these villages the civil officials of higher category carry the image of Jesús en la Cruz, whereas in Ayutla any person is permitted to carry it, assisted by the vocales of the church. As far as I could see, the members of the Corazón de Jesús are requested to carry it by the missionaries. At each of fourteen cross stations the priest gives a sermon, using the microphone carried by the capillo. The atmosphere is very prosaic.

Holy Week

Simplification is evident in the ritual processes I observed during Holy Week in Ayutla, compared with those Beals observed in Ayutla in 1933. The following processes have been curtailed:

1. In 1933 Holy Week influenced the function of the civil officials. Beals noted as follows: "There is no 'justice' all week. The officers of the town leave their canes of office in church from Palm Sunday until Easter Saturday, a symbol that they abandon all authority" [BEALS 1945: 75]. At present the civil officials do not play any role during Holy Week. Some young officials even mock the lengthy rituals. For example, during Holy Week of 1973, when the bishop guided the procession of the Vía Dolorosa toward the Calvary, one secretario of the municipio and two teachers were standing near the procession and openly criticized this ritual, talking loudly while the bishop was inviting them by microphone to participate in the procession;
2. In 1933, prior to Holy Week, the topiles of the municipio collected half an *almud* of corn, beans, or the equivalent in eggs, and 25 centavos from all the families of the municipio, and with these alms prepared the dishes for the apostles. On Holy Thursday 13 dishes were served to the apostles [BEALS 1945: 76].[3] In 1973 and 1974 the apostles were served only bread and coffee;
3. The centurion and the soldiers enriched Holy Thursday of 1933 [BEALS 1945: 77], but in 1973 and 1974 they did not appear;
4. The image of San Juan went to Calvary with the Soledad and Dolorosa on the night of Holy Friday [BEALS 1945: 78]. In 1973–74 the image of San Juan did not appear; and
5. The topilillos offered atole to the people on Holy Friday morning and the members of the civil officials had to offer atole to the people on Easter Saturday [BEALS 1945: 76]. By 1973 and 1974 this custom had been lost.

In contrast to these simplifications of the ritual processes, the pressure of the missionaries is strong. During Holy Week the bishop is stationed in Ayutla to take advantage of the occasion for the propagation of Catholicism. A series of programs are organized and sponsored by missionaries, as follows:

On Holy Monday

Nuns invite the people to the parish house for a film explaining the story of the resurrection of Christ.

3. There is a gap between the people's explanation and the list of dishes Beals collected. The former shows 12 dishes and the latter 13 dishes. Beals himself is not sure which is the correct figure [BEALS 1945: 76].

On Holy Wednesday

The bishop gives a sermon to the people.

On Holy Thursday

All the priests stationed in Juquila and Tlahui, four in all, come to Ayutla and consecrate the Holy Oil with the bishop on the platform erected on the patio of the parish house. The members of the Corazón de Jesús participate in the Last Supper and the *Lavatorio* and they are given seats in a corner, especially set aside on the patio.

On Holy Friday

The missionaries organize a prayer meeting with the associations of María-Auxiliadora and Carmen and the *cofradía* of the Corazón de Jesús. In the evening after the procession of Santo Entierro, the missionaries try to show the film of the resurrection again in the church.

On Holy Saturday

After the Mass of Glory, entertainment is provided at the parish house and the assembled people are offered snacks. After this, the image of Judas, prepared by the bishop, is burned. This is quite a new element for Holy Week in Ayutla. All these plans proceed under the instruction of missionaries. In 1973 the teachers wanted to hold a popular dancing party with the record player at the hour of the Mass of Glory, but this plan made the missionaries nervous and it did not take place.

All Saints' Day

All Saints' Day in Ayutla differs little from that in Tlahui, except some customs attached to it.

The concern of the people with the cemetery is deeper than in Tlahui. One week before the novena, people clean the graves, replace a fallen cross with a new one painted blue or white, and decorate the grave with *cempasúchil* and *flor de muertos* flowers. The topiles of the municipio clean the communal cross and remove garbage from the cemetery. Unlike Tlahui, people leave many offerings at the cemetery, including cigarettes, tepache, mezcal, green ears of corn, chayote, fruits, tamales, candles, and coins.

At each house people set up a family altar, decorating it with China paper or cempasúchil and flor de muertos flowers. They make the above-mentioned offerings, as well as pan de muertos made in Ayutla or brought from the Valley of Oaxaca.

October 31 is the Day of the Angels, on which dead children will visit their families. This is an *agats* concept. In Ayutla, people know this custom but do not perform any rituals for dead children.

At 7:00 A.M. on November 1, All Saints' Day, mass is said at the church. At 11:00 A.M. the procession of the image of Cristo Rey heads for the cemetery with the priest and people singing songs of praise. There the rosaries are dedicated to the dead (Plate 33). At midday another mass is said in the church, after which people in several groups visit the village houses, praying and receiving part of the offerings. This

custom is practiced only by the capillos in Tlahui, but in Ayutla by anybody who is interested in it.

At midday on November 2, the mass is said at the cemetery, and afterwards, five rosaries are recited until 2 : 00 P.M.

Christmas and New Year

There are two types of padrinos from Christmas to New Year: the padrino for the posada, and the padrino for Niño Jesús on December 24. The latter is an element not found in Tlahui.

The posada is performed for eight nights from December 16 to December 23. There are so many candidates for the padrino that it is easy to find eight. This is a situation very different from Tlahui, where the fiscales have great difficulty in finding candidates.

The posada ritual in Ayutla is similar to that in Tlahui. In the evening the Sagrada Familia, accompanied by the band and the participants in the procession, is carried to two houses where the posada is ritually denied by the chorus group inside the house. Finally it is accepted at the third house of the padrino, where the Sagrada Familia is stationed at the decorated altar to be worshipped by the visitors. The padrino serves coffee and bread to the musicians and the participants in the procession. After chatting, eating, and praying to the image on the altar, they end the posada. The Sagrada Familia is kept one night at the house of the padrino and on the morning of the following day returned to the church. This process is repeated for eight consecutive nights prior to December 24.

The padrino for Niño Jesús is chosen for the evening of December 24. On that evening he invites the band to his house where the image is stationed. To the music of the band the image is returned to the church, carried by the daughters, nieces, and female relatives of the padrino, all dressed in white.

On December 25 Christmas is celebrated at the church, in conformity with the Catholic rituals.

On December 31 and January 1 the padrino for Niño Jesús must ritualize the birth of the New Year. At 6 : 00 P.M. on December 31, the padrino brings candles to the church, and at 7 : 00 P.M. he takes the image from the church to his house. At 10 : 30 P.M. he returns the image to the church. On January 1, at 7 : 00 A.M., the mass of the padrino for Niño Jesús is read at the church to symbolize the birth of the New Year. Because of so many comings and goings with the band between the church and his house, the expenditures of the padrino for Niño Jesús are more than those of the padrino for the posada.

Around January 3 some families pay for a mass for the New Year and hold a fiesta with drinks and luxurious meals, inviting relatives, neighbors, friends, and sometimes even the federal employees with whom a member of the family works.

Secularization of the Fiestas of the Patron Saints

A fiesta element preserved in Tlahui and lost in Ayutla is the flute and drum. In 1933 Beals reported the use of guitar, violin, and mandolin music for dancing [BEALS 1945: 74]. In 1973 and 1974 I did not find these musical instruments used at any fiesta. The band and the record player are the main musical instruments used at the fiestas.

The new fiesta elements found in Ayutla but unknown to Tlahui are the orchestra hired from Oaxaca and the merry-go-round, also from Oaxaca. Except for these elements, the fiestas of the patron saints have the same elements as those of Tlahui, although the fiestas are tinged by secular festivity in Ayutla.

In Ayutla the calenda is a showy pageant in which men and women participate. Before twilight the calenda begins at the municipio. To the animated tune of the band, little girls and young women, the relatives and friends of the civil officials, begin to dance, holding flower baskets on their heads. The higher officials with their spouses make a front line of the calenda followed by *monos* in the shape of human female figures, globes, airplanes, and so forth, dancing girls, musicians, and the villagers (Plate 34). After a period of animated dancing in front of the municipio, the calenda proceeds to the open space in front of the church, where dancing continues for a while. Then, the line is reorganized to start for an edge of the centro which faces Tamazulapam, and returns to another edge of the village corresponding to the entrance to the centro from the direction of Mitla. At these two places people dance. Many people come to see the calenda and some try to dance; in the twilight the centro is full of musical sounds and joyful people.

The reception of the band is also showy. At the fiesta of San Pablo, on January 25, 1974, for the reception of the visiting bands, the officials of Ayutla asked the Coca-Cola agent in Oaxaca City to lend them a microbus equipped with a microphone so that they could enliven the reception. They stationed the microbus at the edge of the centro and greeted the visiting bands over the microphone while the band of Ayutla was receiving them. Those from other villages seemed a little surprised at this new style of reception.

The performance of the dance, which was originally dedicated to the Church, has lost its religious meaning in Ayutla, as far as we can judge from the time and circumstances when it is performed. Los Negritos (Plate 35) is performed as a secular dance. For example, on January 28, 1973, at the fiesta of San Pablo, Los Negritos was performed at the plaza from 1 : 00 to 2 : 30 P.M. while the mass was being said in the church, selling and vending were proceeding at the market, the basketball games were being performed on the municipal playground, and the bullfight was held on the open space below the plaza.

In 1933 there were many ritual humorists. For Los Negritos the performers of the masked "*viejo*" (old man) appeared, who functioned as clowns and policemen [BEALS 1945: 80–81]. In addition, the *tiznado*, a kind of clown, appeared as an element of Los Negritos [BEALS 1945: 71, 73]. In 1973 and 1974 these clowns had disappeared and only the dancers of Los Negritos remained.

The fiesta of Ayutla is being transformed into a more typically "Mexican" fiesta. For many years people here have been accustomed to the jovial and secular atmosphere of the fiesta. This trait is best exemplified in the performance of the dance of San José (Plate 36) and in the reaction of its audience. This dance is performed also in Mixistlán, but there is neither joviality nor active participation of the audience there. In contrast, in Ayutla the dancers and the audience create a theatrical world where both communicate with each other and enrich time and space with spontaneous laughter and jests.

It takes about two hours to perform this dance in its entirety. In a part of the dance, San José and María, acted by a masked man dressed in a blouse and a long skirt and holding a baby doll, deliver their lines (Plate 37). The original Spanish was transcribed by me from the notes of a dead dancer whose family kept them in a chest. Though it has some misspellings and ambiguous sentences, I reproduced it:

San José

1. *Sientate, sientate en esta sillita*
   porque quiero verte sentada en este asiento,
   que te presento hija mía [hijo mío].
2. *Sientate, sientate en este asiento,*
   que te presento vida mía,
   sientate, sientate en esta sillita. . . .
3. *Sientate, sientate, mamacita,*
   porque quiero verte sentada con gusto, con alegría,
   contenta y con anhelo.
4. *Aquí pon tus piesitos,*
   aquí pon tus piesitos,
   para que no se lastimen. . . .
5. *Vente, abrazo hija mía* [hijo mío].
   Vente, arrullo vida mía,
   vamos a buscar a tu mamacita
   para que te dé lechecita.
6. *Ten coge tu criaturita,*
   ten coge tu niñito,
   sino te doy una huartada [?] *y patada.*
   (*ahí canta la mujer tres veces*).
7. *Callate, callate hijo mío.*
   Callate, callate alma mía.
   Callate, callate cantorcito.
   Callate, callate hermoso mío.
8. *Callate, callate alma mía.*
   Callate, callate corazón mío.
   Callate, callate corazoncito.
   Callate, callate hijo mío.

9. *Acuestate, acuestate niñito.*
   Acuestate, acuestate muñequito.
   Voy a coser tu camisita
   para que la estrenes.
10. *Toma tu pan de huevo,*
    toma tu pan de Marquesote.
    Toma tu pan francês,
    toma tu pan de roseradito [?].
11. *Toma tu chocolalito,*
    toma tu caramelito,
    toma tu charamusquita.
    no seas grosero.
12. *Levantate, levantate hijo mío,*
    Levantate criaturita,
    vamos a buscar a tu papacito
    que te va a cargar.
13. *Toma tu morito,*
    toma tu muñequito,
    mira, mira qué chulo parece morito.
14. *Parate, parate mamacita,*
    parate, parate vida mía,
    vamos a bailar un Jarasito [Jarabesito]
    para que quede contento.

Hay maravilloso, hay maravilloso,
lloso, lloso, lloso,
nito, nito, nito.
Alarrorro nene, alarrorro nene,
nene, nene, nene,
nito chulo nito.
Pan de huevo con chocolate,
chocolate con pan de huevo
es muy sabroso
según he de tomar.
Chocolate, choco choco,
Choco choco chocolate,
es muy sabroso
según he de tomar.
es muy sabroso
según he de tomar.

Sigue el 1–5 del baile.

The speeches were obtained by courtesy of Srita. María del Socorro Ramírez Olivera. Square brackets are mine.

San José

1. Sit down, sit down on this chair.
   I like to see you sitting on this chair
   so that I can present my son to you.
2. Sit down, sit down on this chair
   so that I can present my life to you.
   Sit down, sit down on this chair. . . .
3. Sit down, sit down, dear mother,
   for I like to see you sitting with pleasure,
   with joy, contented and with longing.
4. Put your legs here,
   Put your legs here,
   so that they may not be hurt.
5. Come, I embrace my son.
   Come, I lull my life.
   Let us find your mamma
   so that she will give you milk.
6. Receive your creature.
   Receive your baby.
   If not, I will give you *huartada* [?] and kicks.
   (Here the woman sings three times).
7. Don't cry, don't cry, my son.
   Don't cry, don't cry, my soul.
   Don't cry, don't cry, dear singer.
   Don't cry, don't cry, my pretty one.
8. Don't cry, don't cry, my soul.
   Don't cry, don't cry, my heart.
   Don't cry, don't cry, dear heart.
   Don't cry, don't cry, my son.
9. Lie down, lie down, my son.
   Lie down, lie down, little doll.
   I will sew your shirt
   so that you can wear for the first time.
10. Eat your egg bread.
    Eat your Marquesote bread.
    Eat your French bread.
    Eat your *roseradito* [?] bread.
11. Have a little chocolate.
    Have a little caramel.

Have some biscuits.
Don't be rude.

12. Get up, get up, my son.
Get up, dear creature.
Let us find your papa
so that he will carry you.

13. Take your unbaptised baby.
Take your little doll.
Look, look how pretty the baby looks.

14. Stand up, stand up, dear mother.
Stand up, stand up, my love.
Let us dance a *jarabe*
so that the baby will get contented.

How wonderful, how wonderful
ful, ful, ful,
baby, baby, baby.
Alarrorro [?] baby, alarrorro baby,
baby, baby, baby,
baby, pretty, baby.
Bread of egg with chocolate,
chocolate with bread of egg,
is very delicious,
so I have to take it.
Chocolate, choco choco,
Choco choco, chocolate,
is very delicious,
so I have to take it.
It is very delicious,
so I have to take it.
(my trans.)

Throughout the dancing, a clown called *abuelo* (old man) works as policeman so that the people do not disturb the dancers. He wears a large straw hat, a dark brown wooden mask and a jacket, and carries a long cane. From his appearance, I suppose this abuelo is of the same kind as that viejo recorded by Beals [1945: 80–81].

While San José and María are delivering their lines, the abuelo cracks sexual jokes at the drunken dancing women of Tamazulapam and Tlahui (as the women of Ayutla do not drink alcoholic drinks except at home, they are not the targets of his jokes). A topil sprays water on the grounds where the dance is performed to prevent the dust from rising, and he himself tries to dance holding a water pail. Some Mixe, who can speak Spanish, insert improvised jests into the lines of San José and María. The women and girls of the village try to memorize the lines to sing them to their babies. The atmosphere in which the dance is performed is that of a public theater where the performers, sub-characters, and observers participate actively in the performance.

As in Tlahui, popular dances are actively performed by the people to the tunes of the Jarabe Mixe, Fandango Mixe, and Rey Kondoy, played by the band. At the same time, however, young people dance in a modern style to the recent Mexican pieces played by the record players or by the Conjunto Ayuuk, a musical band with electric instruments organized by young popular music lovers.

The people of Ayutla know how to enjoy the secular atmosphere. They appreciate the popular dancing party and the other social programs organized by the teachers and the promotores more than the mass and the morality play organized by the Church. During the fiestas of the patron saints, the recreational programs of the church often compete with those of the teachers to attract the people. This conflict of the two worlds will emerge as a crucial social problem in the near future.

Politicization of the Rituals of the Officials

The rituals of the officials show three trends: a decline of ritual elaboration, separation from the religious rituals, sometimes even showing a neglect of church rituals, and an increase in political bias. The following description and comments are based on my observation in 1973, 1974, and part of 1975. I have put the actual date of each observation for purposes of accuracy.

Dates for the Rituals

The dates for the election of the officials tend to be determined by pressure from some organization at the state level. For example, in 1974 people simply said, "Oaxaca made us choose the officials earlier than before." In the same year, on September 17, the loudspeaker of the municipio called for the people to gather for a meeting, but few came. Another meeting was planned for September 25. It was a cold and foggy day, as a result of nearby hurricanes. The meeting was held at the INI grounds. Three presidentes for the coming three years and the síndico and their suplentes for 1975 were elected. The appointment of the lower officials was delayed till the middle of November. These dates for election and appointment vary from year to year, according to external pressure and the convenience of the officials of Ayutla. The election of the presidente in 1973, for example, was carried out on November 17.

The Committee for the School is elected at the beginning of November each year. This election has nothing to do with the municipal officials and it does not attract much attention.

The Committee for the Musical Band is supposed to be elected by a popular vote, but, in reality, it is designated by the musicians one day before All Saints' Day.

The change of all the officials takes place before midnight on December 31 so as to offer the village the new officials on New Year's Day.

The dates for fiestas of the officials tend to change from year to year according to the convenience of the officials themselves.

The rituals of the officials are composed of three stages: first, the election; second, the change of the officials on December 31; and third, the fiesta sponsored by the officials. The first two have a political importance which, therefore, gives a highly political tinge to the ritual activities. The third has symbolic and religious significance and, when compared with the first two, is declining.

The Election

The following description is based on observations made in 1973. On November 17, at 11:00 A.M., the meeting begins at the grounds of the former military station. Three groups are there. The present officials are standing before a table with a microphone. The important people of the village, who have experience in offices or who have new offices outside the ayuntamiento, are standing with some PRI members from Oaxaca and the members of the Comité del PRI of Ayutla. The people of the centro and the ranchos are at the other side. First, the Comité del PRI of Ayutla is introduced. Second, the Oaxaca leader of PRI greets the people. Third, a teacher, an Ayutleño who lives in Oaxaca and who was once presidente of Ayutla, makes a speech of recommendation for a promotor of INI to be presidente. A brother of the teacher, who is also working in Oaxaca as a teacher, is in charge of the microphone and acts as master of ceremonies. The other candidates are announced but not followed by any speeches of recommendation. A group of people from Rancho Cerro Pelón, sympathizers of the said promotor working in this rancho, support the promotor for presidente and all of this group raise their hands for him. The promotor is chosen as presidente. Then, except for topiles and the agentes of the ranchos (vocales of the ranchos are appointed by the agente), all the municipal officials are chosen. The master of ceremonies does not even know who is who during this election, for he has not been living in Ayutla very long. When the election is over, the Oaxaca PRI chief again presents his greetings. Then the outgoing Ayutla PRI presidente greets the people. Thus ends the election of the higher officials.

As is clear from the above, all of the process is politically tinged. As accurately criticized by a woman in Ayutla, this political ritual is not a ritual of the village of Ayutla but one of the PRI of Oaxaca.

The Change of the Officials on December 31

In comparison with the rituals of the officials on New Year's Day in Tlahui, those of Ayutla are more separated from the church rituals and far from the ritual elaboration found in Tlahui. The following description is based on observation from the end of December 1974 to the beginning of January 1975.

On December 31 at 9 : 00 P.M., the band arrives at the house of the new presidente, who entertains them with mezcal and tepache. At 10 : 30 P.M., with the band at the head, the outgoing officials, followed by those entering office, arrive at the grounds of the municipio. They take seats surrounded by the seated dignitaries of the village, ex-officials of the higher category and some influential families who pay visits to the native village at the fiesta of the patron saint and on New Year's Day. The outgoing presidente greets the people, introduces the entering presidente, and makes a speech to instruct the new officials in their responsibilities. When his speech is over, the band plays for an interval. Then the entering presidente begins his speech, manifesting his service to the village and soliciting the peoples' support in the realization of plans such as the construction of the market,[4] the introduction of drinking water and irrigation, conservation of the woods, and introduction of the telephone and telegraph. In the meantime the first peals of the church bell can be heard.

The outgoing presidente hands over his baton and the national flag to the new presidente. All the municipal officials hand their batons to those assuming office, as do the Committee for the School, the presidente for the band, and the teacher of the dancers. The agentes of the ranchos do not appear on this occasion. All this being over, a parade with the national flag is performed by some young men to the step of militaristic tunes, and the new officials are led to the municipio by the old presidente. A little later all the people, including the old and new officials, go to the church to participate in the midnight mass. When the mass is over, around 1 : 30 A.M., the people return home in darkness, and have coffee and tamales to bless the New Year.

The Fiesta of the Officials

In sharp contrast to the series of rituals performed in Tlahui, New Year's Day in Ayutla passes without any rituals of the officials. The following description is based on observation in 1974 and on general information about New Year's Day.

On January 3, or any day before January 10 that is convenient to the officials and the priest, a mass for the officials is read. The date varies from year to year. In 1973 it was delayed until February 17 because the presidente was absent from the village. The day before the mass, the higher officials, led by the band, bring candles to the church. After the mass a fiesta is opened at the house of the presidente. The people invited are served tepache, mezcal, and food at the patio of the house while the band entertains them with music. In addition to the people of the village, federal and state employees stationed at Ayutla are invited and given the best tables.

The original date for the mass for the officials seems to have been January 6, the day of Tres Reyes. Beals [1945: 27] refers to the custom on this date, which survived until recently, though its details seem to have been somewhat transformed. Women in Ayutla remember this custom as follows:

4. The construction of the market was initiated in 1974 and almost completed by October 1976.

The topiles look for single girls and give them one almud of corn to make nixtamal (corn cooked with lime in water) for totoposte (tortilla well toasted) at their own houses. The girls make totopostes and bring them to the municipio to be inspected. The girls who get a low evaluation for their totopostes have to spend three days at the jail. Atole is made by some old women from nixtamal brought by the girls. Atole and totopostes are prepared for the fiesta of the officials in this way. On January 6, after the mass for officials in the morning, all the people gather in the patio of the military station to enjoy totopostes and atole. The officials and the musicians have the privilege of eating twelve totopostes each. A cup of atole is served to everyone. Till late in the afternoon the noise of breaking totopostes is heard as if it were the noise of breaking zacates (dried cornstalks).

The Decline of the Tequio

Under the general trends toward change the tequio is also in the process of disappearing. In 1933 a tequio of three days a year for the municipio and another three days for the church was required of each family head [BEALS 1945: 30], but this obligation no longer exists. The work for the church is paid for by the Committee for the Church and by the fund of the missionaries. For example, when the missionaries opened a trail from Matagallinas to Chicocana, Duraznal, and Cerro Amole, the hard work was done by the people of these ranchos, who were served food by the missionaries.

Tequio still exists for the work of the municipio. In 1973 and 1974 there was the construction of the building for the *Comisión del Papaloapan*, which will be used as the telephone and telegraph office. In addition, there was a new market to be constructed. A tequio of six to seven days a year was imposed for these two projects. According to the síndico, some 70 percent of the people of the village participated in this tequio. That is a high percentage, and the remainder were people who could not come because they lived far from the centro. According to the same síndico, the municipio cannot enforce the law to jail those who neglect the tequio. This tolerance is quite different from the rigid application of punishment in traditional Ayutla as reported by Beals [1945: 30]. In traditional Ayutla, the tequio was the symbol of the esprit de corps of the village, and the announcements for tequio were indispensable to life in Ayutla [BEALS 1945: 31]. At present the officials use the loudspeaker at the municipio to call for the tequio: "Come for the tequio. If you come, the INI will give you cans of milk, rice, beans, and other commodities from Conasupo." In spite of this offer, the people do not come. The tequio will soon disappear from Ayutla.

ADVENT OF NATIONAL FIESTAS

In Ayutla the power of the school teachers and the promotores of INI is increas-

ing more rapidly than in Tlahui, and the municipio linked with these new elites is more accustomed to the state and federal powers than that in Tlahui. Under these circumstances the celebration of national fiestas is better organized in Ayutla than in Tlahui. The new elites and the municipio, who tend to view the Church rituals as a symbol of underdevelopment, find in the national fiestas opportunity to propagate their allegiance to the Republic and its development policy toward the Indian regions.

On the days of national fiestas, they organize a militaristic procession of the Mexican flag attended by the officials of the municipio and uniformed pupils of the schools. The musical band of the school boys plays for the procession. Usually in the afternoon and in the evening, recreational programs and a large dancing party are held at the grounds of the municipio or at the INI storehouse. All these programs are organized on the initiative of the municipio, the teachers, and the promotores of INI. The national flag heads the procession and presides over the municipal grounds where the dancing party and gay popular programs take place, and the villagers, young and old, become acquainted with the symbol of the dominant society into which they will be incorporated. In the near future, national fiestas will be held more regularly and grandiosely than now, as federal power increasingly penetrates Ayutla.

Concluding Remarks

The main purpose of this study has been to provide an ethnographic account of the highland Mixe. Nevertheless, it is appropriate to mention here certain issues significant to understanding the problems of the people concerned.

Economically, the Mixe highlands, with the Zapotec town of Mitla as the dominant economic center, exhibit some differences from the Chiapas model, the "intercultural region" composed of a hinterland of Tzeltal-Tzotzil Indians and the dominant *ladino* city of San Cristóbal las Casas [AGUIRRE BELTRÁN 1955]. First, the process of the economic control of the highland Mixe is twofold: the Mixe are dominated by the Mitla (and Valley) Zapotec, and the Zapotec by the large-scale mestizo merchants of Oaxaca City (on the Oaxaca City merchants, see Waterbury [1968: 52–53, Chapter 5]). Second, Mixe–Zapotec relationships are subordinate Indian–dominant mestizoized Indian relations,[1] different from the Indian–ladino relationships in Chiapas. Third, there is the possibility that Mixe intermediary merchants will emerge as an economic elite that, in the future, will be able to cope with the Zapotec merchants.[2] But this possibility should not be overestimated, because the Mitla merchants are increasing their economic activities in the Mixe region as mentioned in Chapter 3. In spite of the dominance of the Mitla merchants, the Mixe merchants, who function as middlemen between those of Mitla and the individual Mixe (buyers of merchandise and corn brought from the Valley and vendors of coffee and avocados), are emerging at least in the villages, as an economic upper stratum, and this can be interpreted as a symptom of the change in highland Mixe society from one that was egalitarian to an incipient stratified society.

In terms of the civil and religious organizations those of the Mixe, as represented by Tlahui, are based on an egalitarian fiesta economy, in contrast to the hierarchical prestige economy reported as typical of the Zinacantan center, Chiapas [CANCIAN 1965]. The minor religious fiestas in Tlahui are managed by the fund of the mayordomos of the church or the ermita (not of the prestige economy but of the committee type). Holy Week is managed by contributions from each family, and Christmas is sponsored by padrinos who do not need to spend much. Even the fiestas of the major saints are carefully planned so that they do not cause a heavy economic burden other than to the capitanes for the band, whose expenditure ranges from 1,000 to

1. Early in the 1940s de la Fuente pointed out the refusal of some Zapotec (especially those of Tehuantepec) and Mixtec to be called *indios* [DE LA FUENTE 1947b: 68].

2. In Zinacantan "the most lucrative possibility is to become a large, entrepreneur-type maize- and/or bean-grower" [VOGT 1969: 123].

1,500 pesos: the mass is paid collectively by a group of madrinas for the mass, fireworks by a group of single women who are exempt from the municipal tax and the full payment of church tithe, and the basketball games are supported by the municipio and a group of young madrinas appointed by the municipio. This carefully planned distribution of the fiesta expenditures is another extreme of the Zinacantan cargo system. An exception to this generalization is the community of Ayutla. Because it is the only central market village where people, especially the merchants, can enjoy more of an economic surplus than elsewhere, until about 1962 Ayutla could afford a considerable number of mayordomías, which since then have become reformed into the egalitarian fiesta economy of the Tlahui type. Although the community of Ayutla still retains some inclination to the individual sponsorship of the fiestas of the major saints—the "mayordomo" (in reality, padrino) for the mass, the capitán for the band, and the padrino for fireworks (see Chapter 9)—communal sponsorship of the fiestas is the principal orientation in Ayutla of the 1970s. Taking this into consideration, interpreting the mayordomías as a factor preventing people from accumulating economic surplus that could be channeled into economic development, as alluded to and interpreted by Cancian [1965], Nash, M. [1964], Tax [1952], and Wolf [1959], is not valid for the highland Mixe society of the 1970s. It is also to be noted that in addition to sponsoring fiestas, people of Tlahui and Ayutla have other expenditures: investment in economic enterprises (for example, extending stores, buying trucks, and opening restaurants), buying city merchandise, and spending for the education of children.

The trend observed in the Mixe civil and religious organizations is the separation of the civil from the religious organization. In Tlahui the temporary office of capitán for the fiesta of the patron saint is the only requirement for higher civil offices, whereas in Ayutla the civil hierarchy is completely separated from the religious one. The preeminence of civil over religious offices is another trend related to the decline of the fiestas. Since 1915, Tlahui has seen the reduction of the fiestas, and since the 1960s under the leadership of the missionaries, Ayutla has increased the number of administered religious organizations of the membership type, called *cofradías* or *asociaciones*. Overall, both villages have witnessed the gradual decline of individual expenditure for religious fiestas, as reported early in the 1950s from the Tarascan area by Carrasco [1952: 26–35] and more recently by Smith [1977: 103–159] from the Mayan communities in the Guatemalan highlands. Also in Zinacantan, in the new hamlets opened after the 1930s, where some are successful in sharecropping and commercial enterprise, people in the 1970s discarded the model of the hierarchical religious cargo system to choose the cooperative sponsorship of the fiestas [WASSERSTROM 1978]. In the Mixe communities, whereas the religious fiestas gradually have become reduced and the sponsorship has become more communal, thus causing less economic burden and rendering less social prestige to the religious officials and the sponsors of the fiestas, the civil organization, which represents the village to the outside mestizo world, has been emerging as a pivotal village organization, and it tends to be actively participated in by the merchants and the educational elites such

as the teachers and the INI promotores. The higher civil officials, such as presidente and síndico, along with the alcalde (alcalde in Tlahui is a civil-religious office, and in Ayutla is a civil office) have to spend, for the rituals of the officials, as much as the capitán for the fiesta,[3] but people are willing to take these civil offices. This phenomenon is understood as a positive confrontation of the Mixe society with the increasing outside influences.

My classification and description of the rituals practiced in the traditional community as represented by Tlahui, based on the two factors of the ritual ideology and the unit of participation (see Table 4, Classification of Rituals), leads to some generalizations: 1) family and individual rituals are dominated by Mixe sacrifice on the informal level and by Catholic rituals on the formal level; 2) pilgrimages to Guadalupe and the sanctuaries in the Oaxaca Valley are superseding other local shrines, although Santa Catarina Albarradas and Juquila, two major sanctuaries in the state of Oaxaca, are still important to the Mixe; 3) the religious fiestas and the rituals of the officials are mostly practiced in consonance with the Church; and 4) since the 1960s the national fiestas have been promoted by some civil officials, the teachers, and the promotores of INI, the emerging elites representing the orientations of the state and national governments.

This generalization applies also to Ayutla, which represents the changing community, but changes in the ritual expressions and meanings are remarkable when the Ayutla data are compared with those of Tlahui. Here I want to comment on the conspicuous trends of change. The first phenomenon to be noted is a general decline of Mixe sacrifice. The Tlahui data, and especially those of Ayutla, suggest this trend, which is now irreversible throughout the entire Mixe region. The Mixe sacrificial cosmology is not an ideological buffer as elaborate as the deer-maize-peyote complex of the Huichol [MYERHOFF 1974]. Hidden under conspicuous community rituals, the Mixe practice modest sacrifices that supplement the formal Catholic rituals for the family and individual.

The second series of phenomena to be noted is 1) strong influence of the missionaries on religious fiestas, 2) simplification and secularization of religious fiestas, 3) politicization of the rituals of the officials, and 4) advent of national fiestas. These trends do not always mean the impoverishment of ritual life, but rather indicate a transition from rituals as normative to rituals as means of generating festivity and social criticism. Ayutla shows prosaic representation of the annual religious fiestas when compared with Tlahui, but Ayutla is acquiring political and secular expression in its fiestas and ritual activities. The fiestas of the major saints in Ayutla are acquiring the joyous and exuberant atmosphere found in the fiestas of the Oaxaca Valley: the calenda is an animated pageant of the officials and the villagers; the ritual humorist in the Colonial dance improvises jokes much more freely than in Tlahui;

3. It has already been pointed out by Nahmad [1965: 74–76] that the higher civil officials of the Mixe communities have to spend as much as the mayordomos and the capitanes.

the bullfight has a showy closing ceremony actively participated in by the madrinas; people invite a merry-go-round from Oaxaca; and people add modern dances to their repertoire of traditional Mixe dances which originated in Colonial times. The Holy Week rituals in Ayutla are beginning to add the burning of Judas which is an element of Carnival rituals, although under the leadership of the missionaries. At the same time, the simple dramatization of the Passion Play, as practiced in Tlahui, is beginning to be ignored by some of the young ones at Ayutla. The rituals of the officials in Ayutla are starting to include political agitation and sloganeering, which are lacking in Tlahui where the same rituals function to accentuate the static order of the civil and religious organizations. The national fiestas in Ayutla are better organized than those in Tlahui, which only mark the incipient stage of the introduction of national fiestas. However, both in Ayutla and Tlahui people need time to digest the national fiestas imposed on them, because these new fiestas are the rituals of "constraint," to borrow the term of Da Matta [1977], which the Mixe have to accept as the symbolic representation of the Republic of Mexico. Thus, amid the various ritual activities, old and new, religious and secular, Mixe society is attempting to create a pattern of their own ritual activities, in which they can express what they think about their society and the world around it.

Appendix 1

Historical Data on the Highland Villages

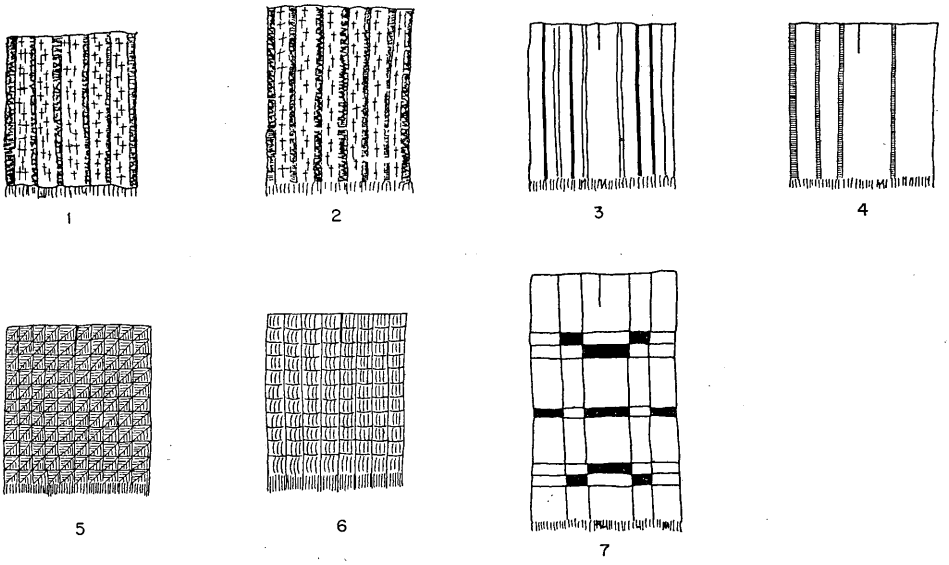
pueblo	Year for the construction of Church	Parish house	Municipio	Jail	Cemetery	Land title
Ayutla *lugar de calabazas o tortugas (ayutli=calabaza, ayotl=tortuga, tlan=lugar)*	1811	1605	1813	1853		1712
Tepuxtepec *cerro de fierro (tepuxtli= fierro, tepetl=cerro)*	1599	1601	1784			1712
Tepantlali *tierra de corona (tepan= palacio, tlali=tierra)*	1534	1534				1712
Tamazulapam *río de los sapos (tamazollín= sapo, apam=río)*	1600		1776	1676	1822	1712
Tlahuitoltepec *arco de cerro (tlahuitolle= arco de flecha, tepetl=cerro)*	1546		1566	1566	1834	1765

Data Selected from the "Cuadros Sinópticos de Pueblos, Haciendas y Ranchos del Estado de Oaxaca"

Beals gives the year of 1721 for the authorization of the land title [BEALS 1945: 18], but the document from the National Archives records the data of Aug. 27, 1712.

Appendix 2

Types of *Gabán* (ponchos)



1. The brown or black line is woven into the white in a symmetrical fashion from the central opening left for the head. The lines are not always of the same width.
2. A variation of 1, but the line is woven in asymmetrically.
3. Similar to Nos. 1 and 2, but the white part contains no other color.
4. Only two or three lines are asymmetrically woven in.
5. This pattern is rarely found.
6. This is woven doubly and protects against rain and cold.
7. Usually made in a blanket size. This pattern is rarely found.

Appendix 3

Regional Costumes

A. Blouse (*nxuui* in Mixe) or *huipil* (*jiitz*)

	Village	Type	Material	Color and design
1.	Ayutla	blouse	factory-made cotton	any light color
2.	Tlahui	blouse	factory-made cotton called *manta*	white
3.	Totontepec	blouse	factory-made cotton called *manta*	white
4.	Tamazulapam	*huipil*	handwoven cotton fine, close weave	white brocaded in green and red colors at the neck opening
5.	Mixistlán	blouse	factory-made cotton	light turquoise
6.	Yacochi	blouse	handwoven cotton factory-made cotton	white and light blue light turquoise
7.	Chichicaxtepec	*huipil*	factory-made cotton	white
8.	Tiltepec	*huipil*	factory-made cotton	white brocaded in green and red colors at the neck opening
9.	Cotzocón	*huipil*	transparent handwoven cotton shadow-weave	white triangles and other designs in red or dark blue colors

B. Skirt (*ixmuuk* in Mixe) or *chiapaneca* (*ixmuuk*)

	Village	Type	Material	Color
1.	Ayutla	skirt	factory-made cotton	popular print
2.	Tlahui	skirt	factory-made cotton	popular print
3.	Totontepec	skirt	factory-made cotton	popular print
4.	Tamazulapam	*chiapaneca*	handwoven cotton	dark indigo-dyed
5.	Mixistlán	skirt held by numerous belts	factory-made, thick woven cotton purchased at Yalálag	dark blue, almost black
6.	Yacochi	skirt held by numerous belts	factory-made, thick woven cotton purchased at Yalálag	dark blue, almost black
7.	Chichicaxtepec	*chiapaneca*	factory-made cotton purchased at Tlacolula	dark red with broad, black lines
9.	Cotzocón	*chiapaneca*	factory-made cotton purchased at Juchitán	red with thin or broad mustard-colored lines

C. Belt (*tsuum* in Mixe)

There are two types.

Material	Design and provenance
cotton	designs of ears of corn and human figures, Mitla, Oaxaca
palm	Acatlancito, San Lorenzo Albarradas

D. *Rebozo* (*yuguok* in Mixe)

There is only one type: factory-made popular one in white, grey, black, and dark blue colors, usually brought from Puebla.

E. Hairdress (*kuuchi, cotzum in Mixe*) and hair cords (*kuuchi*)

	Village	Type	Material	Color
4.	Tamazulapam	*trenza* in Spanish *kuuchi* in Mixe	handwoven cotton	red and white
5.	Mixistlán	*rodete, tlacoyales* *kuuchi*	wool, sold at Yalálag, sometimes at Tamazulapam	red
6.	Yacochi	*rodete* *kuuchi*	wool, sold at Yalálag, sometimes at Tamazulapam	red
9.	Cotzocón	*panuelita* *cotzum*	handwoven	light mustard-colored

F. Necklace (*nanzem* in Mixe)

	Village	Material	Color
2.	Tlahui	coral	red
5.	Mixistlán	cylindrical beads	red, white, purple
7.	Chichicaxtepec	cylindrical beads metal beads	red gold, silver
9.	Cotzocón	cylindrical beads	red

G. Ribbon (listón)

	Village	Material	Color
5.	Mixistlán	factory-made	pink

H. *Huaraches* (*kuux* in Mixe)

In every village they use sandals of heavy leather with used automobile tire soles, made in Yalálag.

Commentary on the Costume of Each Village

1. In Ayutla conservative old and middle-aged women still wear this costume. Some women from Tepantlali wear it in the same way.

2. 3. The costume of Tlahui is similar to that of Totontepec.

4. Tamazulapam lies between Tlahui and Ayutla. However, its cultural affiliation is similar to that of Mixistlán. The legends of the two villages tell that Mixistlaños came from Tamazulapam. People of Tamazulapam, old and young, tenaciously conserve their folk costume. They weave the huipil, chiapaneca skirt, and head ribbon (*trenza*). Together with that of Cotzocón, Mixistlán, Yacochi, and Chichicaxtepec, their costume is one of the most traditional among the Mixe.

5. In Mixistlán some women still wear the folk costume, carrying an *ixtle* bag. The blouse of light turquoise color is now bought at Yalálag. The cloth for the rolled skirt was woven in the village till the 1940s, but now it is bought at Yalálag. The heavy necklace is composed of many lines of white, purple, and red beads. At present it is almost impossible to obtain such a necklace. Their red turban (*rodete* or *tlacoyales*) is bought at Yalálag. Originally, it might have been an imitation of the black turban of the Yalaltecas. Mixistlán falls under the orbit of the cultural influences of Yalálag, and it is not hard to entertain the above supposition.

6. The costume of Yacochi is now the same as that of Mixistlán. The authentic Yacochi huipil was handwoven of white and blue thread, but at present only a few old women dress in the folk costume and they wear a blouse of factory-made cotton of light turquoise color like that of Mixistlán.

7. In Chichicaxtepec the cloth for the chiapaneca is bought at Tlacolula. Their necklace is a poor imitation of that of Yalálag, a combination of red cylindrical beads with metal ones, but unlike the Yalálag necklace it has no triple cross, and the line of beads is single.

8. In Tiltepec its long huipil, which serves also as a skirt, is an imitation of the costume of Yalaltecas. But the cloth is factory-made and the bosom decoration is poorly made.

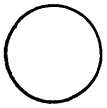
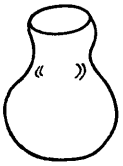
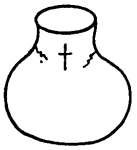
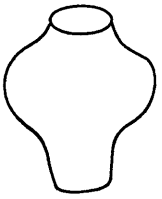
9. Cotzocón is the only village in the lowlands and midlands that preserves its colorful folk costume. The huipil is handmade with a pattern of geometric lines or human figures. Formerly, the cloth for the chiapaneca was also handwoven, but now it is bought at

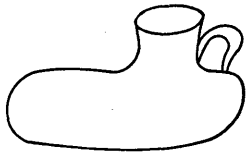
Juchitán. The beautiful necklace of red cylindrical beads is a good rival to that of Mixistlán. Some wear a good quality Venetian bead necklace.

Except for Cotzocón, lowlanders and midlanders have not preserved their folk costumes. For example, Alotepec has a skirt and a heavily embroidered short sleeved blouse, but it is embroidered by machine. In Quetzaltepec they like to wear a one piece dress made of shiny cotton with synthetic fibers called *tela de seda*. The costume of traditional Juquila was similar to that of Alotepec. The blouse was heavily embroidered by machine.

Appendix 4

Pottery Types

		Tamazulapam	Tlahui
Comal		X	X
Olla for tepache		X	X
Olla for tepache		X	○
Olla for tamales		X	X
Jar		X	X
Cooking pan		X	○

Cooking pan for *maachi* (*maachi te'x*)		X	○
Shoe-shaped jar		X	○
Dish		X	○

Presence of types X
Absence of types ○

Appendix 5

Ways in which Zapotec Merchants Dominate the Mixe

Case 1 (observed on Aug. 18, 1974)

On the porch of a big house near the centro, three Mitla merchants are sitting with their coffee bags. One is a patron and the others are his assistants. Two men come from Cacalotepec with a load of coffee on their backs. The Mitleños stop them to buy the coffee. One of the Cacalotepec men sells *café de oro* and is paid. The other man puts his load on the porch and says, "I brought *café pergamino*. Pay me more than you give for *café de oro*." The Mitleños open the bags, observe the coffee inside, and say to the Cacalotepec man, "Señor. This is the same as that the other man brought. The same. The same. Why not the same price?" The Mixe, saddened, murmurs, "*Sanduune* (no other choice)!" and sells his coffee at a cheaper price.

Case 2 (observed in the avocado season)

Two Cacalotepec men come to Ayutla with two donkeys loaded with avocados. They stop their animals at the house of a Mixe intermediary merchant. The latter greets them and examines the avocados. He finds them over-ripe and says to the Cacalotepec men, "These are over-ripe. Avocados should be picked while still green and very hard, like a stone. These are good enough to eat here but too soft to be accepted by my Mitla patron. Lower your price and I will buy it. If not, take it back to Cacalotepec."

Case 3 (observed on July 21, 1974)

This is the case of small-scale trickery by a Zapotec *viajera*. She is the one who used to sell *chorizo* (hard pork sausage seasoned with red chili and vinegar) to the family where I was a boarder. She knows me and greets me, "Good morning. I have not visited that family for a long time. I do not peddle chorizo or *cecina* (dried meat) any more. I have to pay 18 pesos for the bus. No profit any more. I visit the Isthmus. There I can sell more. Here the people are too poor to buy meat." After speaking energetically, she approaches a vendor of peaches from Tlahui. Her peaches are priced at three big peaches for 1 peso. The Mitla *viajera* takes a large number of peaches in her apron, selecting good and big ones, while the Tlahui vendor counts the number taken. According to my observation, the Mitleña took more than twenty, but she wants to pay only 4 pesos, which corresponds to twelve peaches. The Tlahui woman wants to protest but does not know Spanish. She just murmurs in Mixe, while the Mitleña continues speaking in Spanish. The Tlahui woman gets angry and tries to take the peaches back from the apron of the Mitleña. The two speak in their own languages. Finally, the Mitleña cries, "Your peaches are not ripe. They are not worth even 4 pesos. I will leave you 3 pesos."

The Mitleña walks with her booty to the church. On her chest dangles a gold medal of María-Auxiliadora. In front of her are two baskets full of peaches carried by a couple from

Rancho Cerro Pelón of Ayutla. One basket contains about 100 peaches. The Mitleña stops the couple and haggles over the price. She gives 25 centavos for a peach. In total, she has to pay 50 pesos for the two baskets. She hands rolled paper money to the Mixe woman. The Mixe woman unrolls the money and finds that she received only 35 pesos. She does not know Spanish, and then asks her husband to help. He protests, "You must pay 15 pesos more." The Mitleña replies, "You do not know how to count." But, the husband keeps protesting and finally he obtains a further 15 pesos from the Mitleña.

The Mitleña never tires. She walks a little way from the centro in the direction of Tamazulapam, where some Tamazulapam women are selling flowers. She picks up a bunch of fifteen *alcatrás* flowers, but pays for only ten, insisting that the bunch contains only that number of flowers. The woman from Tamazulapam gets angry and wants to take the flowers back from the Mitleña. The Mitleña has no option but to pay for fifteen flowers.

The Mitleña is not always successful, but she is very devious and persistent. Unfortunately for the Mixe, she is a relentless traveler. Wherever she goes, there is a world for her activities. When the first bus arrived at Tlahui in December 1974, she appeared in the plaza, a real menace for the small-scale vendors of Tlahui.

Appendix 6

Kinship Terminology

Kinship Terminology : Cognates

The main terms of reference for cognates are shown in Figure 1 and Table 1. A most important general feature to be noted is that the terminology is bilaterally symmetrical. All the collateral cognates of the first ascending generation are referred to by two different terms according to sex: *tsegum* (masculine) and *tsegujk* (feminine). All the lineal and collateral cognates of the second ascending generation are referred to by two different terms according to sex: *teetzamoj* (masculine) and *taokamoj* (feminine). All the collateral cognates of the first descending generation are referred to by two different terms according to sex: *tsukmaonk* (masculine) and *tsukneex* (feminine). All the lineal and collateral cognates of the second descending generation are referred to by two different terms according to sex: *ap* (masculine) and *oc* or *ocñox* (feminine).

For siblings and cousins, distinctions are based on the age and sex of Ego. Elder brothers are referred to by the term *ay* when Ego is feminine and by the term *aojch* when Ego is masculine. Younger brothers and sisters are referred to by the term *uch* by Ego of either sex. Elder sisters are referred to by the term *tse'* by Ego of either sex. These terms are applicable to all the cousins bilaterally related through Ego's father and mother. This is consistent with the prohibition of marriage among all the near and remoter cousins on both sides of father and mother.

There are variations in the ethnographic descriptions regarding Mixe kinship terminology. The Mixe of Coatlán reported by Hoogshagen and Merrifield [1961 : 220–221] have a very similar kinship terminology to that of Tlahui and Ayutla. The Mixe of Juquila recorded in the eighteenth century by Fray Agustín de Quintana is distinct from the contemporary system in two respects: first, it shows a differentiation in terms for the collaterals of the first ascending generation according to the Fa's or Mo's side, and second, a differentiation in terms for the collaterals of the first descending generation according to the Br's or Si's side [DE QUINTANA 1732: 80–83; ROMNEY 1967: 221]. As Romney suggests, a difference between the contemporary system and that of Juquila in the eighteenth century "might be taken as tentative evidence that the merging in several generations of collaterals with siblings is a recent development" [ROMNEY 1967: 220].

Sometimes classificatory kinship terms incur odd sentiments to young Mixe whose mentality is much influenced by Spanish classification of kinship. Let me cite a case of a woman, 27 years of age. Although not yet married, she has more than twenty-five grandsons according to the classificatory term, because sons of married nephews and nieces can be classificatory grandsons. At the plaza or in the church these classificatory grandsons call her, *"Taokamoj!"* (grandma). She comments on this, "I feel as if I were an old woman. Hope they will call me aunt." She has a niece in classificatory terms who is actually much

older than she is. When this niece calls her "Aunt," she feels confused. Perhaps this kind of psychology is due to the fact that her Spanish orientation makes her subdivide the Mixe classification. She gave me another interesting comment on Mixe kinship terminology. According to her, there is an advantage in this classificatory kinship terminology. At the plaza she often meets a distant cousin who is a drunkard. In conformity with a Mixe norm that a junior should address a senior first, she greets him, *"Ay"* (elder brother). In return, he has to greet her with *"Uch"* (younger sister). With these greetings, the drunken cousin cannot break the superimposed courteous relations with vulgar words, and she can pass peacefully through the plaza.

Kinship Terminology : Affines

The relative age and sex of Ego are important factors in differentiating affinal terms. The main terms for affines are shown in Figures 2–a, 2–b, and Table 2. The former figure is for the case when Ego is masculine and the latter when Ego is feminine.

Terms for father-in-law and mother-in-law are applied to all the lineal and collateral cognates of the generation of father and mother of Ego's wife or husband. Terms for brother-in-law and sister-in-law are applied to the collateral cognates of Ego's wife or husband, and also to sister-in-law's husband and brother-in-law's wife and their collateral cognates. The terms are differentiated according to the sex of the two persons related: *ojy* between two relatives of feminine sex, *kaap* between two relatives of different sexes, and *jiiy* between two of masculine sex. Father of son-in-law and daughter-in-law and mother of son-in-law and daughter-in-law are referred to by the terms *jaiap* and *jayoc* respectively. These terms are applied to *compadre* and *comadre* as will be shown later. To the affines of the generations of grandfather or grandmother and grandson or granddaughter are applied the terms for cognates. To the spouses of brother or sister of Ego's parents are applied the terms for cognates.

Fig. 1. Kinship Terminology : Cognates

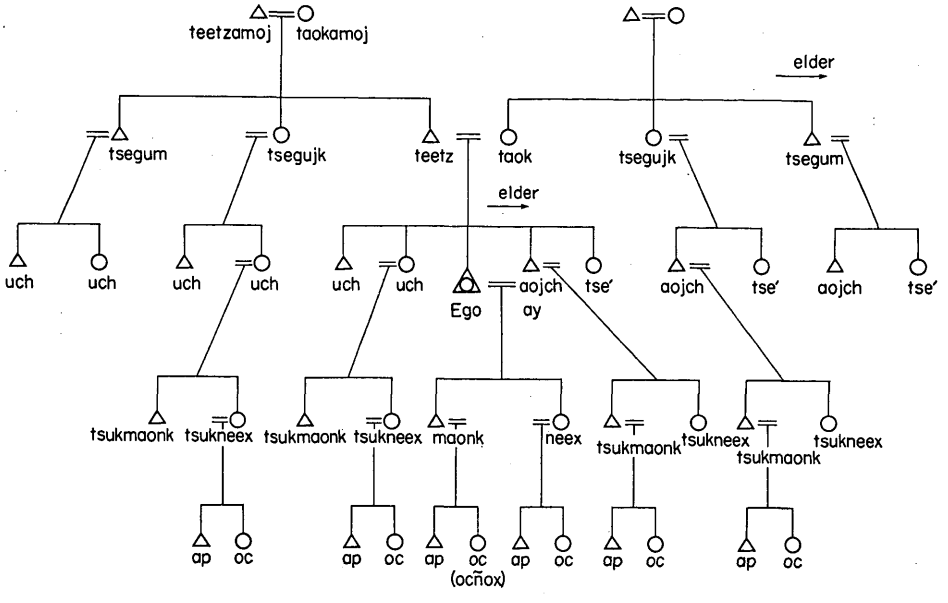


Table 1. Kinship Terms : Cognates

grandfather	*teetzamoj*
grandmother	*taokamoj*
father	*teetz*
mother	*taok*
uncle	*tsegum*
aunt	*tsegujk*
elder brother (from female speaker)	*ay*
elder brother (from male speaker)	*aojch*
younger brother (from female speaker)	*uch*
younger brother (from male speaker)	*uch*
elder sister (from female speaker)	*tse'*
elder sister (from male speaker)	*tse'*
younger sister (from female speaker)	*uch*
younger sister (from male speaker)	*uch*
son	*maonk*
daughter	*neex*
nephew	*tsukmaonk*
niece	*tsukneex*
grandson	*ap*
granddaughter	*oc* (*ocñox*)

Fig. 2–a. Kinship Terminology : Affines (Ego-masculine)

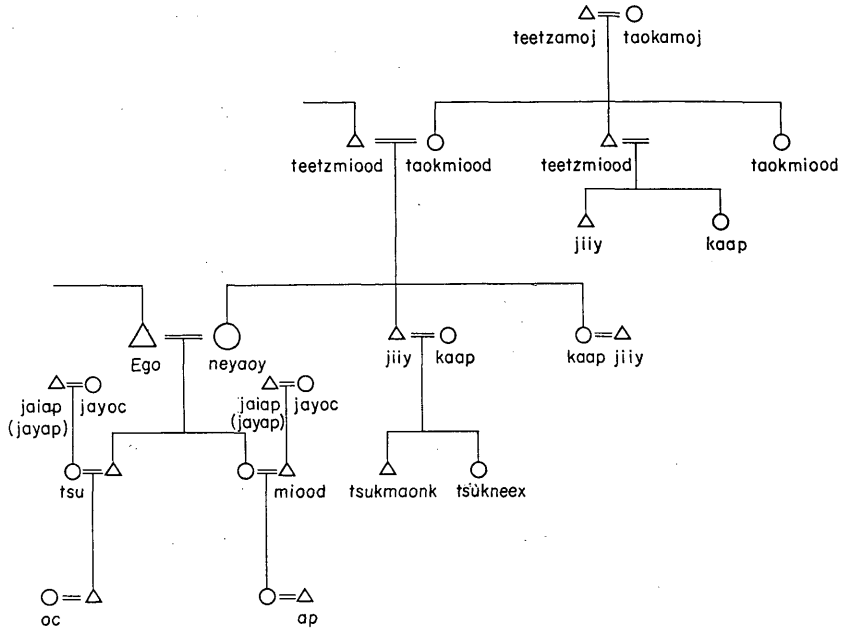


Fig. 2–b. Kinship Terminology : Affines (Ego-feminine)

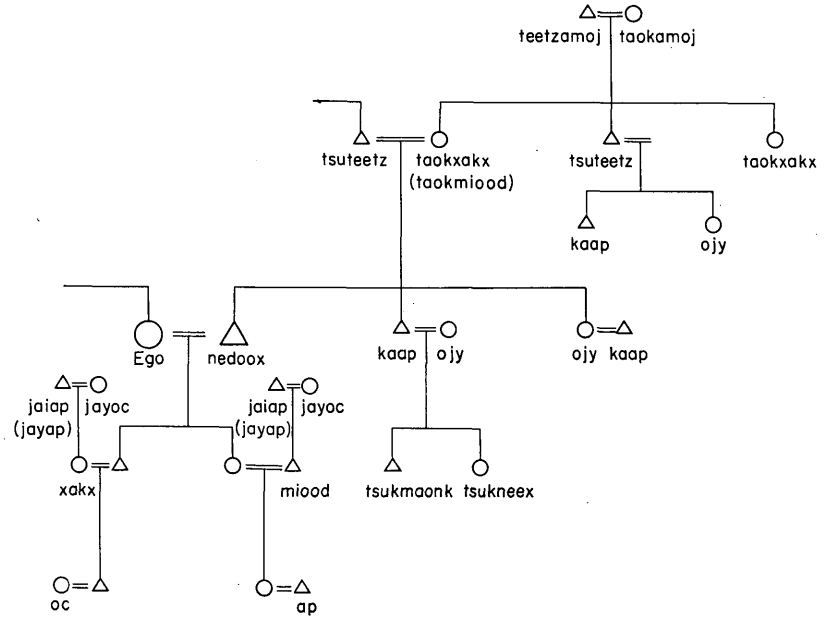


Table 2. Kinship Terms : Affines

husband	*nedoox*
wife	*neyaoy*
father-in-law (from wife)	*tsuteetz*
mother-in-law (from wife)	*taokxakx, taokmiood*
father-in-law (from husband)	*teetzmiood*
mother-in-law (from husband)	*taokmiood*
brother-in-law or sister-in-law	
(between female and female)	*ojy*
(between female and male)	*kaap*
(between male and male)	*jiiy*
son-in-law	*miood*
daughter-in-law	
(from father-in-law)	*tsu*
(from mother-in-law)	*xakx*
father of son-in-law or daughter-in-law	*jaiap, jayap*
mother of son-in-law or daughter-in-law	*jayoc*
wife of paternal and maternal uncle	*tsegujk*
husband of paternal and maternal aunt	*tsegum*

Appendix 7

Vocative Terms Based on Age Grade

Male		Female
jaoi		*toox*
	baby	
	maxu'unk	
	child	
miixy		*kiixy*
	youth	
waojtsiejk		*kixe*
	adult	
tat		*nan*
majaoi iaoi		*majaoi tsioox*
	old age	
teetzamoj		*taokamoj*

Terms of greeting are well developed among the Mixe, and from childhood they are taught how to greet other people. On meeting somebody of the village, one must courteously utter a greeting with an acknowledgment of the relationship toward the other. For instance, he says, *"Ham metza, taokamoj"* (Here you come, grandmother). If he meets someone to whom he is related by kinship, it is easy to find the term of reference. Otherwise, he has to use some vocative term. In choosing the appropriate vocative term among many which he has in his mind, the factor of age grading comes to the fore. This plays an important role in the classification of human relations in the Mixe society [HOOGSHAGEN and MERRIFIELD 1961: 225, cited from WEITLANER and HOOGSHAGEN 1960].

The age grades and the vocative terms associated with them are shown above. Some comments should be made. *Miixy* and *kiixy* signify boy and girl respectively. However, these terms are often used by an old respectable person when addressing an adult male and female respectively. For instance, when the síndico of the village calls a topil who is a man with three children, he addresses him, *"miixy."* *Tat* is sometimes applied to a woman as an insult or as joke. In the same way, *toox* is sometimes applied to a man as an insult and joke. Old man, *teetzamoj*, and old woman, *taokamoj*, correspond to grandfather and grandmother in kinship terminology, and they are used to address with great respect all the old men and women of the village respectively, whether or not they are related by kinship.

Persons of the same age grade use their own names when addressing each other. To express affection or joke, *'unk* tends to be attached to all the vocative terms except *teetzamoj* and *taokamoj*. *'unk* in Mixe signifies "small" and it is applied to anything small, whether it is a human being, animal, plant, or utensil.

Appendix 8

Compadrazgo Terms

godfather	*tsuxietz*
godmother	*tsuxiaok*
godson	*tsuxmiaojk, tsuxu'unk*
goddaughter	*tsuxñiex*
co-father	*jaiap, jayap*
co-mother	*jayoc*

Acronyms

CAPFCE	*Comité Administrativo para el Plan Federal de Construcción de Escuelas*
Coconal	*Compañía Constructora Nacional*
Conasupo	*Compañía Nacional de Subsistencias Populares*
DAAC	*Departamento de Asuntos Agrarios y Colonización*
IIISEO	*Instituto de Integración e Investigaciones Sociales del Estado de Oaxaca*
INAH	*Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*
INI	*Instituto Nacional Indigenista*
PAN	*Partido de Acción Nacional*
PEMEX	*Petróleos Mexicanos*
PPS	*Partido Popular Socialista*
PRI	*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*
SAG	*Secretaría de Agricultura y Ganaderia*
SOP	*Secretaria de Obras Públicas*

Glossary

Terms marked by two dots on the shoulder are Mixe. The others are Spanish or *aztequismos*.

abogado diviner
acaparador merchant who monopolizes the transaction of cash crops
achiote from the seeds of the tree of this name, red juice is taken to make red paste used for making drinks and for cooking
acólito acolyte
agats·· non-Mixe
agencia dependent settlement of a municipio
aguacate avocado
ahijado godchild
alabanza religious song in praise of God, Jesus, and Mary
alcalde highest-ranking official in the civil-religious hierarchy
almud a measure of corn, 1/2 *fanega*
ap·· grandson
ap xew·· All Saints' Day
atole drink made of boiled corn dough and water, spiced with various condiments, especially panela
autoridad authority, office, official
ay·· elder brother
ayuntamiento municipal government
ayuuk·· Mixe

barrio ward, division in the central part of a municipio
bastón baton, symbol of the office

cabecera administrative center of a municipio or district
cabo corporal
cacique political boss
calenda announcement of the fiesta
Calvario place of the Cross, Golgotha
cantor singer
capillo professional in Church music, leader of the musical band
capitán temporarily appointed official to give food service to the musicians
cargo burden, an office in the civil and religious hierarchies
carrizo bamboo-like plant
caseta store

casetero storekeeper
castillo fireworks
cecina pork seasoned with chili pepper
cempasúchil yellow flower for All Saints' Day
centro central part of a municipio
cerro hill, mountain
chayote vegetable pear
chiapaneca woman's traditional skirt
chilacayote a kind of squash
chile chili pepper
chorizo pork sausage seasoned with chili pepper and vinegar
chupadora curer who cures a patient by sucking him by the shoulder or a part of his body
coa hoe
cofrade member of a cofradía
cofradía religious brotherhood
cohete skyrocket
cohetero maker of fireworks and skyrockets, or shooter of skyrockets
comadre co-mother in godparenthood relationship
comal round earthenware griddle for baking tortillas
compadre co-father in godparenthood relationship
conjunto musical band
cordilleras a series of messages dispatched by a bishop to the parish priests under his jurisdiction
cuadro figure of a saint encased in a glass frame
cueva cave
cumbre hilltop

descendimiento ritual during the Holy Week, in which the image of Crucified Jesus is taken down from the Corss
diezmo tithe
doble paso two-step

elote ears of green corn
enganchador hunter of wage laborers
ermita chapel in the ranchos
estampa print of the image of a saint

fandango marriage ceremony, a dance style
fiscal highest-ranking religious official
flores de muertos yellow flower for All Saints' Day
fonda small restaurant
frijol bean
frijol alverjo green pea

gabán poncho
guajolote Mexican turkey

hostia consecrated wafer

huipil woman's blouse

ipx˙˙ twenty in Mixe
ixmuuk˙˙ woman's skirt
ixtle maguey fiber

jaai˙˙ people, family
jaiap (jayap)˙˙ father of son-in-law or daughter-in-law, compadre
jaoi˙˙ man
jarabe a dance style
jaripeo bullfight
jayoc˙˙ mother of son-in-law or daughter-in-law, comadre
jiitz˙˙ huipil
jiiy˙˙ brother-in-law (term used between male and male)
junta meeting

kaaky˙˙ tortilla
kaap˙˙ brother-in-law (term used between male and female)
kekx˙˙ *barreta*, pickax
kiixy˙˙ girl under ten years old
kixe˙˙ young woman
köxp˙˙ high
kuux˙˙ huarache, sandal

letanía litany
lienzo cotton or linen cloth on which the image of a saint is painted
listón ribbon

maachi˙˙ chilaquiles à la mixe
machete garabato hooked machete
machucado˙˙ Mixe Spanish to denote chilaquiles à la mixe, *maachi*
madrina godmother
maitines morning prayer
majaoi iaoi˙˙ *tat*, man
majaoi tsioox˙˙ *nan*, woman
makpuijy˙˙ cempasúchil, yellow flower for All Saints' Day
maonk˙˙ son
marmotas paper lantern put at the top of a long bamboo post
maromas tightrope walking
maromero performer of maromas
matraca wood clapper
mayor de vara chief of topiles
mayordomo official in the religious hierarchy who is in charge of the church fund, sponsor of the fiesta for a saint
mecapal belt to carry load
mecate cord
metate three-legged basalt stones used for grinding corn
mezcal alcoholic beverage made of maguey

mezcalero mezcal vendor
miixy'· boy under ten years old
miood'· son-in-law
miserere solemn Lenten service
misterio mystery
mono paper-covered gigantic human figure, monster, or airplane constructed on a framework of bamboo
mukp'· one who sucks, chupadora

nakmujky'· tamales of corn
nan'· (married) women
nanzem'· necklace
nash mah boh'· wooden hammer for cultivation
nedoox'· husband
neex'· daughter
nep'· hoe, *coa*
neyaoy'· wife
nixtamal soaked and lime-boiled corn kernels
nocturno evening prayer
nopal species of cactus, soft and good for eating
nxuui'· woman's blouse

oc(ocñox)'· granddaughter
ocote pitchy pine
ojy'· sister-in-law (term used between female and female)

padrino godfather
palenquero distiller of mezcal
panela brown sugar
papel chino fine, colorful paper used for decoration
paso doble musical piece for two-step dance
payaso clown
pedimento petition
petate woven palm or reed mat
piñata hanging pot filled with candies and fruits
po'· one month in Mixe calendar, composed of twenty days
pokmujky'· tamales with meat or fish
presidente highest-ranking civil official
principal respected elder who has completed his service to the community, starting from the lowest office of topil and ending with the highest of alcalde
promesa promise or vow to God or saints
promotor Indian educated by the Government for the development and modernization of the Indian community
puesto stall
pulque fermented juice of maguey
pulquero pulque vendor
punuuk'· pencil-like small tamales
puuk'· sick, sickness

rancho peripheral part of a municipio
rastrillo rake
red net bag
reducción a policy of the Colonial government to organize the civil-religious center to congregate the inhabitants dispersed in the area
refresco soft drink
regidor assistant to síndico and alcalde
responso prayer for the repose of soul
rimas del payaso rhymes of the clown
rodete turban
ruedas Catarinas Catherine firewheels
ruido small portable wooden clapper

sacristán sacristan
salmo psalm
salve prayer to the Virgin Mary
Santísimo hostia and Corpus Christi
Santo Oleo Holy Oil
secretario(a) secretary
síndico assistant to presidente
sones musical pieces
suplente substitute for síndico, presidente, or alcalde
susto magical fright, a sort of mental disease

tabique adobe
taok·· mother
taokamoj·· grandmother
taokmiood·· mother of husband or wife
taokxakx·· mother of husband, equal to *taokmiood*, which is more popular
tasajo dried beef meat
tat·· (married) man
teetzamoj·· grandfather, old man
teetzmiood·· father of wife
teig·· cave
temazcal sweatbath
teniente civil official lower than mayor de vara
tepache fermented juice of cane, pine, or corn seasoned with sugar
tequio obligatory communal work
tesorero treasurer
tiznado a kind of clown
toox·· woman from her twenties to her forties
topil lowest-ranking civil and religious official
topilillo lowest-ranking religious official
torito bull-shaped firework structure
totoposte well-toasted corn tortilla
trapecio trapeze
trapiche sugar mill
trenza hair ribbon

tsap˙˙ sky
tsap-teig˙˙ cave in the sky, church
tsegum˙˙ uncle
tsen peex˙˙ *flor de muertos*, yellow flower for All Saints' Day
tsukmaonk˙˙ nephew
tsukneex˙˙ niece
tsuteetz˙˙ father of husband
tsuum˙˙ belt
tsuxiaok˙˙ madrina, godmother
tsuxietz˙˙ padrino, godfather
tsuxmiaojk˙˙ ahijado, godchild (male)
tsuxñiex˙˙ ahijada, godchild (female)
tsuxu'unk˙˙ ahijado, godchild (male), equal to *tsuxmiaojk*
tuuk˙˙ one
tuuk mogu'uk˙˙ brother, cousin, relative, kindred

uch˙˙ younger brother or sister

varon virtuous old man who plays the role of apostle during the Holy Week
viajera itinerant traveling female merchant
visita pastoral visit
vísperas evening prayer
vocal errand boy

waojtsiejk˙˙ young man
wojp-jekp˙˙ one who "strikes and raises the soul," a susto-curer
wuank˙˙ distinct
wun-xach˙˙ tepache colored with *achiote* and seasoned with cacao, luxurious drink for special occasions, especially for marriage ceremony

xaabix˙˙ gabán, poncho
xaam˙˙ cold
xakx˙˙ daughter-in-law (term used by mother of husband)
xejk˙˙ frijol, bean
xejkmujky˙˙ bean tamales
xew˙˙ fiesta

yik-kuxamtep˙˙ "one who warms," susto-curer
yoom˙˙ plain
yuguok˙˙ rebozo, shawl
yukp˙˙ summit
yunta plough with a yoke of oxen
yunta-vara a model of yoke made of a twig and ixtle fiber

zacate dried cornstalk
zapateado tap dance

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Plates

Tlahuitoltepec (Plates 1–26.)

Plate 1. The Plaza of Tlahui

Plate 2. Fetching Firewood

Plate 3. Weaving *Gabán*

Plate 4. Bringing Jars of *Tepache* to the Market

Plate 5. Women Selling Small Birds

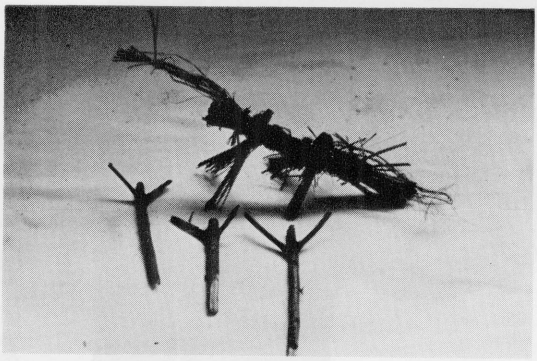

Plate 6. An Animal Figure Made of Dried Cornstalk and Figures of Cross, Found in the Corral at the Sacrificial Site

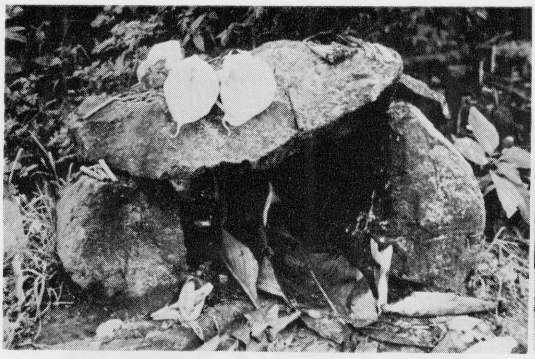

Plate 7. Sacrificial Altar on the Hilltop

Plate 8. Sacrificial Altar on Mt. Zempoaltépetl

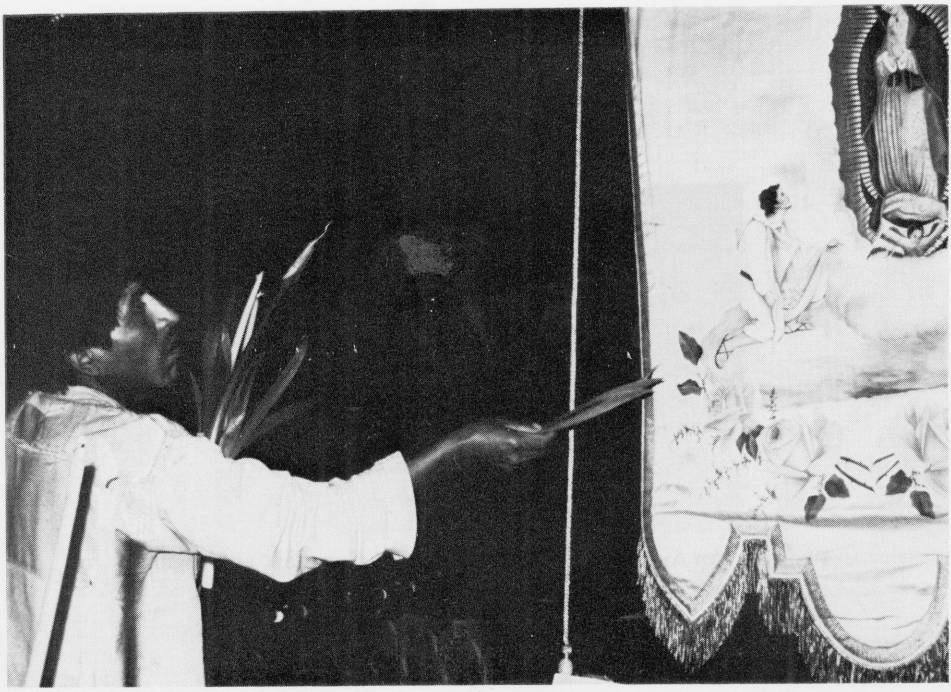

Plate 9. Touching the *Lienzo* of Guadalupe with a Flower

Plate 10. Image of the Virgen de Juquila Brought back by Pilgrimages

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Plate 12. *Madrinas* for the Mass Bringing the Candles to the Church

Plate 13. Fireworks (*castillo*) and the Catherine Firewheel

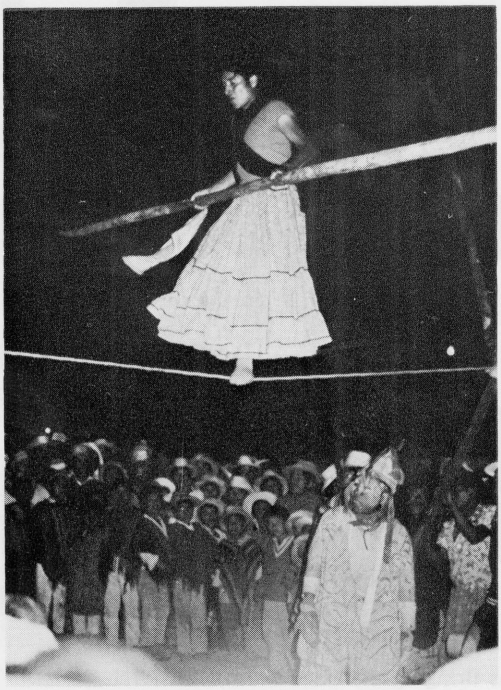

Plate 14. Tightrope Walking (*maromas*)

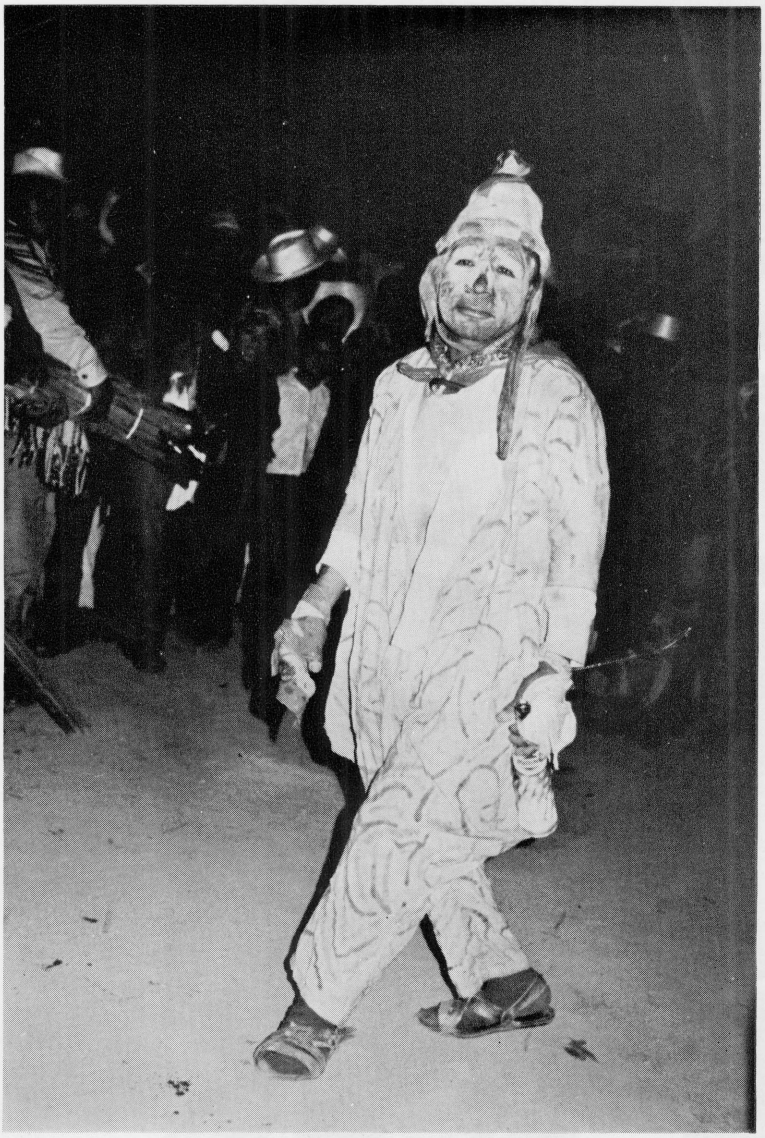

Plate 15. The Clown (*payaso*)

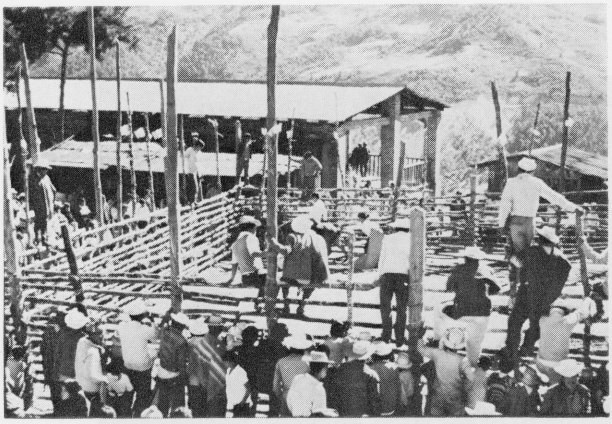

Plate 16. The Corral for the Bullfight

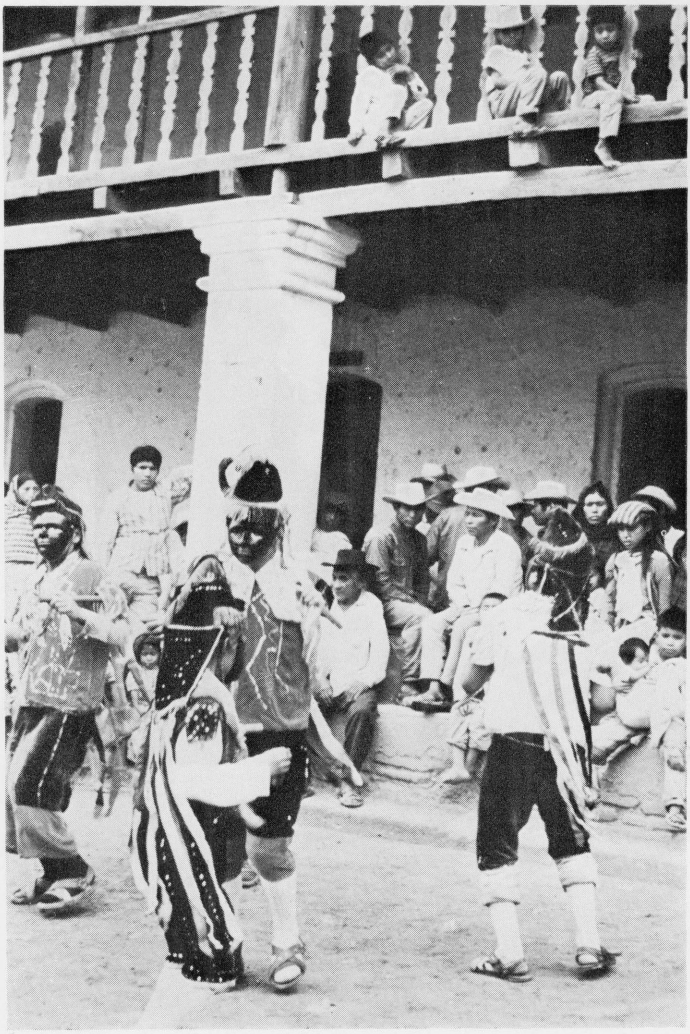

Plate 17. The Dance of Los Cubanos

Plate 18. The Dance of Los Negritos

Plate 19. The Dance of Santiago

Plate 20. The Dance of Los Mal Viejos

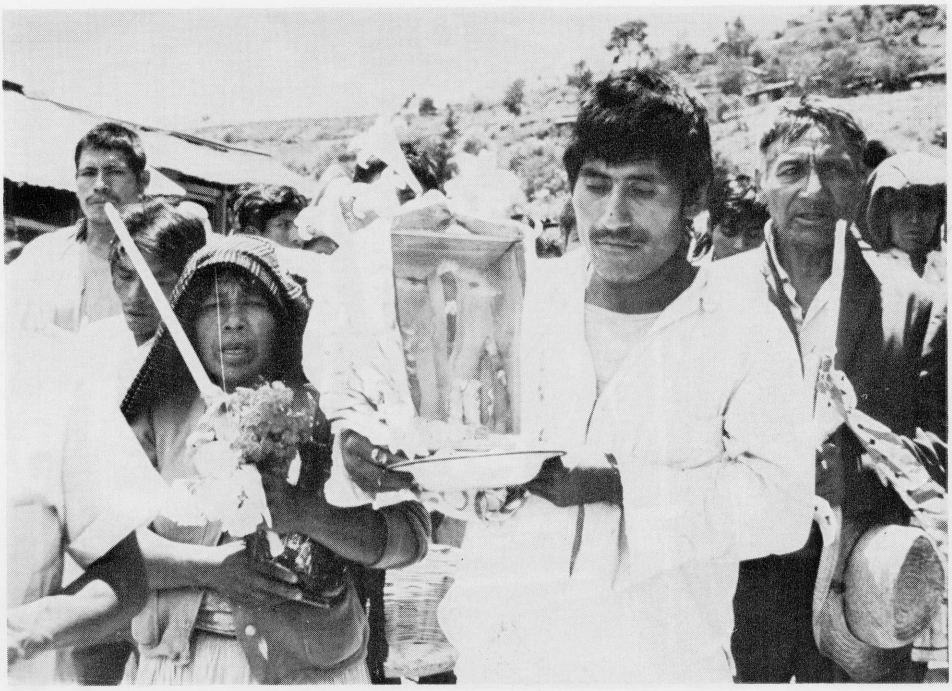

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Plate 25. *Fiscales* with Batons on the Day of the Change-of-Office

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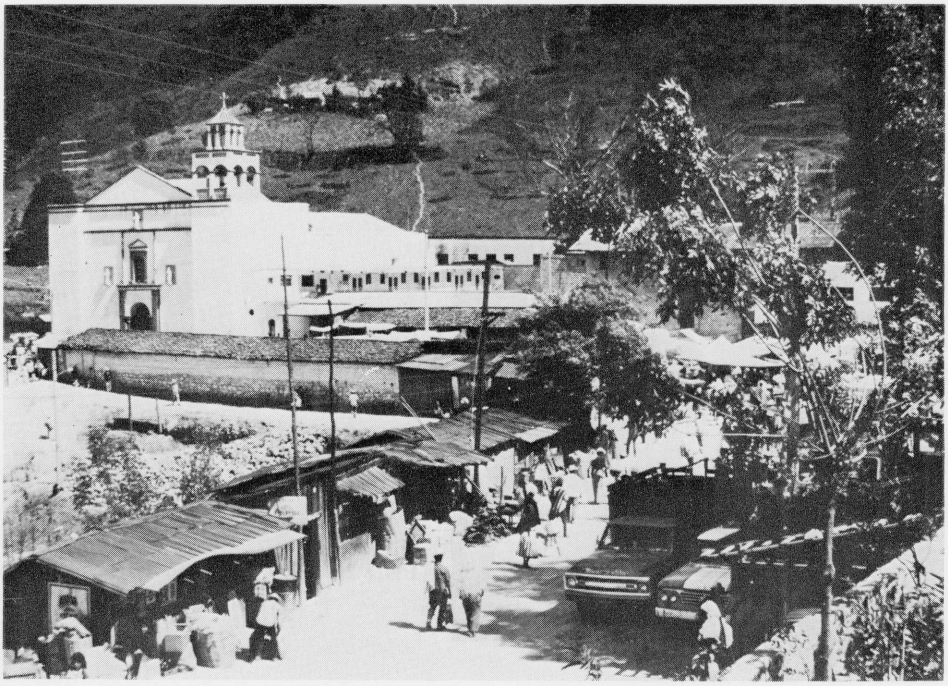

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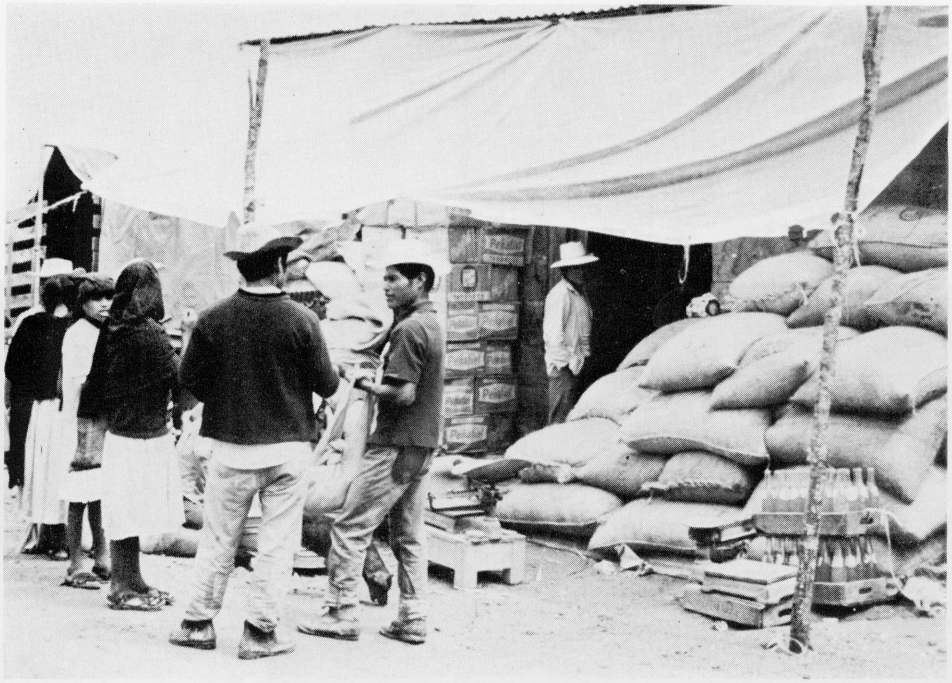

Plate 30. A Store of a Corn Merchant

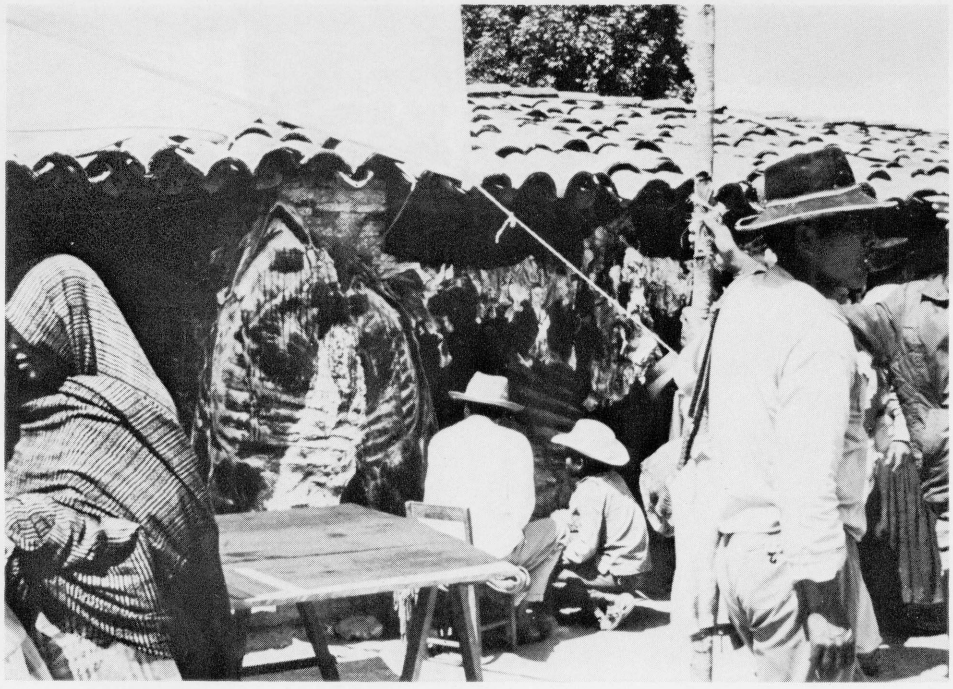

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Plate 32. The Cave for Sacrifice

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Plate 37. A Masked Man Playing the Role of María in the Dance of San José

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