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EMPIRE'S CHILDREN

THE PEOPLE OF TZINTZUNTZAN

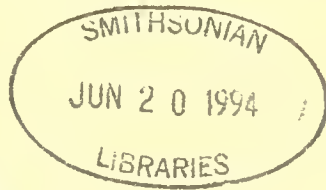
by

GEORGE M. FOSTER

assisted by GABRIEL OSPINA

*Prepared in Cooperation with the United States Department of
State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee
on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation*

OSPINA, G. Linares



24 febrero 1913

One of a series of monographs describing the results of the joint field studies of the Institute of Social Anthropology and the Escuela Nacional de Antropología of Mexico in the Tarascan area of Michoacán, 1945-46

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., December 20, 1946.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "Empire's Children: the People of Tzintzuntzan," by George M. Foster, and to recommend that it be published as Publication Number 6 of the Institute of Social Anthropology.

Very respectfully yours,

GEORGE M. FOSTER, *Director.*

DR. A. WETMORE,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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Empire's Children: The People of Tzintzuntzan

By GEORGE M. FOSTER

INTRODUCTION

This monograph is one of a series of ethnographical and geographical studies carried out by the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution in cooperation with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología of México in 1945-46. Dr. Donald Brand and I began the work of the Institute of Social Anthropology in Mexico simultaneously, giving geographical and anthropological courses to students in the Escuela Nacional during the fall term of 1944. At the end of December of the same year we left for Michoacán with six students, planning to work together in the Tarascan town of Ihuatzio on Lake Pátzcuaro.

In terms of origins our party was perhaps as international as any small anthropological expedition has ever been. In addition to Dr. Brand and me it included Gabriel Ospina, of Colombia; Remy Bastien, of Haiti; Pablo Velásquez, a native Tarascan; and Chita de la Calle, Angélica Castro de la Fuente, and José Corona Núñez, all Mexicans. Subsequently Pedro Carrasco, of Spain, joined forces with us.

Although Dr. Brand and I had twice previously visited Ihuatzio and, we thought, prepared the ground for the entry of the party, subsequent events proved that we were wrong. After several days of futile attempts to establish ourselves, withdrawal from the village seemed desirable. We quickly learned what perhaps we should have known: a large party which would make possible a really intensive study of a village of 1,500 defeats its own purpose because of the fear and apprehension caused by the presence of so many strangers.

After talking over the situation we decided to split into three groups. Dr. Brand and José Corona Núñez settled in the Mestizo town of

Quiroga to make a geographical study of the town and surrounding country. Chita de la Calle, Angélica Castro, and Remy Bastien lived in Quiroga and went daily to Santa Fe de la Laguna, a pure Tarascan village 5 km. away. Gabriel Ospina, Pablo Velásquez, and I settled in Tzintzuntzan to study the ethnology of the town itself, basically Mestizo, and the neighboring Tarascan hamlets. In addition, I frequently went to Quiroga to supervise the ethnographical work of the students in Santa Fe. This division of effort, though spur-of-the-moment, proved a happy solution to the problem of where and how to work.

Velásquez and I were in Tzintzuntzan for the first 6 months of 1945. Ospina remained until March 1, 1946, a period of continual observance of over 14 months. In addition, I returned each month to Tzintzuntzan for a period of several days to check on progress accomplished, and to fill lacunae which continually became apparent in my notes. Ospina and I made three additional short trips after the formal close of the field season, the last in September 1946. The advantages of this long period of observation are obvious. All aspects of life during the complete yearly cycle were observed first hand by at least one of us. Many things were observed twice, so that data which at first may not have appeared significant, or which we missed, could be correctly evaluated and analyzed. Finally, the friendships which developed over this long period made it possible to obtain materials both by observation and direct questioning which would have been impossible during a shorter period.

For the first 6 months of our stay we lived in the fine school building of Tzintzuntzan, occupy-

ing successively the director's quarters, the fifth, third, and first grades, and finally the carpentry shop. Señora Bartola Urbina, wife of Pascual Corral, school caretaker, first cooked for us, and subsequently our *comadre*, Carmen Peña, wife of the *síndico*, Guillermo Morales, fed us in her own house. During the spring of 1945 a small stone house was constructed near the *yácatas*, the ancient Tarascan pyramids which rise from an artificial platform near the east edge of town. This house was built by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia for the use of archeologists during field seasons, and was very kindly turned over to us for our use during the remainder of the time we were in Tzintzuntzan. Here, with large tables, electric lights, and a fireplace for cold nights, we enjoyed comforts not always associated with the field. Guillermo was appointed caretaker of the archeological zone, and Carmen came along to continue to cook for us.

Our first weeks were fraught with certain tensions and difficulties in establishing rapport. Once accepted, however, we enjoyed friendships and confidences which I have never elsewhere experienced in the field. No small part of the credit for breaking the ice goes to Gabriel Ospina, who, with a ready tongue and versatile command of his native language often turned a potentially difficult situation into a huge joke for all concerned. Likewise his practical knowledge of first aid proved an excellent entree into many homes and the basis for firm friendships. No end of confusion was caused, however, by the fact that, though I was *el doctor*, which could mean only a "medico," it was always Gabriel who gave the injections. For field workers in Latin American countries, no tool is of greater use than a basic knowledge of simple medical diagnosis and treatment. Large anthropology departments might well consider the advisability of giving, in conjunction with medical schools, a full course on medical field practice.

I have found that the precise field techniques to be used in gathering data, and even the nature of much material, depend to a considerable extent upon local circumstances. For example, most ethnologists realize that the use of a paid informant as a source of material often entails grave disadvantages. Nevertheless, in

many cases it is necessary to pay a man to devote time to the ethnologist which he would otherwise devote to his customary manner of earning a living. In my own earlier work among the Popoluca of Veracruz, literally every man went early in the morning to his milpa, often several kilometers away, and stayed until dusk, at which time he was so tired that he was uninterested in hard mental labor. Hence, there was no alternative to offering wages sufficiently high that a man was willing to come home early to work for the ethnologist.

In Tzintzuntzan we were favored by the basic organization of village economy. Half of the families make pottery. This is a quiet occupation in which various members of the household sit in the patio, talking and laughing as the pots take form. Hence, once accepted by the family the ethnologist could drop in for hours at a time, apparently just gossiping, but in reality guiding the conversation into the channels he wished. Also, since everyone speaks, or can speak Spanish, the language problem was greatly reduced. The minutiae of daily chit-chat which would be lost in a group where interpreters are necessary were heard and noted, and the exact choice of phraseology used by each speaker quickly became a part of the ethnologist's interpretation of his personality. We stated quite frankly that we were making a study of the village and its people, how they lived, earned their living, organized their fiestas, so that people who could not come, both in Mexico and other countries, would know about life in Tzintzuntzan. Our explanation was facilitated by the fact that everyone knows Tzintzuntzan to have been the former capital of a great Indian empire, and hence it is quite natural to the modern population that others might want to know about their town.

At first we used no notebooks, remembering data to record in the evening. Subsequently, in many households it became possible to write freely and ask direct questions about all aspects of life. Casual conversation and sporadic questioning, however, are not sufficient to provide many of the statistical and concrete data necessary in a monograph. There come times when it is necessary to sit down with an informant and go through a body of data in systematic fashion. Here again we were favored. For several months after moving into our house a num-

ber of workmen continued with the finishing touches, building an outhouse, a water storage tank, and other sundries. Often we would call one or all of them in for a rest, a bottle of beer, and a bit of conversation. Quite freely we spread our papers before them and asked for the material we needed. They were hired to build a house, but it was much more pleasant to sit drinking beer and talking, rather than to carry heavy stones. Guillermo, in his capacity as caretaker, was always around, and could be called in to answer questions whenever they came up. In this way, little by little and over a period of many months, we went about filling in the data which never would have come out in casual conversations. We made a great many presents to those with whom we visited most—hand maize mills, dresses, aprons, knives, pictures of saints, mirrors, and all of the well-known items which are useful or intriguing in a rural Mexican home. Loans, few of which were ever paid back, were made to a number of individuals. Nevertheless, no person in Tzintzuntzan ever felt that he was being paid to give information about himself and his village.

Our notes were typed each night, in duplicate when possible, on 5- by 8-inch sheets and filed in a card index box according to the plan of the Yale Outline of Cultural Materials (Murdock et al., 1945). This system made it possible for all three of us to know almost at a glance what the others might have obtained on any topic, and proved to be not only a great time-saver in gathering the initial data but also in writing up reports. Our cards reveal that more than 50 persons, ranging in age from 7 to 75, contributed significant data.

We went into the field hoping to make a rather complete census of the village in which we worked. Luck again was with us. A month after our arrival we learned that the municipal president was anxious to impress his enterprise on his superiors, and was contemplating a census of the entire *municipio*, including Tzintzuntzan and surrounding towns and villages. We offered to "help" in this praiseworthy demonstration of devotion to civic duty, and drew up a census sheet which we had printed in Morelia. On this sheet space was provided for 12 names, the age, sex, place of birth, occupation, languages spoken, type of garments worn, places to which the

person had traveled, and so forth. The same sheet, one of which served for each household, contained data on house construction, number of rooms, type of lighting employed, house furnishings, fruit trees in the patio, all crops sown by the family, domestic animals owned, water supply, and other similar questions. Space was also left for additional notes.

Since the sheets were made out shortly after our arrival and before we were well acquainted with the culture, we made some mistakes in items included which we would have omitted at a later date. Nevertheless, over a period of a year in which constant corrections were made, most of the initial errors were ironed out.

In Tzintzuntzan the initial count was made in one day. A working party of about 30 individuals was divided into 8 groups, each composed of a local political officer, a school teacher, and one or two individuals from the blocks to which each section was assigned. Thus, with the moral backing of government and school, plus the presence of individuals who knew intimately the people being questioned, opportunity for evasion or untruthful answers was much less than in the case of a usual government census. In the evening a great *pozole* or banquet was prepared and served to all who participated, so in effect the day was one of civic solidarity, enthusiasm, and entertainment.

A census was also taken of the Tarascan villages of Ojo de Agua and Ichupio, which most closely adjoin Tzintzuntzan. The same technique was not possible, due to greater reticence of the inhabitants of these hamlets, but by means of cross checking with various Tarascans, a fair degree of accuracy was obtained. These census sheets have been bound in three volumes, and will be placed in the library of the Escuela Nacional for future reference.

To accompany the census, Ospina made the map of Tzintzuntzan which appears in this monograph. He was accompanied by Guillermo Morales, who knew which houses were occupied, which were empty, the names of all owners, divisions of the town, names of the streets, and other indispensable information. Each house and lot was given a key number which corresponds to a census sheet, so that it is possible to locate each resident of the town in terms of his geographic relationship to all other citizens.

Occupations of each family head are indicated by appropriate symbols. Distances were determined by counting paces. Due to the rectangular plan of most of the village the greater accuracy which would have come from a real survey would not be justified in time and money for an ethnographical account. Since a number of individuals own several pieces of property within the limits of the town, it was decided to give the same key number to all holdings. Hence, a number of *solares*, town lots, share the same key number with others.

Economic data, particularly that connected with family budgets, food habits, and the daily work cycle, were obtained by means of a simple questionnaire or work notebook kept for 8 families for 1 to 3 months. All expenditures and income were recorded, the day's work for each adult (15 years old or over), and the meal times and food consumed for all members of the family. This was a time-consuming task, since daily visits had to be made to each family. Recording was slow, because even with the desire to cooperate it was often difficult for informants to remember just what had been bought and sold, or eaten or done. We soon found that we could not ask for purchases, but had to go over each possibility: "Did you buy onions? tomatoes? sugar?" and so forth. Nevertheless, the material so obtained more than justified the effort.

Birth, death, and marriage data were recorded for the period 1931-44, which represents the first 14 years of politically independent life of the municipality. Tax data also were taken from the records of the municipal treasurer and the State tax collector. The church archives were examined, but proved to be in such bad condition that little usable data could be gleaned.

This monograph represents, then, the results of the standard ethnological approach of observing, questioning, and note taking, plus a good deal of statistical data which are not always available.

Most ethnographic reports represent a compromise between a short, well-integrated presentation of the data pertinent to the author's particular interests, and the necessity of placing on record other material which may seem extraneous, and which by its detail may detract

from the readability of the paper, but which may contain just the answers someone working on other problems is looking for. This paper is no exception to the rule. I have tried to describe life in Tzintzuntzan as a functional whole, the end product of a period of more than four centuries of change, starting from a base which we know fairly completely. No single reader will find all of the material interesting or useful; it is my hope that all parts will make their contribution to at least a few readers representing diverse interests.

Two categories of data have been reserved for later separate treatment, since they can be withdrawn without doing violence to the paper as a whole, and since simple economics, both time and money, place limitations on any report. A great number of local plants are used for home cures, and their enumeration and identification, along with their mode of employment, will be dealt with at a later date. A fair-sized collection of folk tales will also be presented in a separate paper.

I frequently refer to the inhabitants of Tzintzuntzan as *Tzintzuntzeños*. Although this form is perfectly good Spanish, it is rarely if ever used in the immediate neighborhood of the town. It is employed simply to avoid the cumbersome phrase "people of Tzintzuntzan."

Spanish and Tarascan words, with the exceptions which follow, are written in italics. A number of words of Spanish and Aztec origin have become so common, in ethnological literature at least, that they will be recognized by most readers. Though included in the glossary at the end of the monograph, they are not written in the text in italics. The principal words in this category are huarache (sandal), metate (grinding stone), milpa (corn field, and in a broader sense, any field), petate (reed or palm mat), rebozo (shawl), serape (blanket), tortilla (thin corn cake), and zacate (grass used for fodder or thatching).

All field notes were recorded using the metric system, and this has been used in the monograph. Actually, a very wide variety of measures is used in Tzintzuntzan, reflecting the multiple cultural origins of the people. Those commonly used, in addition to the metric system, are as follows:

Volume:

Cuartillo: 0.5 liter.

Cuarterón: 4 liters.

Medida: 5 liters.

Fanega (here called *hanega*): 25 *cuarterones*, 100 liters.

Carga of wheat: 220 liters (2 bags each containing 22 *medidas*).

Tercio of wheat: half a *carga*.

Weight:

Onza: ounce of 28 gm. (Used to buy gunpowder and shot.)

Libra: English pound, used to mix ingredients for pottery.

Arroba: 11.5 kilos.

Carga: 14 *arrobas*.

Distance:

Pulgada: inch.

Pie: foot. Feet and inches are used sometimes to measure lumber.

Brazada: the distance between outstretched arms, about 1.6 m.

Vara: one-half a *brazada*, about 80 cm.

Cuarta: span of 8 *pulgadas*. Four *cuartas* are figured to a *vara*, though for the average man this does not equal 80 cm.

Jeme: distance between outstretched thumb and index finger; this is figured as 7 *pulgadas*.

Sesma: "six fingers," the distance measured with the fingers parallel but the thumb tip bent outward; this is figured as 4 *pulgadas*.

Cuatro dedos: the distance across the four fingers held parallel.

All monetary references are in Mexican pesos, for which the dollar sign is used. The exchange rate during the entire period of the study was 4.85 pesos to 1.00 dollar.

Many friends have contributed to the success of the field work in Michoacán. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Julian H. Steward, founder and first director of the Institute of Social Anthropology, whose unflagging energy has made possible cooperative works of this type in Mexico and other Latin American countries. One of the most gratifying aspects of the work was the help and encouragement offered by all Mexican anthropologists and Government officials with whom we had contact.

Especially to be mentioned are Lic. Alfonso Caso, Arq. Ignacio Marquina, Dr. Pablo Martínez del Río, and Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla. Lic. Antonio Arriaga, director of the Museo Regional in Morelia, visited us many times in the field, and took it upon himself to obtain many necessary permits and letters in the State capital. I am grateful to Lic. José M^a Mendoza Pardo, Governor of the State of Michoacán, and Lic.

José M^a Moreno, Secretary of the State of Michoacán, for the interest which they took in the work and for letters and permits afforded us. Prof. Pablo Silva García, Director of Education in Michoacán, gave us permission to utilize the school building as expedition headquarters. Sr. Salvador Silva A., Contador General de Glosa, of the State of Michoacán, kindly gave us permission to examine tax records.

Dr. Starker Leopold, of the University of California, aided in the identification of ducks and other birds. Mr. M. J. Lindner, chief of the Mexican Fishery Mission of the Fish and Wildlife Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, supplied information about the fish of Lake Pátzcuaro. Dr. George Harrar, of the Rockefeller Foundation, identified specimens of maize, wheat, and beans. Mrs. Betty Leopold drew the figures with which the text is illustrated. In Washington Miss Ethelwyn Carter, secretary of the Institute of Social Anthropology, has been helpful on a thousand and one things from the time the first field accounts were relayed to Washington until the final manuscript was delivered to the printer. Mrs. Pauline Roth typed most of the manuscript, and Mrs. Eloise Edelen edited and proofread it.

I am deeply grateful for the help of my wife Mary, who accompanied me and worked with me for several short periods in the field, and who read and reread manuscript and proof.

It is impossible to mention all those who helped in Tzintzuntzan, but some people, always, are closer friends and are remembered with particular affection. Rather than attempt to mention them here by name, I will point out that they will be readily recognized through frequency of appearance in the text.

The use of personal names posed a problem. Some incidents and events are, for diplomatic reasons, best not connected with the true characters. On the other hand, an account is much more living and human if real persons take part, talk and act, rather than fictitious sets of initials. Also, should a follow-up study of Tzintzuntzan be made at a later date, it would be far easier for those participating if they were to have a nodding acquaintance with names which they encounter during their own field work, and in the census. Weighing the pros and cons I finally decided to use real names when-

ever possible, and fictitious names only when subject matter made it seem desirable. Such cases may be recognized by the use of an initial for the surname, which follows a fictitious given name.

A very special recognition is due Gabriel Ospina. Together we dug out the basic material over a long period of time, and together we did the monotonous task of analyzing the census and other statistical data. Without his boundless energy and enthusiasm and his ability to get

along with a great many different kinds of people, this report would be much inferior. Though technically our relationship was that of teacher and student, in practice we worked as coequals, as fellow scientists. I take this opportunity publicly to express my deep appreciation for the warm friendship and loyal support which he always gave. Were it not for the fact that he is writing a monograph in Spanish, using our combined field notes, he would rightly figure as coauthor of this paper.

PRE- AND POST-CONQUEST HISTORY

SOURCES

The modern pueblo of Tzintzuntzan, Michoacán, was, at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, the capital and nerve center of the vast Tarascan Empire, an empire which, at the time of its greatest expansion, extended beyond the boundaries of the modern State of Michoacán, and which, next to the Aztec Empire, was the largest political unit in Mexico. Perhaps less is known about the origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascan Indians than of any other major Mexican group. Traditional hypotheses derive them from the northwest of Mexico, some suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Nevertheless, the Tarascan language shows few similarities with other Mexican idioms and is commonly classified as an independent, isolated family. A recent author suggests the possibility of a southeasterly origin, probably from the Mixteca of Oaxaca and Guerrero by way either of the Balsas River valley or by sea to the Costa Grande and thence northward up the Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués Rivers (Brand, 1944, p. 48). Whatever the origin of the Tarascans, and the date of their arrival in Michoacán, they found a beautiful and fertile land, a land which has excited the imagination of all those who have visited it, from the first Spanish friars to 20th century travelers. "The land of Michoacán is," says Beaumont, the Franciscan chronicler, "if not the best of all North America, so good that none exceeds it in the qualities of climate, fertility and abundance of all that which is to the credit of the finest regions of the earth" (Beaumont, 1932, vol. 2, p. 34).

The three traditional types of Mexican land and climate are found in Michoacán: the high, cold *tierra fría*, the hot coastal *tierra caliente*, and the temperate border regions, the *tierra templada*. Through most of the State run ranges of the Sierra Madre del Sur, which borders the western edge of the central plateau of México, producing a broken and rough topography, cut by numerous river valleys and dotted with a series of lovely lakes. The northern and eastern half of the State, which was the homeland of the majority of the Tarascans, is mostly *tierra fría*, table and mountain land from 1,800 to 2,400 m. high, with individual peaks such as Zirate and Tancítaro reaching elevations of more than 3,500 m. Pines and cedars cover the higher regions, and extend down the slopes to wide, fertile valleys, many of which contain lakes. Plentiful summer rains for agriculture, an abundance of fish in the lakes and rivers, obsidian for tools, clays for pottery, game in the hills, and wood for houses, canoes and fires made possible a relatively dense population and a high standard of living based on individual and village specialization and an interchange of products.

At many places, such as Zitácuaro, Tuxpan, Tacámbaro, and Uruapan, the highlands break away in spectacular fashion toward the hot country, and from a vantage point (such as Mil Cumbres, 250 km. west of Mexico City on the Morelia highway) one can see range after range of mountains tumbling over one another, seemingly forever. At these *bocas de la tierra caliente* ("mouths of the hot country") the hot winds from below temper more moderate alti-

tudes, 1,000 to 1,800 m., to form the *tierra templada*, rich and lush valleys admirably suited to the growth of sugarcane, bananas, cherimoyas, guavas, mameys, and many other tropical and semitropical products. These valleys became the natural routes of communication with the lower and drier *tierra caliente* which, though cut with high mountain ranges, forms much of the western and southern half of the State, reaching to the Pacific coast. From here, and also the corresponding region in Guerrero south of the Balsas River, the Tarascans received gold, copper, cinnabar, honey and wax, cacao, gums, and copal. Hot, arid, plagued with mosquitoes, ticks, and scorpions, it was a land which one avoided whenever possible, and the typical highland Tarascan culture, except for commercial and military purposes, touched upon it only to a limited extent.

From a number of remarkable documents, primarily the chronicles of early Franciscan and Augustinian friars, it is possible to learn a great deal about the pre-Columbian Tarascan culture, and something of the later pre-Conquest political history. From a purely ethnographical viewpoint, the Franciscan reports are most useful. Members of this order were the first to penetrate the Tarascan Empire; they established their first convent, Santa Ana, in Tzintzuntzan, in 1526, and all during colonial history they were particularly associated with the towns geographically most properly called focal in the sense of a Tarascan culture area. The earliest and most revealing of all these documents is the *Relación de las Ceremonias y Ritos y Población y Gobernación de los indios de la Provincia de Michuacán, hecha al Illmo. Señor Don Antonio de Mendoza, virrey y Gobernador de esta Nueva España por S. M. G.*, commonly known as the *Relación de Michoacán (Relación de Michoacán, Morelia, 1903)*. The author, whose identity is uncertain, was a Franciscan thoroughly acquainted with the language, customs, and oral traditions of the Tarascans. Some scholars, with considerable justification, believe that Fray Martín de Jesús, the first Franciscan to arrive in Michoacán, is the author. Although the exact date of writing is not known, the best estimates place it during the years 1538-39. Second in importance, particularly for post-Conquest data, is the *Crónica de la Provincia de los Santos*

Apóstoles S. Pedro de Michoacán of Pablo de la Purísima Concepción Beaumont, written at the end of the 18th century, first published in Mexico in 1874, and republished in 1932 (Beaumont, 1932). The bulk of the material in the following résumé of pre-Columbian Tarascan culture has been taken from these two works. Useful, but less detailed, information is found in the *Crónica de la Orden de N. Seráfico P. S. Francisco, Provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Mechoacán en la Nueva España*, by Fray Alonso de la Rea (Rea, 1882), and the *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana* of Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, written at the end of the 16th century and first published in Mexico in 1870 (Mendieta, 1870).

The Augustinians arrived in Michoacán in 1537 and founded their first convent in Tiripitío, a few miles east of Pátzcuaro. From the second, at Tacámbaro, founded in 1538, they set out to evangelize the *tierra caliente* to the coast. Later convents were established in regions peripheral, or which became peripheral, to the heart of the Tarascan area. For this reason the reports of these friars, although containing interesting information, are of less value in obtaining a picture of aboriginal Tarascan culture than those of the Franciscans. Useful data are found in the *Historia de la Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michoacán, del Orden de N. P. S. Agustín*, by Diego Basalencque (Basalencque, 1886), *América Thebaida*, by Matías de Escobar (Escobar, 1924), and others.

LEGENDARY ORIGINS

At the time the legendary account of the Tarascan dynasty begins, a sedentary population of agriculturalists and fishermen lived in the Lake Pátzcuaro region and the high sierra to the west. Some of these people spoke Tarascan, and it is probable that other languages, including Aztec, were spoken in the near vicinity. Over a wide area to the north were nomadic, nonagricultural hunting peoples of diverse linguistic affiliation, generally referred to as "Chichimecs." The empire later known as Tarascan had its traditional origin in conquest. Tarascan Chichimecs living near Zacapu, worshiping their god Curicaveri and led by their chief Hiretica-tame, forced the subservience of the people

known as Zizambanacha who formed a small independent political unit called Naranjan.

Rather than fight, the people of Naranjan decided to make peace, and gave a woman of noble blood to Hireticatame as wife. From this union was born Sicuirancha, one of the most important Tarascan kings. When Hireticatame was old, the lords of Naranjan, resentful of the conquest, decided to overthrow him and so planned a secret attack. Hireticatame's wife, the sister of the attacking chiefs, had gone for water, and upon meeting her brothers and learning their mission, rushed home to warn her husband. He put up a valiant fight and held off his attackers until his supply of arrows was exhausted. Finally he was overcome, killed, the town burned, and the god Curicaveri carried off. Meanwhile, Sicuirancha, who had been hunting in the hills, returned to find the slaughter accomplished. Quickly he set out with the survivors after the war party, and found them all on the ground suffering from stomach ache, diarrhea, exhaustion, and intoxication, a curse brought on them, according to the *Relación*, by Curicaveri. In this condition they were easily overpowered and brought back in captivity to be sacrificed. Sicuirancha extended his realms by conquest, built a new temple for his god on a *yácata*, or pyramid, and moved to Guayameo, the modern Santa Fe de la Laguna. Here he died, leaving a son Pavacume, who passed the kingdom to his son Vapeani, who in turn left it to his son Curatame. Thus, at least four monarchs reigned at Guayameo. Ruiz believes that the words Pavacume and Vapeani (or Pahuappame and Huappani) mean simply "primogeniture" and "son," and hence represent a series of kings (Ruiz, 1940, p. 89). If this supposition is correct, the dynasty lasted longer at this place.

During this period the people of Guayameo became aware of a goddess known as Xaratanga (later to become an important Tarascan deity) in the *barrio* of Yahuario, in nearby Tzintzuntzan. Friendly relations were established with the people of Tzintzuntzan, who were ruled over by a chief named Tariyanan. Subsequently, during a fiesta the priest in charge of the temple of the goddess burlesqued her by placing garlands of beans and other profane objects on her hands and feet. Enraged, Xaratanga caused everyone to become drunk. Tariyanan sent his

sisters Pacimbane and Zucurabe for fish to leaven the wine, but they returned only with a serpent, which, after being eaten, caused all the revelers to become snakes. With the disintegration of the ruling class in Tzintzuntzan there were no leaders in the immediate area. Minor lords of Guayameo seized upon the chance, and aided by "brothers" of the god Curicaveri (apparently smaller copies of the idol) conquered and occupied much of the Lake Pátzcuaro and adjacent sierra areas, leaving the sons of Curatame, called like their ancestors, Vapeani and Pavacume, in charge of the main deity.

One day while wandering through the hills, Vapeani beheld for the first time the islands of Jarácuaro and La Pacanda in the lake below. (How he could have missed the islands all this time is somewhat of a mystery.) Descending he came upon a fisherman in a canoe, to whom he spoke. When he noted that the language of the fisherman was the same as his, though with certain different sounds, and when he recognized the names of the gods of the fisherman, he knew that the island dwellers must be of his own people. From the fisherman he learned about fish, which he had never seen before, and asked the man if he had a daughter, to which he replied in the negative. Upon being pressed the fisherman admitted to a young and ugly daughter, whom Vapeani asked to have brought. When she was older she was married to the younger of the two brothers, Pavacume, and subsequently gave birth to a son, Tariacuri. The ruler of Jarácuaro was very angry, but he decided to ask the brothers to the island, one to be chief priest of their god, and the other chief sacrificer. The brothers accepted, but after a short stay they were driven away and returned to the mainland and their Chichimec followers, bringing with them knowledge of agriculture and other higher arts of civilization.

Desirous of civilizing their own followers, the brothers decided upon a program of pyramid building, and thus the *yácatas* at Pátzcuaro were erected. Meanwhile the chief of Jarácuaro was angry and worried to see the progress of the people whom he had considered to be barbaric Chichimecs. By treachery and war he succeeded in killing the brothers, but not in conquering their followers. Since the two sons of Vapeani,

Aramen and Zétaco, were drunkards and unfit to rule, the priests took charge of Tariacuri, still just a boy, and educated and advised him during his youth until he was able to take over the kingship. Tariacuri spent a large part of his life fighting his enemies, including the Aztecs, and enlarging the kingdom. By many he is considered to be the father of the Tarascan Empire. Apparently he lived during the last years of the 14th or the first years of the 15th century. After his death the kingdom was divided between the two sons of his older drunken cousins and his own son. Hiripan, the son of Zétaco, took the kingdom of Cuyacan (Ihuatzio). His own son, Hiquage, took Pátzcuaro, and Tangaxoan, son of Aramen, took Tzintzuntzan including the islands of the lake. The close geographical proximity of these three towns — Pátzcuaro and Tzintzuntzan, the most distant, are only 16 km. apart — shows how minute the kingdom was at this time. These rulers successfully made war on their neighbors, and as tribute took the first gold and silver which they had ever seen, believing it to be excrement of the golden sun and the silver moon respectively. Rather than divide it up, it was guarded in Cuyacan as a national treasure until moved to Tzintzuntzan and ultimately discovered and carried away by the conquerer Olid.

During the reign of Zizispandaquare, son of Tangaxoan, the kingdom was reunited and Tzintzuntzan made the capital city. The god Curicaveri was brought there from Cuyacan, as was the national treasure, part of which was distributed among the islands of the lake for safe keeping. At this time the empire seems to have reached its greatest expansion. The son of Zizispandaquare, Zuangua, successfully stood off assaults of the Aztecs, but already the sands of time were running out for the Tarascans, and for all the Indians of the New World. For during his last days the Spaniards arrived in Mexico, and his weak son Tangaxoan, or Zincicha, was to be the last of the Tarascan rulers.

Although this entire account, as abstracted from the *Relación*, cannot be accepted entirely at face value, it seems reasonably certain that from the time of Tariacuri, the kings listed were historical persons. Likewise it is apparent that the Tarascan Empire, as a large political unit, was a phenomenon of only a few years before

the conquest of Mexico. The parallel, both in time and form, to the creation of the Aztec Empire is striking. In both cases barbaric invaders conquered sedentary peoples with a high level of culture, which they learned and adopted as their own.

PRE-CONQUEST ETHNOGRAPHY

ETYMOLOGY

In their own language the Tarascans refer to themselves as *Purépecha*. The etymology of the word Tarascan is disputed. The most common explanation is that, following Spanish practice, the conquistadores took Indian women as wives and concubines, and were called *tarascué*, "son-in-law," by the fathers of the girls. Thinking that the term was the name of the tribe, the Spaniards referred to all as *Tarascos*.

ECONOMIC LIFE

At the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, the Tarascans had abandoned their former nomadic and hunting ways and had adopted the agricultural life which had no doubt flourished in Michoacán long before their arrival. Large villages and towns existed, some relatively new, such as Tzintzuntzan, and others much older, such as that on the island of Jarácuaro. The fact that most of the villages extant at the time of the Conquest exist to the present day, many still bearing the ancient names, indicates that a nice balance between land and population had been worked out. Towns were divided into *barrios*, or wards, though the fact that Pátzcuaro, 16 km. away, is given as a *barrio* of Tzintzuntzan, reveals that the *barrios* were in fact separate settlements. The form of houses is not certain; recent studies indicate that the typical wooden shake-roofed house of the sierra is post-Spanish, as are certainly tiles on adobe houses in other parts of the region (Beals et al., 1944). Reconstructing from the chronicles it seems probable that most houses in the high country, that is, the true Tarascan country as against the conquered *tierra caliente*, were rectangular, of mud or adobe, and with gabled thatched roofs of four slopes. Windows appear to have been lacking. The haphazard arrangement of houses which is found to this day in remote Indian villages probably characterized Tarascan towns.

When the first energetic friars moved into a new town they laid out plans for the church, atrium, and convent, and then ran streets at right angles in four directions from the new religious center, giving to each family room for a house, patio, and small orchard. Thus, the orderly and rectangular arrangement of streets in modern Michoacán towns appears to be due to Spanish influence.

Houses frequently were occupied by more than one family, a pattern surviving to the present day. The *Relación* mentions as types of households two or three men with their wives and relatives, others with a single husband and wife, and in still others merely a woman and her children. Outside of the village, agricultural lands were recognized to have definite owners; one official was charged with knowing all of the facts of ownership, and settling all disputes which might arise. Maize, beans, and squash, planted after the first rains in early June, were the basic crops, and chiles, chayotes, and small tomatoes were also grown. In the absence of a plow and draft animals, a simple digging stiek was used for all agriculture. A variety of fruit trees, both wild and domesticated, were exploited, among them the cherimoya, guava, mamey, cacao, *chicozapote*, *capulín*, and *tejocote*.

Deer and rabbits abounded in the hills, and were hunted, in addition to small mammals, with bows and slings. The turkey was common, and may have been domesticated in Michoacán. Other than this bird, and a small dog, there were no domesticated animals, though eagles were kept in cages in the royal enclosure, and humming birds, parrots, and other brightly plumed birds were kept by the feather workers. In the court of the King, pumas, wolves, and coyotes were kept, which, upon growing up, were killed and replaced with younger ones. Tortillas, a wide variety of tamales, maize gruels known as *atole*, boiled beans, squash, chayote, meat, and fruits formed the basic diet. The earth oven was used to bake meat and bread. The maguey was exploited for pulque, the traditional fermented drink of the Mexican peon, but the maize beer spoken of by Beaumont seems likely to be an error (Beaumont, 1932, vol. 2, p. 51). In the island of the lakes fishing was of great importance, and in some places such as Janitzio and Jarácuaro in Lake Pátzcuaro it surpassed all

other occupations in importance. Nets of a variety of types and sizes were used, both from the shore and from canoes made of hollowed cedar logs. Fishhooks likewise were important. Ducks were hunted from the water with the spear-thrower or atlatl, propelling a long reed dart.

The modern craft specialization of Michoacán, popularly credited to Don Vasco de Quiroga, actually has its roots deep in history. The list of special *mayordomos*, or king's overseers of the various trades, gives the best possible idea of the extent to which this specialization had developed. Pottery, today one of the principal industries, was made in a number of towns, and, as today, some families specialized in *ollas* ("pots") while others made plates and casseroles. Gold, silver, and copper were mined and worked by a variety of techniques, though recent archeological studies prove that the precious metals were less common than the chronicles suggest. Many of the "jewels" of gold which the Spaniards carried away with them actually were gilded copper pieces (Rubín de la Borbolla, 1944, p. 134). Cold hammering, laminating, and casting with the *cire-perdue* technique were known.

Precious stones, especially turquoise, were cut by professional lapidaries, using a special sand. Obsidian was inlaid with precious stones for lip plugs and earrings, and also used for knives. Masons cut and carved stone to build pyramids and temples. Carpenters worked wood with copper tools, making canoes, paddles, wooden trays, small benches, and other articles. Maguey leaves were used to make cloth or paper to which combinations of colored feathers were applied to form capes and mantles which, according to all contemporary reports, were of astonishing beauty and technical perfection. Cotton was grown, spun, dyed in many colors, and woven by women into cloth for garments, and also to serve as tribute and offerings to friends among the nobles. Palm and tule mats were woven for floors and to sleep on. Lacquer work, famed to this day, was done in a number of pueblos, with Peribán either the center of the industry or the chief market place. Some men were professional hunters, specializing in deer and rabbits, while others devoted their talents to ducks and quail. Still others were drum makers, others

house builders and temple repairers, and still others makers of bows and arrows.

In the major towns there were periodic markets for the interchange of local products. Rea speaks of evening markets, from 5 to 9 o'clock, where people bought, sold, and bartered. Splinters of a resinous pine, *ocote*, were tied to dried *quiotos*, the stalks of maguey, to light the market place, and to light the way home, the light being so bright that this author compares the market place to a burning Troy (Rea, 1882, p. 112). In the lake region transportation was to a large extent by boat; in other places, owing to the lack of a suitable pack animal, by the human back.

Clothing depended on the rank of a person. Male commoners wore loin cloths of leather while female commoners wore a short skirt and left their breasts exposed. More important persons wore long garments of cotton, white, black, or painted, and some had capes woven of rabbit hair and cotton fibers. All persons wore deer-hide sandals tied around the ankles. Lip plugs of obsidian inlaid with turquoise, and earrings, bracelets, and necklaces of gold, silver, gilded copper and turquoise, capes and robes of feathers, and garlands and wreaths of flowers were the marks of nobility. Cranial deformation was practiced at least among the distinguished families.

MARRIAGE

Among the nobility, marriage was always within the same clan or lineage, which suggests that social distinctions were due to a conquering tribe setting itself up over the subject people. A father, desirous of marrying his son, sent a go-between to the father of the girl, who explained his mission. If the father were pleased he said, "Yes, it is good, for he is of our family." Subsequently the girl and her family came to the groom's house where a priest admonished them both to be good, and faithful to each other. A banquet followed, featuring special tamales filled with beans, in addition to other foods. The groom was then expected to spend 4 days bringing wood to the temples, while the girl swept the house and a path out into the street, symbolizing a clean and unfettered life ahead of them. Only after this period was the marriage consummated.

Among the lower classes marriage was often a more informal affair, and several forms were recognized. Most acceptable was a modified imitation of that of the nobles. The parents decided on the spouses for their children, made the arrangements, and, lacking a priest, they themselves admonished the new couple to live happily and honestly. The modern marriage custom of the Tarascans existed at the time of the Conquest, and was perhaps the most common form. The boy, enamored of the girl, and she accepting, carried her to the house of a relative or friend and then sent a relative to her home to ask for her hand. The father, either following custom or giving vent to his true feelings, made a great show of anger, raged at the girl for dishonoring him, and then accepted the *fait accompli*. A practice which was particularly shocking to the friars was that of taking as wife a woman with a daughter by another man, and then also taking the daughter when she reached the age of puberty, the older woman accepting the arrangement so as to have a home in her old age. Marriage of an uncle and his niece is mentioned, but that of aunt and nephew, and of a man and his dead wife's sister (sororate) are specifically denied. While the nobles commonly had more than one wife or concubine, monogamy seems to have been the rule for commoners, though polygyny was not forbidden, as in the case of a man married to a mother and daughter. The existence of a clan organization for the lower classes is not made clear in the literature. Surviving traces in modern Tarascan social organization suggest that there were patrilineal exogamous clans or lineages.

If a woman were jealous of her husband's second wife or concubine, she might go to diviners who would place two grains of maize in a gourd of water. If the two sank to the bottom and rose together, it meant that the husband would remain with his first wife. If the grains did not remain together it indicated that the husband would stay with the other woman.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The importance of the king, or *calzonci*, in Tarascan social and religious structure is shown by the preponderant amount of space given by

the chroniclers in describing his life and death. He was not only the highest political authority, but also the representative and incarnation of the primordial god Curicaveri. Thus, he had a twofold job: that of ruling the country, and of maintaining the cult of the god. Both were so intertwined that they are difficult to separate. Wars were made under his direction each fall after the maize harvest, to obtain the necessary prisoners to sacrifice to the god. The king's powers were absolute, extending to life and death over his subjects. He was a member of a clan or lineage known as the Vacuxccha, or eagle. Within his household, in later years at Tzintzuntzan, all of the work was done by women. The principal wife, or *yveri*, was in charge of the rest, and may be considered as queen, although her children did not necessarily inherit the throne. One group of women, the daughters of important men of the empire, formed a sort of harem, leaving the royal enclosure only at the time of fiestas, and passing their days weaving the cloth used as offerings and gifts. Often they were subsequently married to important lords of the kingdom. Other women were charged with the care of the royal jewels, the lip plugs and earrings, or with caring for the king's bedchamber. Another was his cook, another the cup bearer, another headwaitress, another sauce maker, another shoe watcher, another guardian of salt, another guardian of the seeds, another guardian of thick cloths and another of the thin cloths. Still another received fish brought by fishermen. All of these women were watched over by a woman known as the *quataperi*.

Under the king was a series of *caciques* or *señores*, local rulers or assistants with precisely defined powers. Each of the four main divisions of the empire had its *señor*, and each village its *cacique*. As symbols of obedience all periodically were required to carry wood to the temples for sacred fires. Ministers and fiscal agents lived in Tzintzuntzan with the king, and during a large part of the year the village and province lords did likewise, probably so that the king could be sure that they were up to no mischief. Other officials were census takers, who within their appointed areas enumerated the people and brought the men together for communal labors for the kingdom. Another official had

charge of receiving tribute in the form of cloths, cotton, and mats of reeds, while still another was overseer of the royal fields. Finally there was a long list of *mayordomos* or chiefs of each class of work, which gives us some idea of the high degree of industrial and craft specialization which had developed: an overseer of the 2,000 carpenters and 1,000 chief temple repairers, of masons, of hunters of ducks and quail; a chief hunter specializing in overseeing deer and rabbit hunters; an overseer each of hook and net fishermen; one to receive honey brought to the king; one to receive the pulque; one in charge of featherwork; another to make drums; one to guard the wooded lands; one to guard the official treasure; a bow-and-arrow maker; one to receive maize brought to the *calzonci*; another over the war spies; another to guard the captive eagles, an overseer of doctors, of lacquer painters, of potters, of flower-wreath makers, and so forth. All of the official positions were hereditary, so that a rather tight caste system existed.

The execution of justice was shared by the king and his high priest, and a well-developed code existed. If a lord took a woman of the king, he and his wife, children, close relatives, and retainers who might be in his house were killed, on the theory that all were guilty. Adulterers and robbers were punished by death, as were the brothers or sons of the king who were perpetually drunk. Witches had their mouths slit to the ears with stone knives, and were then stoned to death. Refusal to bring wood to the sacred fires, to go to war, and wandering without working, were all crimes punishable by imprisonment. The main priest, the *petamiti*, with his turquoise-encrusted gourd and lance as insignia of authority, meted out justice in the patio of the *calzonci*, surrounded by all who could crowd in. Major judgments took place during a 20-day period following a great fiesta called the *Yzquataconscuaro*. Lesser crimes were dismissed by publicly warning the evildoer, but upon the fourth offense, death was the penalty.

An aging king selected the son whom he thought best suited to rule as successor. When, in spite of the ministrations of all the doctors of the empire, the old king died, all the lords came to Tzintzuntzan; those who refused were considered traitors. The body was washed, dressed in white, covered with jewels of turquoise

and gold, wrapped in a cloth, and placed on a wooden bed. The heir indicated 7 women and more than 40 male retainers who were to die with the king. The women included the guardian of his lip plugs, the guardian of the turquoise necklaces, his chambermaid, his cook, and his cup bearer. Among the men were those who guarded his cloths, his copper axes, his shoes, one who carried his throne, a sunshade carrier, a featherworker, and a bow-and-arrow maker. At midnight in an impressive ceremony the king was carried to the *yácatas* where the body was placed on a funeral pyre and burned. Alligator bones and tortoise-shell rattles took the place of tolling bells. The retainers were first stupefied with alcoholic drinks, bludgeoned to death, and then buried with all the jewels which they wore. Next morning the bones of the king and his melted ornaments were gathered and put in a cloth with a turquoise mask on top. At the *yácatas* near the temple of Curicaveri a large grave was dug and filled with jewels and food. The remains of the king were gathered in a large pot, placed on a wooden bed at the bottom of the tomb, which was covered first with planks and finally with earth. Then all who had aided with the funerary ceremonies bathed to avoid danger of contamination. For the 5 following days nobody ground corn, lit fires, or went out of doors.

Meanwhile the principal lords of the kingdom assembled in the patio of the dead king to go through the formality of selecting a new king. This followed a traditional pattern: the son-elect asked that his uncle, because of his greater experience, be the new king. The uncle replied that he was old, tired, and that the boy should rule. After 5 days of dickering the youth accepted, and asked the loyalty of all the lords.

Five days later the head priest and nobles entered the compound where the youth was living. The priest put a garland of tiger skin on his head, a tiger-skin quiver of arrows on his back, bracelets of deerskin on his arms, and deer hoofs around his ankles as insignia of his rank. Then in a solemn procession the priests, followed by the new king and the lords, filed out to where the people were assembled. The head priest introduced the new king and asked that all of his subjects help and obey him. The lords, to show that they had agreed to the new king,

spoke in a similar vein, thus filling the entire day. Finally the king accepted. Subsequently preparations were made for war, neighbors were attacked, and the war party returned with a hundred or more prisoners to be sacrificed. With this final act the new king was definitely established.

RELIGION

Tarascan religion was polytheistic, and the pantheon at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards represented the accretions of many years. The king was, as has been seen, the earthly representative and incarnation of the oldest god of the Tarascan Chichimecs of Zacapu, Curicaveri, the bloodthirsty and warlike "black god," god of fire, represented by a flint lancehead. The goddess Xaratanga was acquired when the Chichimecs took possession of Tzintzuntzan, and in time came to have about the same importance as Curicaveri. A possible Aztec origin for this goddess is shown by the *baño*, apparently a *temascal* or sweat bath, which was located in or near her chief temple. Cueravahperi, the mother creator, had her cult centered at Zinapécuaro, which, being somewhat removed from the lake region, suggests that she was a later addition.

Another god, whose position is not clear, is Querenda angapeti. The importance of this deity, whose temple was in Zacapu, is shown by the fact that the king, followed by the lords, made an annual trip from Tzintzuntzan, crossing the lake in a canoe and continuing on foot to pay homage. Kneeling, he kissed the hand of the chief priest, and then left offerings of first fruits, incense, petates, jewels, and flowers. Selser believes that this god personifies the same ideas as Curicaveri. All gods, according to the same author, can be grouped in three categories: gods of the sky, gods of the four cardinal points, and the god of the infernal regions (Selser, 1908, p. 133). Idols were of stone and wood, apparently small and light in weight, since they were carried around on many migrations. Temples, first of wood and later of stone, were built on circular truncated stone pyramids, *yácatas*, and in each a perpetual fire was kept burning. Thus, one of the basic religious duties of all persons, including the king himself, was to cut

and carry wood. The most notable *yácatas* are the five in Tzintzuntzan and the two in Ihuatzio.

In the beginning the Tarascan Chichimecs made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. Criminals and slaves were sacrificed when war victims were lacking. There was a series of priests, called "grandfathers." The most important was the *petamiti*, who, according to Seler, was a shaman who could enter a trance and thus learn the will of the gods. He was charged with the maintenance of the sacred fires, with the dispensation of justice, and with the conservation of tradition. The common priests were known as *curiti-echa*; they offered incense to the gods and maintained fires in each temple. Lesser priests were sacristans who guarded temples, and assistants to a class known as *azami-echa* who performed the sacrificial rites. Others carried the gods on their migrations, to fiestas, and to war. Wizards, sorcerers, and medicine men were likewise considered members of the priestly class. Some were rainmakers, others had powers to prevent crop-destroying hail, others divined by throwing maize in the Aztec fashion, and still others made use of the technique of scrying, which consisted in this case of looking into mirrors or jars of water to see by the reflection where robbers had fled. Priests were not celibates, and their position was hereditary. Seler concludes that the basic concepts of Tarascan religion and the hierarchy of gods were very similar to those of the Aztecs.

A recent reconstruction of the Tarascan calendar by Caso shows conclusively that it was of the basic Middle-American type, involving 18 months of 20 days each, and a 5-day period at the end of the year. Names of 15 of the 18 months are known, and can be correlated both with the modern calendar and the month names of the Aztecs. Likewise the Tarascans were acquainted with the ritual 260-day period, called *tonalpohualli* in Aztec and *huriyata miyucua* in Tarascan. On the final day of each month a great fiesta was observed (Caso, 1943).

WARFARE

War had two basic purposes: to extend the boundaries of the realm, and to obtain prisoners

for sacrifices. At the time of the fiesta of *hanzinasquaro* the king sent messengers to all parts of the kingdom advising the lords to come to his capital city. Wood was brought to the temples for huge fires, and priests burned incense and prayed to the god of fire, Curicaveri, that the enemies be smitten with illness so that they could not fight. Then all the lords named their special enemies, asking that some of their vassals be left to be taken.

Meanwhile, spies were sent into enemy lands to study the military organization, to learn the paths, river fords, and other data essential to a successful campaign. Then, in front of each captain, they traced maps on the ground to show him the best routes. Warriors put wreaths of flowers or deerskin on their heads, with plumes of crane, eagle, or parrot feathers. The captain general in command of the entire expedition wore a headdress of feathers, a silver buckler on his back, a quiver of tiger skin, earrings and bracelets of gold, breeches of leather, and anklets of gold rattles.

After exhorting both nobles and commoners not to falter and not to turn back, priests carrying images of Curicaveri, Xaratanga, and other gods set out with the parties made up of columns and squadrons of warriors. A light squadron of 400 men attacked an unsuspecting town, set fire to it, and then, feigning injuries, retreated, drawing the opposing warriors into an ambush where they were set upon by the bulk of the Tarascan army, to be killed or taken captive. The very old, the very young, and the wounded were sacrificed on the spot and cooked and eaten. Captives were taken home and sacrificed to the gods, except boys, who were spared and raised to work in the fields. A peace mission was then sent to the king by the defeated party, and with it returned officials to govern the new conquest.

Weapons were the bow and arrow, the sling, and two classes of clubs, one a heavy cudgel, the other with pieces of sharp flint along the edges, after the manner of the Aztecs.

By means of constant raiding, the Tarascans in the century or century and a half before the arrival of the Spaniards had carried the limits of their empire to the Pacific coast at Zacatula, into Colima and Jalisco, and into northern Guerrero. Along the eastern boundaries a chain of

fortified cities and garrisons was maintained to hold off the counterraiders of the Aztecs. Best described is Zitácuaro, which had a stockade of stout oak poles more than 3 m. high and nearly 2 m. wide, so well built that, in the words of Beaumont, it could not have been better if made of stone (Beaumont, 1932, vol. 2, p. 6). Master carpenters and peons were charged with the work of constantly replacing old and dry wood with green posts. The old wood was then ceremonially burned in the temples as an offering to the gods.

Conquered peoples paid tribute, depending on the products of their country, in the form of cloths and clothing, gold dust and nuggets, salt, cotton, painted and unpainted gourd containers (*jicaras*), dried bananas, honey, maize, turkeys, and chiles.

FIRST SPANISH CONTACT

The *Relación* speaks of unusual omens — comets, burning temples, and dreams — which warned the Tarascans of the arrival of a strange people. Nevertheless, the first concrete information came with the arrival of a mission of 10 Aztecs, sent by Moctezuma II to Michoacán to ask the aid of the Tarascans against the new enemy. In spite of the fact that the Aztecs were his traditional antagonists, King Zuangua received the emissaries with hospitality and listened to their accounts of a people who came mounted on a type of deer, who wore garments of an unknown metal, and who carried "things" which sounded like thunder and which killed at a great distance. Greatly impressed, but fearing treachery, Zuangua sent several messengers to the emissaries to see for themselves, and at the same time secretly sent out a small war party which captured three Otomi Indians. Asked if they knew of unusual events in Mexico, the Otomis replied that the Mexicans had been conquered by unknown people, that Tenochtitlan was piled high with corpses, and for this reason they were seeking allies to help throw off the foreign yoke.

Zuangua was greatly puzzled that his gods and ancestors had not warned him of these happenings. The returning Tarascans confirmed the news of the Otomis, and brought a new plea for aid. Still undecided, Zuangua suspected

treachery on the part of the Aztecs, that they would sell his warriors to Cortés or kill them. The arrival of the Spaniards, reasoned Zuangua, must be due to the will of a god for unsuspected sins or oversights on the part of the Tarascans. He gave orders that more and more wood be brought for the temple fires that their gods might pardon their sins. While trying to make up his mind, smallpox and dysentery brought by the returning messengers struck the town, and the king and his chief priests died. The eldest son, Tangaxoan, also called Zincicha, succeeded him, and fearing his two younger brothers, put them to death upon the pretext that they were intriguing with his wives and that they wished to take the kingdom from him. Meanwhile, just after the death of Zuangua, 10 more messengers came from Moctezuma asking aid. The weak and cowardly emperor told them that they must go to the infernal regions and ask the advice of the dead king. They were prepared in the manner of all captives and sacrificed in the temples of Curicaveri and Xaratanga. Thus was destroyed the only hope which the Mexicans had of defeating Cortés, and postponing the conquest of Mexico.

The first news the Spaniards had of Michoacán was accidental: a soldier named Parrillas in search of provisions arrived at Taximaroa (Ciudad Hidalgo) on February 23, 1522, and, possibly awed by his white horse, the Tarascans treated him well. Cortés, intrigued by the accounts of the fertility of the land and of gold and silver, sent the soldier Montaña, accompanied by 3 Spaniards and 20 Aztecs, with directions to see and speak with the Tarascan king. Their instructions told them to treat the king well, to inform him about the Pope, the king of Castile, and to enlighten the people about many things to which they were blind. They were to remind the Tarascans that the Christian God had permitted them to destroy the Aztecs, because they had not received the Spaniards well, and that they would do the same to all who imitated Moctezuma, including the king, who must recognize the sovereignty of the Spaniards. Montaña and his men were well received in Taximaroa, and shortly thereafter set out for Tzintzuntzan where their coming was announced by painted cloths of *mctl*, maguay fiber, which showed how they dressed and what they

carried. A short distance from Tzintzuntzan they were met by 800 nobles and escorted to the capital, where they were received with "joy and veneration." Food was prepared and the Spaniards were well treated. Subsequently they were forced to stay in a small enclosure for 18 days, while Tangaxoan debated their fate before finally deciding to sacrifice them. Fortunately, an old lord, perhaps fearful of the powers of the Spaniards, persuaded the king that it was unworthy of a monarch to thus treat messengers of another, and that they should be set free and sent to Mexico with gifts of all kinds. Torn between fear and hate, the king showered gifts on the relieved Spaniards and sent them on their way to Mexico, with the promise that he would recognize the sovereignty of the king of Castile.

In July of the same year Cristóbal de Olid with two hundred Spaniards invaded Michoacán, and captured the city of Taximaroa. The king made ready to fight, assembled his armies, and sent an Indian known in the literature as Don Pedro Cuirananguari as spy. Don Pedro was captured by Olid and, after witnessing a Mass, decided that all Spaniards were great wizards and that resistance was useless. He was sent back to Tzintzuntzan with the demand that the king present himself at a place called Quanguacéo with cloths, turkeys, eggs, and fish.

The terrified king, in spite of the assurances of the peaceful intentions of the Spaniards, fled to the hills with his wives, and was in hiding when Olid arrived. Meanwhile, those left in Tzintzuntzan sacrificed 800 prisoners to prevent their falling into the hands of the Spaniards as possible allies, and informed the conquistador that their king had drowned. Olid ordered that all treasures be gathered together and sent to Cortés under the supervision of the same Don Pedro. Subsequently the king came out of hiding and aided in rounding up the last of the Tarascan treasures, with which he was sent, weeping for fear, to Mexico. Cortés received him with hospitality, showed him the son of Moctezuma with his feet burned for treachery, and suggested that he should not act like the Aztecs. According to Beaumont, Tangaxoan and his men always ate with Cortés, and, though pleased with Spanish cuisine, were much more

impressed with Spanish wine (Beaumont, 1932, vol. 2, p. 24). Greatly impressed, both by fear and friendly treatment, the *calzonci* went over completely to the Spaniards, and was allowed to return to rule over his people.¹

The data reveal little of what happened during the next 2 years. In 1525, hearing of the arrival of the first 12 Franciscan friars (1522-23), King Tangaxoan resolved to go to Mexico again, to ask that one or more be sent to Michoacán. As Beaumont puts it, he was rewarded by God for his good will and diligence by being the first Tarascan whose soul was washed in baptismal waters, taking the Christian name of Francisco. Fray Martín de Valencia, who was in charge of the Franciscans, listened to his plea and appointed Fray Martín de Jesús, also known as de la Corona, and 5 other friars to return to Michoacán with the king.²

Thus, at the end of 1525 or the beginning of 1526 — there are conflicting statements in the sources — the first friars arrived in Tzintzuntzan. Immediately they surveyed the town for the best location for their church, which was quickly erected with wood, to be followed by a temporary convent with straw cells. In the new church of *Santa Ana* a wooden cross was raised and the first Mass celebrated. Through an interpreter Fray Martín "represented to them with much vivacity and efficiency the abominable errors in which they had lived, the awfulness of their sacrifices which they made of men, against all natural right, and the falsity of their idols and gods which were nothing more than instruments, images, and pictures of the devil" (Beaumont, 1932, vol. 2, pp. 111-112). Nevertheless, the Tzintzuntzeños were loathe to abandon their old gods, so, making use of his friendship with Tangaxoan, Fray Martín, in the presence of a great multitude, broke all of the idols in the temples into pieces and, along with the gold, silver, and precious stones with which they were adorned, cast them into the deepest part of Lake Pátzcuaro. Subsequently, the friars explained the new religion each morning and

¹ Beaumont, apparently erroneously, says that the *calzonci* went to see Cortés before Olid arrived, and that when the conquistador came he was cordially received (vol. 2, p. 24).

² Other sources suggest that only 2 or 3 friars went. Since only 12 had arrived in Mexico, it is hardly to be expected that half of them would go to one place.

afternoon, making use of paintings representing the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments, and so forth, to illustrate their words. They concentrated their efforts especially on children, whom they found to be more receptive and to learn more easily.

After baptism, one of the first preoccupations of the friars was to eliminate polygyny, which was done by asking each man which wife he preferred, and forbidding him henceforth to live with the others. In this first year, 1526, no other churches were established, but the friars frequently visited the other lake towns in canoes — Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, San Andrés Tzirándaro, San Jerónimo Purenchécuaro, Santa Fe, and Cucupao (Quiroga). Subsequently — and again the dates are not certain — convents were founded in Pátzcuaro, Acámbaro, Zinapécuaro, Uruapan, Tarécuaro, and many other towns in the sierra. Moreno, the biographer of Don Vasco, says that upon his arrival only the convent of Tzintzuntzan existed, while Beaumont vigorously defends the thesis that others were erected before his arrival.

Whatever the truth, the orderly conversion and settling of Michoacán received a rude jolt and setback with the arrival of Nuño de Guzmán. Guzmán had been named president of the first *audiencia* by the court of Charles V to replace Cortés, and by abuse of his high position he brought a reign of terror perhaps never equaled in the New World. Eventually Bishop Zumárraga excommunicated the entire *audiencia*, consisting of president and four *oidores*, and, anticipating his replacement by a new *audiencia* (that of Bishop Ramírez de Fuenleal), toward the close of 1530 Guzmán set off with an army to raid and plunder in Michoacán and Jalisco. Terrified, the king sent him presents of gold and silver, as well as several thousand men to serve in his army. Unsatisfied, Guzmán demanded more and more gold, which the king was patently unable to supply, since Olid had thoroughly sacked the kingdom. Enraged, Guzmán accused him of treason, tortured him, sentenced him to death, and so, in 1530, in company with several important nobles the unfortunate Tangaxoan was burned at the stake. Having undone the good work of the first friars, Guzmán continued his conquests on into the modern State of Jalisco, founding cities, estab-

lishing *encomiendas*, and burning and slaughtering as he went.

Meanwhile, unbeknown to the Tarascans, a better day was dawning for the people of Michoacán. At this time Michoacán was in a state of turmoil. The first favorable impressions of the Indians toward the Spaniards had been destroyed completely by the terrorization of Guzmán. Towns were depopulated, people lived in the hills, and what little Christianity had been learned was now forgotten. Likewise, the newly appointed nobles, in carpetbag style, were victimizing all persons under their control. In the words of Moreno, at this time the Tarascans were living —

in the most lamentable state: the character of baptism, which was the only claim they had on Christianity, only served to aggravate the enormities which they had formerly practiced, and which even now they had not abandoned. Although secretly, they still followed the cult of their false gods. They had not abandoned polygyny, and some even had 10 and others 15 women; drunkenness was frequent; robbery and murder of the Spaniards was the means by which they lived. It is true that the apostolic friars had worked with this problem... they preached to them and even castigated their rebelliousness with whips; but all in vain, because as the height of everything, and to eliminate at the root the hope of remedy, they had fled to the hills where they lived a life like that of wild beasts [Aguayo, 1938, p. 47].

To study the situation, Don Vasco de Quiroga was named *visitador* and sent to Michoacán where he met Don Pedro Cuirananguari, governor of Tzintzuntzan, and had the principal people of the pueblo assembled. His words, subsequently repeated in other parts of the State, seem to have been more a reproach for having deserted Christianity than the apology which might have seemed due.

Don Vasco de Quiroga, already 60 years old, had set sail for New Spain in 1530, appointed *oidor* of the second *audiencia*, headed by Fuenleal. Schooled in law and science, he was well aware of the intellectual developments which were taking place outside of Spain, of the dawn of a new period of humanitarianism, human rights, and free inquiry. A reformer by nature, he had definite ideas as to what should be done to help the Indians, and with his position and salary, first as *oidor* and later as bishop of Michoacán, he was in a position to put them into effect.

Like many reformers, he was so sure of his cause that he did not hesitate to override any opposition, as is evident by his summary and high-handed tactics in moving the seat of his subsequent bishopric from Tzintzuntzan to Pátzcuaro (see below). His first action was the founding of the "hospital" of Santa Fe near Mexico City, which he followed in the year 1533, at the time of his first visit to Michoacán, with a second, also called by the same name. Subsequently, hospitals were founded in many other pueblos of Michoacán, including Tzintzuntzan. These "hospitals" were much more than places for the sick. They were, to quote Moreno, "the center of religion, of politics, and of the humanity of the Indian" (Aguayo, 1938, p. 78). The Indians were gathered together in communities, communist in nature, where they were governed in all aspects of social, religious, and economic life by *ordenanzas*, or rules. Zavala recently has called attention to the remarkable similarity between these rules and the Utopia outlined by Thomas More, similarities so striking that it must be assumed that Quiroga received his inspiration from the English philosopher (Zavala, 1937).

The lands of the pueblo-hospitals were to be communal. Each household was to be composed of an extended family consisting of up to a dozen married couples — grandparents, sons, wives, uncles, aunts, and children — with the oldest male the patriarch. Wives were subject to their husbands, and the younger men to the older. In turn, the patriarch was responsible for the conduct of all beneath him. Boys were to marry at 14, girls at 12. Each house was allowed a garden or orchard, the produce of which belonged to the family, as contrasted to the communal distribution of the produce of fields.

Each individual was to be trained not only in agriculture, but also in a trade, such as weaving, stone working, bricklaying, or blacksmithing. Thus, each member of the hospital was trained for the rotation of work which Quiroga ordained. Two years were to be spent farming in the country, away from the pueblo. Then, while others took their places, the farmers came to the hospital for 2 years of work as artisans. The produce of this communal agricultural labor went to the community, and was divided according to the needs of each family and individual,

and not according to the work done. All luxury was to be dispensed with. Clothing was to consist of a white garment, adequate with respect to the climate, but without paintings, designs, or other decorations. Since all individuals physically able worked and since there were no luxury items, a work day of 6 hours was deemed sufficient to maintain the community. Everyone ate in a communal dining room, with the work of preparing the meals divided among all by turns. A hospital proper was provided with rooms for those suffering from contagious diseases and others for noncontagious illnesses, with nurses to care for the sick. Likewise a school "for Christian and moral instruction" was provided. With the exception of the *rector*, who was to be a Spanish ecclesiastic, all of the officials were Indians, elected by turn.

Mexican historians usually speak of a successful outcome of this plan. Unfortunately, precise documentation, if extant, is buried in archives, nor do we have a complete list of towns in which hospitals were founded. It is significant, I believe, that in few parts of the world is there a stronger concept of private property rights, manifest in agricultural lands, homes and gardens, domestic animals and produce, than one finds among the Michoacán Tarascans and Mestizos. Today, beyond the memory of the names of hospitals, and in Santa Fe the continued function of *cargueros* of the hospital, there is no evidence of the former function of this experiment. On the other hand, the name of Don Vasco is known to even the most illiterate Indian, and he is universally venerated. In a folkloric sense he has come to be the culture hero of the lake and sierra region, and is credited with establishing the modern order of things.

In 1534 a royal edict divided New Spain into four provinces and bishoprics, of which Michoacán, including Jalisco, Colima, and lands to the north, was one. In the same year another royal edict confirmed for Tzintzuntzan the title City of Michoacán, with all of the honors, privileges, and prerogatives as such, thereby officially confirming the true status of Tzintzuntzan as the most important city in North America north and west of Mexico City (Beaumont, 1932, vol. 2, pp. 376-77). In 1536 Pope Paul III erected the bishopric of Michoacán, with Tzintzuntzan

as the seat. Since the bishop first named refused the appointment, Don Vasco de Quiroga was appointed, and thus for practical purposes became the first bishop of Michoacán.

Among the instructions of the new bishop were those of selecting a town which seemed best suited for the construction of a cathedral. Since it was the largest and best known city of the time, and since it was the center of the old religious cult, Don Vasco selected Tzintzuntzan, where he arrived to begin work in 1539.³ Shortly thereafter he decided that Tzintzuntzan was not suitable to become the seat of his bishopric because of the poor water supply and the cramped position of the town between the hills and the lake, and so, in the following year, he moved to Pátzcuaro. Pátzcuaro, in spite of having been an important city during the reign of Hiquagage was at this time a *barrio* of Tzintzuntzan, a town of 10 or 12 houses, and of importance only as a place of recreation for the Tarascan kings. The bishop took with him the church organ, the bells, the royal title to the claim of *Ciudad de Michoacán*, and a great many protesting Indians to populate the new town, and left behind little beyond the foundations of the new cathedral and a great deal of ill will. Thus was sounded the death knell of Tzintzuntzan, depopulated and despoiled of its rightful political category. Henceforth Pátzcuaro was to enjoy the title City of Michoacán, originally bestowed on the old Tarascan capital city.

LATER HISTORY

After the Conquest much of the Tarascan area was divided according to the *encomienda* system by which conquistadors were rewarded for their services with large land grants, including all of the Indians who lived thereon. By law they were charged with the protection of the Indians, and could demand only limited amounts of work each year. Unfortunately the system did not work out according to plan, and the indigenous population was often reduced to virtual slavery. Other towns were placed directly under the *real corona*, royal crown, with In-

dian chiefs remaining in charge as governors, and with the land conferred by a royal title to all of the pueblo. Communal lands not used for agriculture were known as *ejidos*, following Spanish practice. Tzintzuntzan, as chief city of the province of Michoacán, falls in the second category.⁴ These Indian governors were links between the friars and the Indians, and served as efficient tools. They worked with the *priostes*, *cargueros*, *fiscales*, and others charged with church work, and also attended to visiting Spaniards, providing them with food and lodging and furnishing guides and animals. In a sense, the governors were *criados de honor*, servants of honor. Nevertheless, they retained considerable control over their subjects, and continued to collect tribute and personal services, so that the demands of the clergy were superimposed upon those already existing.

The number and years of arrival of Spanish settlers in Michoacán are not entirely clear. It is apparent that the process of mestization which has reduced the original Tarascan area to a small nucleus began shortly after the Conquest. When Don Vasco de Quiroga sought to move the cathedral to Pátzcuaro from Tzintzuntzan in 1540, not only the Indians, but also the Spaniards objected, indicating that in Tzintzuntzan mestization on a continuous basis had already begun.

From this time on, data on Tzintzuntzan are sketchy. With the loss of the cathedral (subsequently transferred to Valladolid, modern Morelia, in 1579) the town became just one among hundreds, with only memories of former greatness to console it. Apparently a hospital similar to that at Santa Fe was founded, for the early maps show its presence, but even Moreno has nothing to say about it. Two interesting maps, both probably drawn shortly after 1540 show that by this date Tzintzuntzan had assumed approximately its modern form. That of Beaumont (1932, vol. 3, pl. 2, facing p. 410), which may be slightly older, shows the church, convent and atrium, four of the five *yá-*

³ Don Vasco made a special trip to Tzintzuntzan to take possession of his new bishopric in August 1538, returning to Mexico City to be ordained later in the fall (Aguayo, 1938, p. 53; Beaumont, 1932, vol. 2, p. 379).

⁴ For a brief period, beginning in 1527, Tzintzuntzan was the personal property of Cortés who, in this year, divided other adjacent lands as *encomiendas* among his followers (Toussaint, 1942, p. 14). Emperor Charles V ordered, in a *cedula* dated April 5, 1528, that all *cabeceras*, or governing cities of provinces, were to be directly under the royal crown. An ordinance of the first *audiencia*, dated May 14, 1529, put this edict into effect (Aguayo, 1938, p. 89).

catas, a hospital, the *plaza mayor*, and the four main east-west streets which exist today. Tzintzuntzan is clearly a town of considerable size; Pátzcuaro is shown only by a church. In the lower left-hand corner Don Vasco is shown leaving, carrying with him the organ and church bell.

Seler's map (Seler, 1908, vol. 3, pl. 3, p. 66) is essentially the same, and also shows the departure of Don Vasco with the organ, and the convent and church. With respect to the hospital, which is shown at the lower side of the churchyard, and the unmarked chapel of La Concepción shown by three arches immediately to the right, it is more accurate than Beaumont's map. Both maps clearly indicate that at this time Tzintzuntzan was the important city of the entire region.

Tzintzuntzan continued as the center of Franciscan efforts in Michoacán. The *Relación de los Obispos de Tlaxcala, Michoacán, Oaxaca y otros lugares, 1565*, relates that there was the Franciscan convent with at least two or three friars, and often more, and lists nine *barrios* that depended on the *cabecera* (*Relación de los Obispos, etc., 1904*, p. 33). Alonso Ponce, at the time general commissioner for the Franciscans in Mexico, visited Tzintzuntzan in 1586. He reports that the convent, of stone and mortar construction, was completed, and in it lived two friars. Fishing was done from canoes with both hooks and nets, and small dried fish were taken as far as Mexico City for sale. The list of European fruits found in the Pátzcuaro area (figs, apples, peaches, grapes, quinces, oranges, pomegranates, citrons, lemons, limes, and walnuts) indicates to what extent agriculture had been influenced. Wheat had become such a basic crop that several mills existed in the area (Ponce, 1873, vol. 1, p. 538).

The inhabitants of Tzintzuntzan never ceased to smart under the humiliation of having been robbed of their royal prerogative, and complained of suffering injustices at the hands of the authorities in Pátzcuaro. In 1593, after years of litigation and testimonials, King Philip of Spain in a royal edict bestowed upon the town the new title of City of Tzintzuntzan with the right to be self-governing and free from Pátzcuaro (Beaumont, 1932, vol. 2, pp. 385-386).

In early documents Tzintzuntzan is often called both Huitzitzila (or Vitzitzila) and Ciudad de Michoacán. Tzintzuntzan is an onomatopoeic Tarascan word meaning "place of the humming bird." Huitzitzila is the Aztec equivalent. And since in the beginning it was the chief city of the province of Michoacán, it was also called Ciudad de Michoacán. This has caused great confusion because first Pátzcuaro and later Morelia, as the chief cities of the province, were also called City of Michoacán. Properly speaking, Tzintzuntzan could claim this title only between 1528 and 1540. In the former year the city of Huitzitzila was recognized in an edict as the *cabecera* or head of the province, a status which lasted until Don Vasco changed the seat of his bishopric to Pátzcuaro in the latter year.

During the 16th and 17th centuries Tzintzuntzan was apparently important as a religious center, and many of the outstanding Franciscans of this period were trained in its convent. The convent functioned continuously until 1780 (Romero, 1862, p. 80). Rea, 1639, remarks that Tzintzuntzan had nearly 200 *vecinos*, i.e., heads of families, indicating that the village had shrunk to about its present size or a little less (Rea, 1882, p. 8.). By 1748 the process of mestization had gone a long way. Villaseñor reports that there were 45 families of Spaniards, 52 of Mestizos and Mulattoes, and 150 of Indians. The town had a governor and *alcaldes* to rule, and forming part of the *partido*, or political unit of which it was the head, were the towns of Ihuatzio (60 families, apparently Indian) and Cucuchucho (18 families), both of which were *visitas* of the clergy from Tzintzuntzan; and Cucupao (Quiroga, 30 Spanish, 60 Mulatto and Mestizo, and 60 Indian families), Santa Fe (120 Indian families), and San Jerónimo Purenchécuaro (35 Indian families), all with churches and clergy. In the same source we learn that the towns around Lake Pátzcuaro, in the sierra to the west, and in La Cañada—precisely those areas which today are still basically Indian—had only Indian populations, with rare mention of a few Spanish families. Those towns surrounding this area, which had formerly been Tarascan, are reported to have had large numbers of Spanish, Mu-

latto, and Mestizo families, often exceeding in total number the remaining Indian families.⁵

It is thus apparent that by the middle of the 18th century the basic ethnic picture which exists today was well on the road to formation. A nuclear Tarascan region still maintained its language and racial type, and a peripheral region was already well mestized, with Spanish as a colanguage and in some places the more important. The succeeding 200 years have been merely the logical development of this process. The hard core remained, and the peripheral area became more and more Mestizo until today it is Mestizo in race and Spanish in speech.

It is possible that some of the Spanish families subsequently moved away from Tzintzuntzan. Humboldt mentions it as "only a poor Indian village, though it still preserves the pompous title of ciudad" (Humboldt, 1811, p. 208). He refers to the political category bestowed by King Philip in 1593 which, as a mocking reminder of a great past, lingered on. In official rank Tzintzuntzan, with its 2,500 inhabitants (probably including neighboring hamlets), was on a level with Morelia and Pátzcuaro, and superior to Zamora, Uruapan, Zitácuaro, and a dozen other towns of greater population.

In an interesting gazetteer and geography of the State of Michoacán, published in 1824, Tzintzuntzan is described as "a miserable pueblo of Indians" in which only recently had a constitutional government been established. No mention is made of the convent, and the priest is listed as secular. A famed pottery, sold in all parts of the kingdom (this must refer to the Archbishopric of Michoacán alone), is given as the principal industry (Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, pp. 165-166).

Romero describes Tzintzuntzan about 1860. Only the cloister of the convent remained; the rest was a pile of ruins. The parish church was that which formerly belonged to the convent, and the religious needs of the village were

administered by a single priest and vicar. The pottery made here is described as the best of the Archbishopric of Michoacán, and the only form of commerce of the inhabitants, said to be primarily Indians (Romero, 1862, pp. 78-81).

Beginning in 1869 a number of governors' reports occasionally mention Tzintzuntzan, but little can be gleaned from these sources. A school for boys had been established by that year, and the town continued its dreamy, forgotten existence.

The railroad from Mexico, via Morelia, reached Pátzcuaro in 1886, and thus opened a new means of transportation for the few daring souls willing to try the new. Lumholtz passed through Tzintzuntzan in 1896 and calls it Mestizo rather than Indian in composition (Lumholtz, 1902, vol. 2, p. 451). The Revolution of 1910 and the religious discords of later years appear to have left less imprint on Tzintzuntzan than on many other towns of the area.

The real opening of the town began in the early 1930's, under the influence of General Lázaro Cárdenas, first as Governor of Michoacán (1930-34) and later as President of Mexico (1934-40). A trade school for both sexes, later followed by the present modern building, was opened, running water and electric lights installed, and — perhaps most important of all — the highway connecting Morelia and Pátzcuaro was opened in 1939, making possible a new and easy mode of travel. A sense of civic responsibility was also brought to the town when, in 1930, it was made the *cabecera* or governing city of the new *municipio* of Tzintzuntzan, which includes a number of adjacent villages.

The Tzintzuntzan described in this monograph is the modern village, aware and proud of its former glory, lethargic after a sleep of 400 years, again conscious of its part in a new Mexico, struggling to adjust itself to strange and different conditions. The task ahead is difficult, though no more difficult than that which faces countless other towns of the same type. Apart from its glorious past, Tzintzuntzan is probably typical of a vast number of small Mexican pueblos. Conditions here described are in large part applicable to other places, and the constructive measures which can help Tzintzuntzan along the path to a new and

⁵ Villa-Señor y Sánchez, 1748. This authority stumbles over the nomenclature of City of Michoacán and confuses Pátzcuaro with Tzintzuntzan. His Tzintzuntzan data appear to have been taken from the *Padron Genl de Españoles que cumplen con el precepto anual de Nra Sta Ine Yglesia en la Parrochl de NSPS franco de la Cruz de Cintzuntzan en el año de 742 as---*, today found in the Archivo del antiguo obispado de Michoacan in Morelia, Legajo 166. Tzintzuntzan is said to have 407 *gente de razón* (97 families) and 496 *indios*.

better life and national orientation will also help the people of these other towns. As representative of rural Mexico — and Mexico basically is a country of rural and small-village life — the data here presented have significance

far beyond the antiquarian interest of surviving Indian culture. As rural Mexico is understood, and as measures are taken to solve its economic and social problems, so will the Mexican nation progress.

THE TOWN AND THE PEOPLE

TOWN LOCATION

Modern Tzintzuntzan can best be understood in relationship to the surviving Tarascan towns and those that are now Mestizo in composition. The 20th-century Tarascan core consists of several geographical areas which form a fairly continuous block. To the north of Uruapan stretches an elevated region of extinct cinder cones — to be joined some day by the new volcano Parícutin when it cools and dies — and higher mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. Pine and fir are the dominant covering on the 3,000 m. peaks. In the valleys and on the lower slopes maize and wheat are grown as staples. Livestock, lumbering, and village industrial specialization round out the economic basis of life.

To the north of this region the highlands break away into a pleasant valley, followed today by the Mexico-Guadalajara Highway. Here, in La Cañada, nestle 10 of the Once Pueblos in close proximity, Carapan the first, at the Y where the branch highway to Uruapan swings to the south, and Chilchota the last, 8 or 10 km. to the west. Enjoying the most temperate and benign climate of any Tarascan villages, these pueblos add alligator pears, cherimoyas, citrus fruits, and other semitropical products to the basic agricultural and industrial life.

In the area around Zacapu, traditional point of origin of the Tarascan dynasty, there remain a few scattered Tarascan-speaking villages, the last of the northern Tarascan area. With broad fields and ample water, this is a rich gardening area.

To the east of the sierra the land falls away to a lower elevation to the closed basin of Lake Pátzcuaro, about 2,000 m. above sea level.¹ The lake, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the

west and the two prongs to the east, is perhaps 15 km. across at its widest point. The west and north shores are dotted with villages still largely Tarascan in speech, except for Erongarícuaro which, curiously, is the point where sierra and lake Indians meet to exchange their wares. The eastern and southern shores, though still with Tarascan towns such as Ihuatzio and Cucuchucho, have been more exposed to outside influence, and mestization has gone a long way. Within the fastness of the lake the Tarascan language reigns supreme. Three important inhabited islands break the blue expanse: Janitzio, that astonishing rock rising high above the waters, and its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its scores of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its milpas 15 m. above the water's edge. In and around the lake, in addition to agriculture and industry, fishing is added to the list of occupations, and the delicate white fish sold in the Pátzcuaro market each Friday are famed over all the Republic.

South of Lake Pátzcuaro there are a few villages in the mountains where Tarascan is still spoken, such as Cuanajo, but numerically this group is not important.

In all areas the language is fairly uniform. Except for Angahuan in the sierra, dialectic differences are probably no greater than the range found in the United States. This linguistic uniformity is rather striking when compared to the dialectic variations which are characteristic of most of the other numerically important Mexican Indian groups.

These several areas form the hard Tarascan nucleus which today, with surprising vigor, resists outside influences which seek to destroy the traditional way of life. It makes no difference that this "traditional" way is in reality a hybrid culture with far fewer pre-Conquest elements than most other Mexican Indian groups.

¹ The railroad survey gives the elevation of the Pátzcuaro station, a few meters above lake level, at 2,043 m. Data from National Railways of Mexico timetable.

Over a period of several centuries following the initial period of readjustment, remarkable stability has been maintained, and as the result of the assimilation of Spanish and Indian elements a new culture arose. This new culture has been perhaps more resistant to outside intrusion than the aboriginal one. Before the Conquest the Tarascans reigned supreme in their area; they feared no one and could afford to journey far or admit strangers to their villages. After the Conquest the picture changed. The Tarascans were now the victims, no longer the aggressors. Admission of outsiders was followed by loss of lands, loss of freedom — loss of all save self-respect. Resistance became a prime survival necessity, to be practiced by all members of the community. This resistance was, and is, not selective. Over the years the Indians learned that it is hard to tell who is friend, who is foe, what is good, what is evil. Hence, *everything* new is a potential danger and must be treated with extreme suspicion. Obviously, many changes have taken place since colonial days, and will take place at an ever increasing tempo. Nevertheless this fundamental policy has made possible the linguistic and cultural solidarity of perhaps 40,000 persons for over two centuries, once equilibrium was re-established after the initial shock of contact and mestization of peripheral areas.

Tzintzuntzan was one of the towns which could not resist the first invasion. As the most important city of the empire it was predestined to receive the first attention of the Spaniards, and, caught off guard, it literally collapsed. Today, except for the sleeping *yácatas* and a few memories, nothing remains to remind one of its former glory. The traveler or tourist en route to Pátzcuaro from Morelia swings off the main road at Quiroga, and for 8 km. skirts the marshy edge of Lake Pátzcuaro. Presently he sees a few nestling houses, then a small concrete building on his right, the pump house which provides running water for the pueblo, still hidden from view. Immediately beyond is a rock-lined spring almost always surrounded by women washing, and facing it on the left side of the road, on higher ground, the small chapel of Guadalupe. This tiny settlement, El Ojo de Agua, so named because of its springs, is the only "suburb" of Tzintzuntzan, a mocking caricature of the time

when all of the pueblos of the lake were wards of the mighty capital. At this point the highway divides into two wide lanes separated by a row of cedars to form a boulevard. A kilometer farther, and directly ahead, appears a low, rambling modern structure, the federal school "2 de Octubre." In two sharp curves the pavement divides. One branch turns right and still as a boulevard continues a couple of hundred meters to end in a circle, beyond which stands a concrete pier now high and dry on the mud flats, left behind by the lowering of the lake level. On the pier is a red steel lighthouse, one of 11 on the lake. Tended by the Mexican Navy, it was placed with unconscious irony to facilitate night commerce — in dugout canoes.

To the left the highway unites in a single strip and follows up a gentle slope past a continuous adobe wall on the right, spotted by occasional wooden doors. At irregular intervals low tile roofs rise above the wall, and closer inspection reveals shuttered windows below. Otherwise it would be impossible to tell which section of wall conceals patio and garden, and which living rooms. Some parts of the wall are dark red and rough, each adobe outlined by pebbles or potsherds placed to strengthen the mud used to bind the brick. Other sections have been plastered with mud and horse dung, and may show the dull remnants of white or blue paint. The left side of the road is a marked contrast. A row of tall glistening white houses stretches solidly for several blocks, and doors and windows are carefully outlined with a raised plaster frame painted red. The regular roofs all slant to the street, and those houses at street corners have roofs *de dos aguas*, with two sheds, one for each street. Seldom do two sides of a street appear so different. At the time the highway was cut through in 1939 it was necessary to widen the street through which it was to pass. All houses on the left, the east side, were condemned and destroyed, and, to compensate the owners, new and finer houses of real brick and plaster were built on the street line.

Again on the right, a little farther along, appears the town plaza, with a corrugated iron bandstand in the center which rises above and dominates the houses with their wooden *portales*, or covered sidewalks. The bandstand formerly saw better days when it graced the great

plaza at Pátzcuaro, 16 km. to the south. Then, when a new fountain of dolphins was cast in the larger town, like old clothing, worn yet serviceable, the stand was passed on to Tzintzuntzan. Around it was laid a concrete walk, the first in the town, on which were placed cement benches which, miraculously, bear the names Tariácuri, Tangaxoan, Timas, and others of the ancient Tarascan kings and nobles, rather than the commoner advertisements such as "Courtesy of Rodríguez Brothers, Druggists," characteristic of most Mexican plaza seats. This good taste, worthy of emulation by other towns, does not reflect the enterprise of local citizens. General Cárdenas was filled with a sentimental and humanitarian desire to restore, in some small way, the former greatness of the Tarascan capital, and to increase the well-being of the modern population. Thus, it was not by chance that the old bandstand appeared in Tzintzuntzan, nor that the benches recall the former great. Likewise the road, the school, the water system, electricity, the open-air theater, and the political category of *municipio*, all are due to the former president. With its tall *changungo* trees and brilliant purple *jacarandas*, the small plaza has a certain air of beauty and restfulness.

Two blocks beyond the plaza and to the right, is a small tree-filled alameda backed by a stone wall and arched gate. Within the gate is an expanse of several hectares, dotted with tall cedars and gnarled old olive trees, planted by the first Franciscan fathers. On the far side is the burned out shell of a church, and to the left a rambling two-story building, formerly the Franciscan convent, and now the priest's home. To the right is a second church, less ornate than the ruined one, its single moss-covered tower already presaging destruction in the grass and small bushes sprouting from its crevices. In the center of the atrium, hung from an iron pipe between the two largest cedars, are the three church bells, large, middle-sized, and small.

On the east side of the road, opposite the alameda, is another small plaza, flanked on one side by a nondescript building, the *presidencia*, court room and jail, and on the rear side by a white cement open-air theater, rarely used. The basket-ball court which formerly occupied this plaza has been abandoned. For want of a wash-

er the water tap in front of the *presidencia* continuously dribbles and has muddied the court. To the right of the theater a narrow road leads in easy sweeps to the five *yácatas* which stand on an artificial earth platform a couple of score meters above the town.

In sharp contrast to the town from the road, the view from the *yácatas* is breathtaking. To the north and west stretches the lake. Beyond rise a series of hills, extinct volcanic cones, which culminate to the north in mighty Zirate, towering more than 1,000 m. above the water. In the morning and evening its head is often capped with fleecy clouds, more suggestive of the Tropics than the cold country. At noon, in the direct light of the sun, it stands out clear and bold. And in the evening the slanting rays of the sun outline its ridges and crevices in perpendicular lines of light and shadow. At its foot, in the early morning and at dusk, a patch of white haze, the smoke of hundreds of fires, reveals the presence of Santa Fe de la Laguna, and to the east, at the extreme tip of the lake, one sees the white walls of Quiroga. To the west two more patches of haze are seen, the first marking San Andrés and the second San Jerónimo Purenchécuaro.

On the near side of the lake the detail is greater. At a distance of perhaps 3 km. to the west, just at the water's edge, stands a tall, slim cedar, and beyond are seen the first houses of Ichupio. This tiny Tarascan settlement, the only one visible from the *yácatas*, is the first of several lakeside clusters collectively known as La Vuelta. Beyond, passing in a canoe, one comes first to Tarerio, and then Ucasanastacua. These are, however, hidden from view by the bulk of pine-capped Tariaqueri, whose gullied sides rise 700 m. above Tzintzuntzan, concealing the southern two-thirds of the lake and all of the islands.

Behind the *yácatas* rises a lesser peak, Yahuaró, and because of its proximity the ravages of erosion, the deep gulches and washes, are strikingly brought home to the observer. Here, his mind torn for a moment from the breathtaking view, he realizes that he is face to face with Mexico's number one problem. The cause, but not the solution, is clearly visible. All of the unforested slopes, however steep, are covered with a series of small fields, separated and outlined by low stone walls. If the visitor

chances to come in early June he will see brown, dull hillsides. Behind the slow-moving oxen the farmer guides his wooden plow, followed by boys who drop maize, beans, and squash seeds into the furrow. In other seasons the coloring and activities are different, but always one is conscious of the stirring of soil which never should be stirred, of the deepening gullies, and of the growth of the delta deposits on the lake edge.

A car horn sounds, and the visitor's eye is again brought back to the town. It is the *flecha*, the autobus, crammed with passengers from Pátzcuaro, swaying around the curves of the highway which comes over the pass between Tariaqueri and Yahuaró, violates with impersonal efficiency the cemetery, and passes through the center of town. In front of the plaza it stops to leave and pick up mail, and with luck a few travelers will be able to crowd themselves into the protesting coachwork for the trip to Morelia.

In spite of the height of the *yácatas* one does not get a clear idea of the outline of the town; narrow streets, trees, and the ever-present shadows reduce the village area to a sea of rooftops. Inspection of map 1 reveals a simple and even plan. The highway, because of its width, has become the central part of the town. To the west stretch four streets, the longest of which terminates a kilometer away in the section popularly known as El Rincón, "the corner." Judging by the maps of Seler and Beaumont these streets have existed from at least shortly after the Conquest, over 400 years, giving them an excellent claim to being among the oldest streets in America. Their age is further attested by the fact that in places they are worn down a meter or more below the level of yards and fields. Crossing these arteries at right angles, and in approximately a north-south direction, are several shorter lanes. At the northern end they run out into the lake, and to the south they either terminate against the stony sides of Tariaqueri or enter the churchyard. This latter section, near the church, perhaps revealing a land boom coincident with the erection of the church and convent, is known as the "New Town," *Pueblo Nuevo*. To the east of the highway, street patterns are less regular. One lane curves off toward Ojo de Agua, and other shorter stubs run out in any direction

which topography permits. This *barrio*, Yahuaró, is the only part of the town which retains its pre-Conquest terminology. The *Relación* mentions that when the Tarascaus were still at Guayameo (Santa Fe) the goddess Xaratanga was ensconced in Yahuaró.

Tracing the historical evolution of *barrio* and street nomenclature is difficult. At the time of the Conquest Tzintzuntzan proper was the focal point of a city which included all of the towns around Lake Pátzcuaro, with an estimated population of 40,000 persons, about equal to the same area today. The city itself was, however, somewhat more dispersed than today, and consisted of a number of satellite communities in the neighborhood of the *yácatas*. The early Spaniards called these settlements *barrios*, assigned names of saints to them, and built small chapels in each. As the result of the attraction of the new church, the convent, and the hospital, plus the stern hand of the conquerors, these outlying populations were rapidly drawn into the framework of what today is the modern village. This process appears to have been completed during the first 20 or 30 years following the subjugation of Michoacán. Yet to the present day there is a memory of the earlier town arrangement, and surface surveys corroborate local tradition as to the location of these *barrios*. In the center of most is a small stone mound, the remains of the first chapel, and around it, for a hundred meters or more, the earth is littered with pre-Conquest sherds. All evidence suggests that these settlements were small, and it is doubtful if their combined population exceeded that of the modern town. *Barrios* located by surface surveys and identified according to local tradition are as follows:

(1) San Pablo. Two rock piles, one of which presumably represents an old chapel, and thick deposits of sherds a couple of hundred meters up the side of Yahuaró hill behind the *yácatas* testify to the location of this *barrio*.

(2) Santiago. This *barrio* adjoins San Pablo to the south. A large pile of stones said by informants to be the first chapel built in this ward by the Spaniards is about 1 km. from the stone piles of San Pablo. The clay pit known as Santiago is on the east edge of the sherd area.

(3) San Bartolo. Remains of an old chapel and a scattering of sherds are found a couple of hundred

meters above the modern chapel of Guadalupe in Ojo de Agua. This site is now called Querenda.

(4) Santa Ana. The first chapel in all Michoacán was built in this *barrio*. The remains, still marked by a wooden cross, are located 1 km. south of the convent on the slopes of Tariaqueri.

(5) San Pedro. The existence of this *barrio* a couple of hundred meters west of El Rincón, the westernmost section of the modern town, is attested to by a slight mound containing a number of large stones. A milpa now covers the actual site of the chapel.

(6) La Magdalena. This *barrio* was a short distance to the west of San Pedro.

(7) La Trinidad and (8) San Miguel. These *barrios* are said to have been located above El Rincón, but no trace of them was found.

(9) San Juan. This *barrio*, reputedly the largest of all, occupied the plain between Cerrito Colorado and Tariaqueri 5 or 6 km. to the south of the modern village.

(10) San Lorenzo. This *barrio* is said to have been on the south side of Cerrito Colorado. It was not located.

(11) San Mateo and (12) La Cruz. No one could be found who knew the location of these *barrios*.

All streets have modern names, apparently assigned when the last census was taken in 1939-40. In addition, the more important streets have older names which are somewhat more meaningful to inhabitants. On the map, modern names have been given, followed in parentheses by older names when known. More than the names of the streets it is important to know that labels are of little functional significance. Many people can give no name for the street on which they live, and no one would think of giving directions to a stranger in terms of names. In town records a person's address is *conocido*, known, and in a town of 1,200 souls, indeed it is.

CLIMATE

Climatological data for the Lake Pátzcuaro region are available from the studies of the Estación Limnológica of Pátzcuaro. Though there are doubtless slight variations within the area of the lake, these are not of a magnitude to affect in diverse manners the culture of the people in the region. Tzintzuntzan, about 12 km. northeast in a direct line from the station, owing to its northern exposure probably is a little colder than the official records in Pátz-

cuaro. The entire region is classified climatologically as Cwbg according to Koppen's system, with summer rains, the warmest month before the solstice, and average monthly temperatures going neither below 12° C. nor above 22° C. From 1924 through 1940 the maximum, minimum, and average temperatures recorded by the Estación Limnológica were as follows:

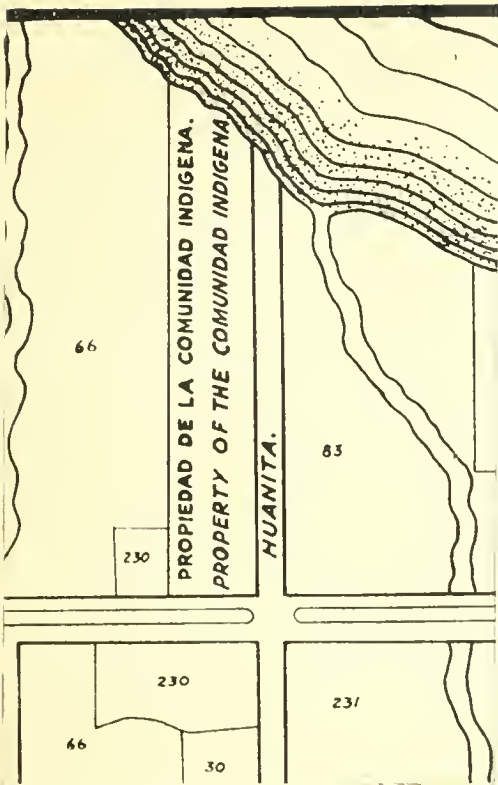
Year	Max. (°C.)	Min. (°C.)	Aver. (°C.)
1924	31.0	1.0	15.8
1925	33.0	.0	14.7
1926	29.0	-1.0	15.2
1927	31.5	1.0	15.3
1928	31.0	2.0	15.8
1929	32.5	1.0	16.3
1930	36.0	.0	16.6
1931	29.2	1.5	16.1
1932	34.7	1.0	17.1
1933	31.8	-3.0	17.2
1934	29.8	-2.0	15.9
1935	32.0	-5.0	15.9
1936	35.0	4.0	16.7
1937	31.5	3.5	17.7
1938	29.9	3.5	17.1
1939	31.5	1.0	16.4
1940	32.5	3.2	16.8

The average temperature for all years was 16.3° C. December and January are the coldest months of the year. Following February there is a sharp rise in temperature, which culminates in the hottest month of the year, May. The rains of June break the temperature slightly; this is followed by a greater drop in July and August. Gradual decreases are noted throughout the remainder of the year.

Monthly values of an "average" year, date not given, show the following annual variations:

Month	Average (°C.) temperature
January	12.0
February	13.8
March	16.3
April	17.9
May	20.1
June	19.9
July	17.8
August	17.2
September	16.8
October	16.5
November	14.4
December	12.7

Annual rainfall during the years 1924-40 is as follows:



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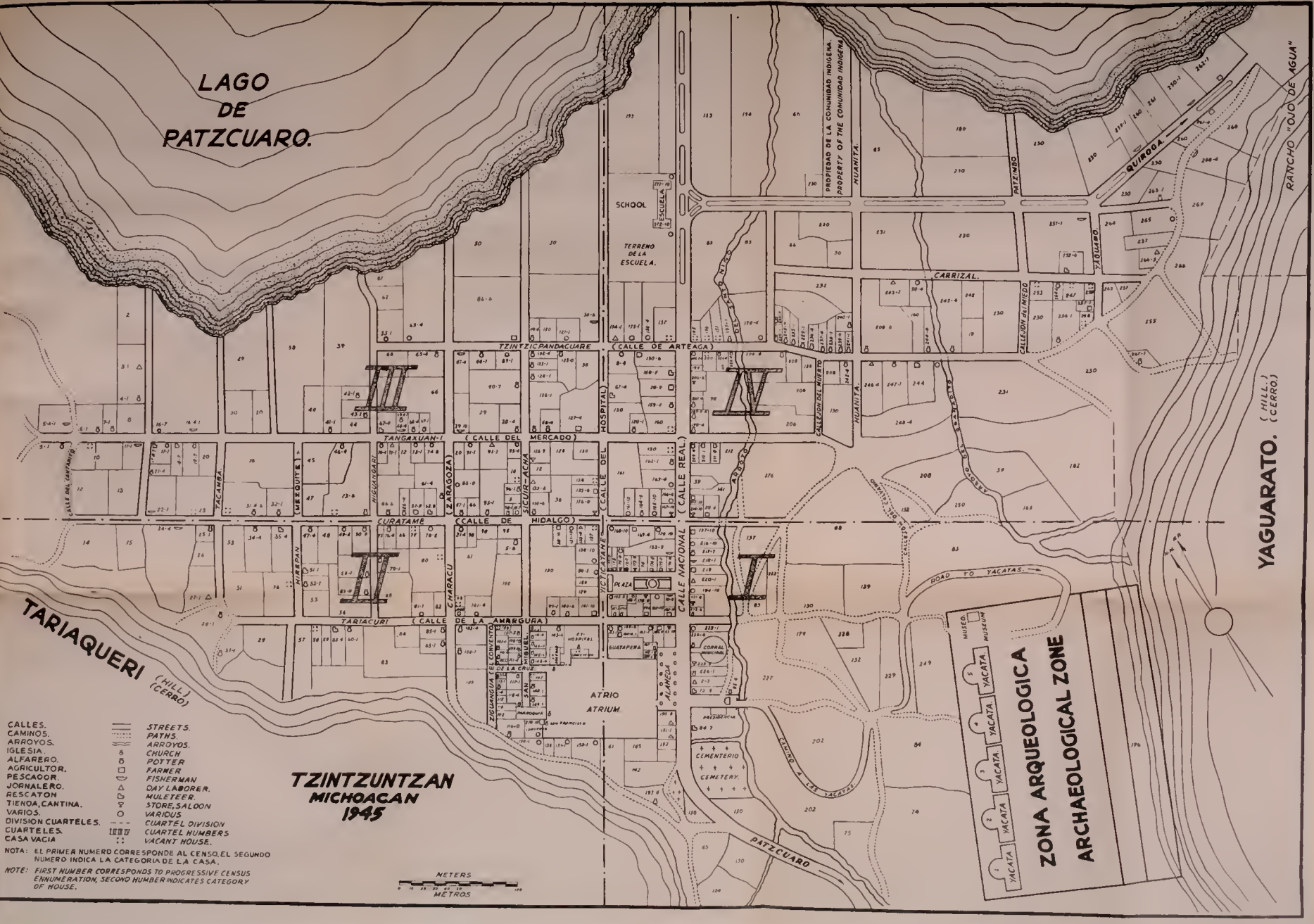
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LAGO DE PATZCUARO.

RANCHO "OVO DE AGUA"
 (HILL)
 (CERRO)
YAGUARATO.



**TZINTZUNTZAN
 MICHOACAN
 1945**

CALLES. STREETS.
 CAMINOS. PATHS.
 ARROYOS. ARROYOS.
 IGLESIA. CHURCH
 ALFARERO. POTTER
 AGRICULTOR. FARMER
 PESCAOR. FISHERMAN
 JORNALERO. DAY LABORER.
 RESCATON. MULETEER.
 TIENDA, CANTINA. STORE, SALOON
 VARIOS. VARIOUS
 DIVISION CUARTELES. CUARTEL DIVISION
 CUARTELES. CUARTEL NUMBERS
 CASA VACIA. VACANT HOUSE.

NOTA: EL PRIMER NUMERO CORRESPONDE AL CENSO, EL SEGUNDO NUMERO INDICA LA CATEGORIA DE LA CASA.
 NOTE: FIRST NUMBER CORRESPONDS TO PROGRESSIVE CENSUS ENUMERATION, SECOND NUMBER INDICATES CATEGORY OF HOUSE.



**ZONA ARQUEOLOGICA
 ARCHAEOLOGICAL ZONE**



Year	Precipitation (mm.)
1924	869.0
1925	1,424.0
1926	1,077.7
1927	1,339.0
1928	885.2
1929	919.8
1930	944.3
1931	1,192.9
1932	768.2
1933	827.7
1934	1,264.2
1935	1,779.9
1936	1,232.3
1937	1,114.7
1938	716.1
1939	661.1
1940	684.2
Average	1,041.2

It will be noted that the years of most rain are those that correspond to those of lowest temperatures. Rains are heaviest from June through September, after which there is a gradual decrease until April, which is marked by almost no rainfall whatsoever. An "average" year formed from the averages of each month of the 17-year period gives the following picture:

Month	Precipitation (mm.)
January	13.1
February	10.9
March	10.1
April	5.2
May	37.9
June	181.6
July	252.2
August	237.8
September	178.0
October	77.0
November	25.7
December	22.0

The rains of summer are known as those of the *temporal*. Light rains which sometimes fall in the winter, and which are important to the wheat crop, are known as the *cabañuelas*. Actually, during the 17-year period under consideration, the *cabañuelas* appear only eight times.²

FLORA AND FAUNA

Heavy timber has been cut away from most of the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. Farther up in the hills, as, for example, on the slopes of

Tariaqueri and Yahuaró, one finds a variety of useful trees, including the following: White and red oaks, and the larger varieties known locally as *coste*, *tarikuku*, and *tokus*; pine; fir; cedar; ash; elder; weeping willow; English walnut: *colorín* (*Erythrina americana*); *changungo* (*Byrsonima crassifolia*), and *chupirín* (*Castilleja canescens*). Common shrubs, scientific names when known, and common uses are *retama* (*Tecoma mollis*, medicinal), *tepusa* (*Buddleia americana*, medicinal), *cedrón* (*Lippia citriodora*, medicinal), *flor de nochebuena* (*Euphorbia pulcherrima*, medicinal), *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis*, oil extracted, but not used as laxative), *romero* (*Rosmarinus officinalis*, medicinal), *madroño* (*Arctostaphylos arguta*, firewood), *cuerepio* (firewood), *charabasca* (firewood), *vara prieta* (firewood, crates) and *güenamosa* (tree tobacco).

Fruit trees include the fig, alligator pear, cherimoya, apple, peach, pomegranate, apricot, white and black zapotes, and *tejocotes* (*Crataegus mexicana*). Cacti are the prickly pear *nopal*, the agave or maguey, and the yucca.

Mammals include foxes, coyotes, rabbits, squirrels, deer, skunks, ring-tailed cats (*cacomixtle*), opossums (*tlacuache*), weasels, chipmunks, and other small forms. Bird life is rich. Forms noted include large and small hawks, owls, ravens, hummingbirds, mud hens, ducks, cranes, band-tailed pigeon, doves (*huitlota*), the brown towhee (*tarengo blanco*), spotted towhee (*tarengo cabeza negra*), several blackbirds (*tordo pecho amarillo*, *tordo negro*), Cassin's kingbird (*madrugador*), curve-billed thrasher (*cuitlacoche*), mockingbird (*zinzontle*), Inca dove (*conquista*, *torcasita*, or *tortolita*), black-headed grossbeak (*tiguerillo*), linnnet (*gorrión de cabeza roja*), tanagers (*monjita*, *colmenero*), vermilion flycatcher (*cardenalito*), another flycatcher (*papamosquito*, *Empidonax fulvifrons*), Cañon wren (*saltapared*), Bewick's wren (*saltapared gris*), Lincoln sparrow (*zacatero rayado*), Wilson's warbler (*verdín cabeza negra*), Montezuma quail (*codorniz pintorada*), and an occasional vulture (*zopilote*).

THE MODERN POPULATION

Figure 1 shows the distribution by age and sex of the 1,231 persons who were listed in our

² All climatological data are from Zozaya Collada, 1941.

census of Tzintzuntzan as of February 1945.³ This chart has been set up on a slightly different basis from that used in the United States. When the population was first broken down into the standard age groups of 0-4, 5-9, 10-14, and so on, it was found that children in the lowest bracket were less numerous than those in the 5-9 category. This indicated that during the last 5 years there had been a great drop in the birth rate. Inspection of birth records, however, showed that almost exactly the same number of births had occurred in the period 1940-44 as in the period 1935-39. The explanation turned out to be simple. In Mexico, as in other parts of Latin America, ages are usually reckoned at 1 year greater than in the United States. Thus, a person who completes 25 years is "going on 26." The "going on" is forgotten and he gives his age as 26. Hence, the 0-5 interval in Mexico represents 5 years only, and not 6 as would appear to be the case. Table 1 gives the numerical basis which was used to form the pyramid of figure 1.

Ages given for children appear to be approximately correct, as verified by birth registrations. Ages given for adults have a possible error of up to about 15 years. The most impor-

³ Earlier population data are as follows:

Date	Males	Females	Total	Source
Conquest	—	—	40,000	Romero, 1862, p. 78.
1639	—	—	200 families	Rea, 1882, p. 8.
1742	—	—	903	Archival data, 1742.
1803	—	—	2,500	Humboldt, 1811, p. 208.
1822	1,118	1,136	2,254	Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, p. 166.
1862	—	—	2,600	Romero, 1862, p. 78.
1873	—	—	4,851	Torres, 1915, p. 396.
1889	639	701	1,340	Memoria, 1889.
1900	544	610	1,154	Government census.
1910	505	611	1,114	Government census.
1921	458	500	958	Government census.
1922	—	—	1,091	Agrarian census (Archival data, n. d.)
1930	472	531	1,003	Government census.
1940	503	574	1,077	Government census.
1945	569	662	1,231	Expedition census.

The figure of 40,000 at the time of the Conquest is the estimate of the early chroniclers. It includes all of the Lake Pátzcuaro villages which were considered *barrios* of Tzintzuntzan. The other figures which are above 2,000 obviously include neighboring villages such as Ojo de Agua, La Vuelta, and sometimes Ihuatzio and Cucuchucho. It appears probable that since the first years of the Conquest the population of the village of Tzintzuntzan itself has fluctuated around 1,000 or a little more. This remarkable stability suggests that the basic economy has changed little during these four centuries, and that any significant increase in population will require a considerable modification in modes of earning a living.

tant thing to be gleaned from ages of inhabitants is how completely unimportant age reckoning is in the community. A person is a child,

TABLE 1.—Distribution by age and sex of Tzintzuntzan population

Age group	Male	Female
0-5	82	117
6-10	84	83
11-15	57	79
16-20	60	65
21-25	56	54
26-30	41	43
31-35	29	41
36-40	48	43
41-45	32	39
46-50	22	37
51-55	19	13
56-60	18	18
61-65	10	10
66-70	8	8
71-75	1	4
76-80	2	2
81-85	0	1
Total	569	662
Grand total	1,231	

youth, adult, or an oldster. What more matters? *Compadre* Guillermo Morales, we learn from his baptismal certificate which he keeps, was 25 years old at the time of our census. When his first child was born in 1940 he properly gave his age as 20. In 1943 the second was born and, feeling his increased responsibilities, he decided that he was 33. "And your mother, *Compadre*?" "*Tendrá,*" he replies with unconscious gallantry, "*sus treinta y seis años.*" ("She must be about 36.") "But, Guillermo, that would mean she was only 11 when you were born!" "Yes, that's true. It must be that she is 44," replies Guillermo, anxious to please, but totally unaware of the inconsistency, and puzzled as to why the age matters anyway. Jesús Peña registered himself as 27 at the birth of a child, and his wife as 30. He was about 35 at the time, though the age for her was approximately correct. Two years later when registering another child the two changed places; he became 30 and she dropped back to 27. In the records of marriages for 1944 one youth appears dozens of times as witness, his age as low as 22 and as high as 30, with most of the intervening years also given at one time or another.

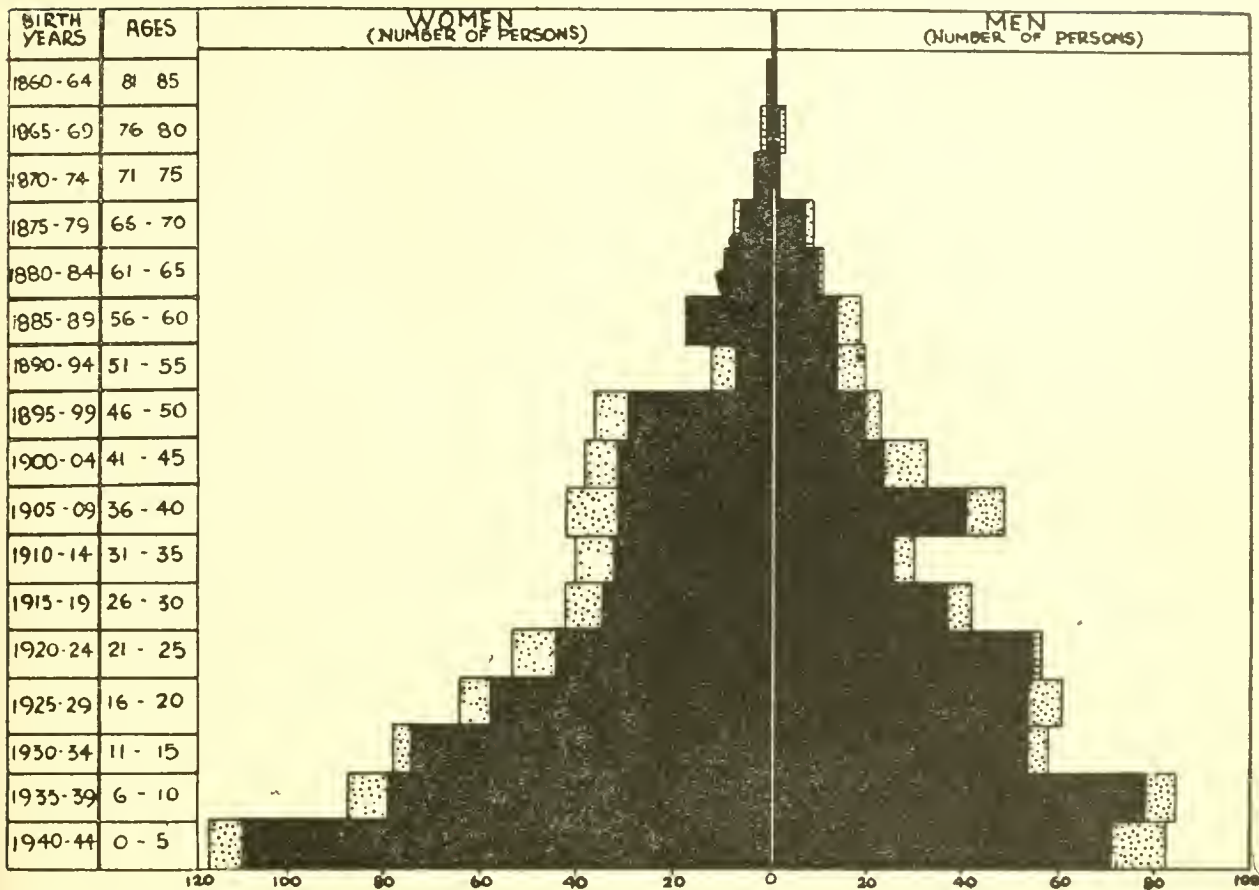


FIGURE 1.—Age-sex population distribution. The stippled areas represent the Tarascan-speaking population; the black areas represent the Spanish-speaking population.

In spite of these errors, and there are greater ones, there appears to be a canceling out which gives an age-sex pyramid which is not too far off. There is no tendency to exaggerate the ages of old people; in fact, only one person over 80 is listed. The act of dying, however, seems to add to one's years. In the municipal records there are recorded the death of a female at the age of 105, of a male at the age of 90, and numerous deaths of persons of both sexes between the ages of 80 and 90. Likewise, there appears to be no tendency to give ages in round numbers and thus throw off the normal curve of a chart.

Some irregularities in the pyramid call for explanation. The 6-10 bracket of males has drawn upon that just above and below; birth statistics do not bear out this distribution. Likewise, some of the females in the 1-5 year bracket belong in that of 6-10. Particularly notice-

able among males is the low figure for the ages 26-30 and 31-35. This suggests that some men properly in these brackets have been listed as from 5 to 10 years older. It may be pointed out, however, that the year of birth of these men corresponds to the period of the Mexican Revolution, and hence a higher infant mortality rate and a lowered birth rate may be reflected. The left side of the pyramid bears out this hypothesis to a lesser degree. The years just before the Revolution were relatively stable, and one might expect a higher birth rate than during the unsettled years which followed.

Very striking is the numerical superiority of women to men, in the ratio of 116 to 100. For persons of 50 years of age and less the ratio is even higher, 118 to 100. In fact, above the age of 50 men slightly outnumber women. Birth rates also show this preponderance of women. Data on births, deaths, and marriages have been

kept in Tzintzuntzan only since 1931. Previous to that the town was a *tenencia* of the *municipio* of Quiroga, and vital statistics were kept in that town. Inspection of the archives of Quiroga revealed that they were in such bad condition, with many numbers burned or missing, that accurate figures for the earlier years were impossible to obtain.

Data since 1931 in Tzintzuntzan are apparently quite accurate. To qualify for baptism parents must present the civil birth registration to the priest. A few children could not be located in the civil register, but it is at least 95 percent accurate for live births, and perhaps 98 percent. A number of stillbirths are listed, but these have been disregarded because they are admittedly incomplete. Many still-born children are secretly buried at night to avoid payment of the registration fee. Death registrations appear to be about as accurate as those for births, with a few very young children not registered. All statistical data, then, are based on the 14-year period 1931-44. During this period 367 male births and 403 female births were recorded, in the ratio of 100 to 110. During the period 1935-44 live female births greatly surpassed male births, 291 to 243, in the ratio of 100 males to 120 females. Of the males 66 died before the census was taken, leaving a balance of 177, as compared to the census figure of 166. Of the females 77 died, leaving a balance of 214, as compared to 205 listed in the census. During this period of 10 years 17 males and 15 females moved into Tzintzuntzan. There is no way to check emigration, but presumably the figures would be about the same, and hence all movements have been disregarded. Considering the possible errors both in registration of vital statistics and age problems connected with the census, these data show remarkably close correlation.

Additional statistical data are presented in the sections on birth, marriage, and death.

An overwhelming majority of Tzintzuntzeños live in the village because they were born in or near it. In addition, others who were born at places farther away were born to parents who had temporarily left Tzintzuntzan, and who returned while their children were still young. Table 2 shows by age groups those persons not born in Tzintzuntzan. Category 1 is the local

area, representing a radius of about 15 km. from Tzintzuntzan. Category 2 includes births within the State of Michoacán, but outside the local area. Category 3 includes all others. Except for a boy of 14 born in the United States, all were born in Mexico. The majority of those born in the local area are Tarascans of Ichupio, La Vuelta, Ojo de Agua, and other nearby villages who have married into Tzintzuntzan. Obviously, Tzintzuntzan is not a town which attracts immigrants. Family ties and habit keep most Tzintzuntzeños at home, and apparently the same forces in other Mexican towns prevent emigration to similar small towns. Such migration as occurs — and over which there is little statistical control in Tzintzuntzan — is to the larger urban centers, and particularly the capital city of Mexico. A high degree of inbreeding appears to characterize Tzintzuntzan, which must be reflected in a homogeneous physical type; adequate measurements to verify or disprove this hypothesis are lacking.

TABLE 2.—*Birth regions of Tzintzuntzeños not born in Tzintzuntzan*

Age group	Males ¹			Females ¹		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
0-5.....	3	1	0	2	0	0
6-10.....	5	3	0	5	6	0
11-15.....	3	4	2	1	3	0
16-20.....	2	1	2	5	1	1
21-25.....	2	1	0	2	3	0
26-30.....	1	1	0	5	3	1
31-35.....	3	2	0	3	6	0
36-40.....	7	1	0	6	1	0
41-45.....	5	2	0	6	1	0
46-50.....	2	1	0	6	1	1
51-55.....	2	0	0	3	0	0
56-60.....	4	2	0	1	0	0
61-65.....	1	0	0	0	0	1
66-70.....	2	0	0	1	1	0
71-75.....	1	0	0	2	0	0
76-80.....	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total.....	43	19	4	48	27	4
Total males...	66					
Total females...				79		
Grand total...	145					

¹ Category 1, Local; 2, State; 3, outside State.

MESTIZO VERSUS INDIAN

No physical studies were made of the population. Tzintzuntzan inhabitants range in appearance from apparently pure Indian to pure Caucasoid types. Both extremes are fairly rare. Most individuals clearly show Indian admixture, but few show the pronounced mongoloid facial expression characteristic of the inhabitants of

Tarascan-speaking villages. In a country where mestization has been going on for over 400 years it is very difficult to define an Indian on physical evidence alone. Nevertheless, within the Tarascan "core" I believe it can be safely said that because of a distinctive physical appearance, because of the use of an Indian language, and because of a way of life patently different from that of those who speak only Spanish, the population is Indian.

Using these criteria, Tzintzuntzan cannot be called an Indian village. When we first arrived we were convinced that, except for the language, we would find life in Tzintzuntzan to be basically Tarascan. Longer acquaintance showed the errors in this supposition. In Ihuatzio, for example, or Ichupio or Ojo de Agua, the individual with pronounced Caucasoid features is rare. In Tzintzuntzan the reverse is true; the individual with pronounced Indian characteristics is the rarity.

In Tzintzuntzan perhaps 50 Tarascan words, mostly names of earths, places, or objects, are used. In the Tarascan villages a great many more Spanish words are used, sandwiched into almost all sentences in the manner that is apparently characteristic of all Mexican Indian languages. Around Tzintzuntzan most Tarascans are bilingual, but in their own villages and among themselves they invariably use the native tongue, much to the annoyance of Spanish-speaking visitors who feel that they are being made fun of.

Culturally there is a gradual transition from the Indian villages to the cities of Pátzcuaro and Morelia. Many Mestizos in Tzintzuntzan live under more primitive conditions than the Indians themselves, but, unlike nearby Indian ranches, there are families which approach, in comforts, the simpler houses of the larger cities. Psychologically there is a great difference, not apparent at first contact, between the Tzintzuntzeños and the Indians. The former are more *abierto*. "open." willing to talk with strangers, interested in what may be going on somewhere else. Their religion is a little less fanatical — there are even those who say "our religion is just on our lips." Witchcraft is not a matter of concern for most, while in the Tarascan villages it is a cause of great fear. Intellectual emancipation, though it has a long way to go,

has progressed farther in Tzintzuntzan than among the purely Indian population. In short, considering physical, linguistic, and cultural evidence, it is apparent that the people of Tzintzuntzan are well removed from the Indian base.

Yet the Indian and the Mestizo meet in Tzintzuntzan, as indicated by the fact that 156 persons, 12.6 percent of the total population, can speak Tarascan. Except for a few very small children, all are equally fluent in Spanish; indeed, many who grew up speaking Tarascan have ceased to speak it in their own homes, and it is probable that within a few years the language will be dead in Tzintzuntzan. Table 3 shows the distribution by age and sex of inhabitants of Tzintzuntzan who can speak Tarascan.

TABLE 3.—*Distribution by age and sex of persons of Tarascan speech in Tzintzuntzan*

Age group	Males		Females	
	Number	Percentage of total population in each age group	Number	Percentage of total population in each age group
0-5.....	11	13	7	6
6-10.....	6	7	8	9
11-15.....	4	7	4	5
16-20.....	7	12	6	9
21-25.....	2	4	9	17
26-30.....	5	12	8	19
31-35.....	4	14	8	20
36-40.....	8	17	11	26
41-45.....	9	28	7	18
46-50.....	3	14	7	19
51-55.....	6	31	5	38
56-60.....	5	28	0	..
61-65.....	1	10	0	..
66-70.....	2	25	1	12
71-75.....	0	..	0	..
76-80.....	1	50	1	50
Total.....	74	..	82	..
Grand total.....	156			

Actually, the figure of 12.6 percent is attained only because more than a third of the inhabitants of Tarascan speech have moved in from Tarascan towns. Of the 82 women of Tarascan speech, 35 were born outside of the town, and of the 74 Tarascan men, 31. Thus, 42 percent of all Tarascans are not native to Tzintzuntzan as compared with only 7 percent for the Mestizo population. Without this significant outside increment Tzintzuntzan would be even less Tarascan-speaking than is the case.

An impressionistic estimate would say that the Tarascan-speaking inhabitants of Tzintzuntzan are racially also more Tarascan. Material culture, particularly clothing and house furnishings, shows some differences between Spanish and Tarascan-speaking families, but as in the case of physical type, there is such a gradual transition from one stage to the next that measurement is difficult. Language alone can be treated by simple statistical techniques to show how the Tarascan becomes Mestizo. Hence, though the expressions "Tarascan-speaking" and "Spanish-speaking" are used, a gradual change in physical type and culture is implied.

Table 4 reveals how the loss of Tarascan speech is occurring. Out of 248 inhabited houses in Tzintzuntzan, there are 69 with one or more persons of Tarascan speech, or approximately one in four, as against the population average of one Tarascan in eight. Thus, the Tarascans are diluted in the sense that many are living with non-Tarascans, and hence necessarily must speak Spanish rather than their own tongue. In 32 homes all dwellers are Tarascans. In the cases in which there are children in the family it can be expected that they will grow up speaking both Tarascan and Spanish.

In the remaining 37 homes it seems likely that Tarascan will be carried on by few if any individuals. In the three cases of a Tarascan husband living with a Mestizo wife, and the three cases of a Tarascan wife living with a Mestizo husband, necessarily all communication must be in Spanish. In the 22 additional cases of a Tarascan husband or wife married to a non-Tarascan, in which there are children in the family, none of the children speak Tarascan. In an additional case the children of Tarascan parents speak only Spanish. In still another case with Tarascan parents the older children know the native idiom, while the younger ones do not. In all 24 cases, another generation will see the Tarascan language completely dead. In the few remaining cases shown in the chart it is also apparent that the native language will shortly die out. In only two cases of a mixed marriage in which one parent speaks no Tarascan do the children understand the language, and in the record the older children only can be included. Practically speaking, then, the Tarascan language will continue as a second

TABLE 4.—*Composition of homes with Tarascan speakers*

Composition	No. of cases
Parents Tarascans; no children.....	14
Parents and children Tarascans.....	16
Three unmarried female relatives Tarascans.....	1
Widow, children Tarascans.....	1
Homes entirely composed of Tarascan speakers..	32
Husband Tarascan, wife not; no children.....	3
Husband Tarascan, wife and children not.....	7
Wife Tarascan, husband not; no children.....	3
Wife Tarascan, husband and children not.....	15
Widowed parent Tarascan, adult child, spouse, grand-children not.....	2
Parents, older children Tarascan, younger children not	1
Parents Tarascan, children not.....	1
Wife, children Tarascans, husband not.....	1
Widower and mother Tarascan, children not.....	1
Widow Tarascan, children and other relatives not...	1
Wife, 2 older children Tarascan; husband, 3 younger children not.....	1
Priest and oldest niece Tarascan, 2 younger nieces not	1
Total mixed households.....	37
Total families with Tarascan speakers.....	69

tongue (Spanish will be spoken by all children of school age and above) only in those homes in which both parents are Tarascans, and these account for less than half of the homes in which someone speaks this language. There is little pressure against mixed marriages. Of the 61 marriages represented in table 4, 29 are mixed as against 32 composed of pure Tarascans.

The number of mixed marriages indicates that considerable contact must take place between the two linguistic groups. Presumably greater Mestizo strength is reflected by the fact that of the 29 marriages, 19 involve Tarascan women, while only 10 involve Tarascan men with Mestizo women. In spite of the fact that the Indians are looked down upon by the Mestizos there is no shame or reproach attached to the taking as wife of a pretty, intelligent Indian girl. In fact, the municipal president during 1945 was married to a Tarascan of Ihuatzio. Mestizo girls marry Tarascans because often they are wealthier than the Mestizo men who might otherwise be considered. Contact with the Tarascans in Tzintzuntzan is on two levels. There are those Tarascans who have lived for years in the town, own their own homes, perhaps have a store, are potters, farmers, and occasionally fishermen. In their normal dealings with others they speak Spanish, and for practical purposes are considered as Mestizos. They

mix with complete equality with all Mestizos, and without resentment. The priest is Tarascan, though from another town, and there is no feeling that it is odd that an Indian, a *naturalito*, should care for the spiritual needs of the community.

Toward those Indians, however, who live in Ojo de Agua and La Vuelta, there is general condescension, and a number of terms, some with a derisive meaning, are applied to them. Most commonly they are referred to as *los naturalitos*, "the naturals." *Los tatitas* is also used, probably because the Tarascans use the form *tata* or *tatita* when addressing any older person, or to be respectful. Neither of these terms is particularly resented. Those who understand little or no Spanish may be called *los nakos*, from the Tarascan word *nanaka*, which means "woman" but which in a wider sense means effeminate and cowardly. Tarascan men are sometimes called *guachos* and the women *güares*.⁴ Though the word is considered offensive by Tarascans, Mestizo boys often apply the word *güare* as a term of endearment to their sweethearts. In the same manner it is applied to Mestizo girls of 4 or 5 who dress in indigenous costume for fiestas.

Needless to say, the Tarascans look down equally upon the Mestizos, considering them to be lazy and indolent in comparison with themselves. This conception is not without justification.

Among Tarascans, Spanish usually is not spoken, even when they come to Tzintzuntzan, except in direct dealings with the Tzintzuntzeños. Use of Tarascan when visiting in Tzintzuntzan is unwise, from the standpoint of race relations, because the Mestizos feel that they are talking about them, poking fun at them — which in truth they often are. And in Tzintzuntzan the most awful thing that can happen to a person is to be made fun of, to lose face in any way. Vicente Rendón has a great many friends among *los naturalitos*. Because his house is almost the last toward La Vuelta they often wait to buy pottery from him on the return trip from the market. And Tarascans from other lake towns often leave their paddles with him while they go on into the plaza. None-

theless he becomes highly indignant when they talk Tarascan among themselves, and is sure they are laughing at him. His indignation is so strong that he tries never to be left alone with them. But when they leave, he smiles a little condescendingly, as if to imply that they are pretty quaint and stupid. He, in common with all other Mestizos, has no doubts as to which is the superior group. Fortunately the contact situation is such that there is no cause for serious friction, and the two groups mingle in church and at fiestas, in the markets, and in other places without grave complications.

MESTIZO STRATIFICATION

Within the Mestizo population itself there is, as in Mitla (Parsons, 1936, p. 15), little emphasis placed on social distinctions. As contrasted to the derogatory terms applied to the Tarascans, there are two expressions applied to the Mestizos, *gente de razón* ("people of reason") and *gente criolla* ("creole people"). But there is no common consensus of opinion as to who are the ones who fall into each group. Those persons who by biological fiction have no Indian blood, that is, who can trace white blood from much earlier days, are *gente de razón*. Nevertheless, if an Indian woman marries such a man, she automatically joins his class, as do her children. Actually, there is probably nobody in town without at least a trace of Tarascan ancestry. Nevertheless, these *gente de razón* are more clearly Mestizo in terms of lighter complexions. Economic status also plays a part in the classification: *gente de razón* live nearer the center of town, are more apt to be storekeepers, have tile floors in their homes, and maybe even a little window glass. *Gente de razón* never dress in *calzones*, the pajamalike pants of the *campesinos*, or the *telares* of the Indian women. Dress is always *catrín* — pants, shirt, shoes, or dress and shoes depending on sex.⁵ Nevertheless, municipal office does not depend on affiliation — in fact, probably a higher percentage of officials during the past 10 years are from the non-*gente de razón* category.

⁴ León (1888, p. 100) derives *güare* from the Tarascan word *vari*, "señora," ("lady").

⁵ The common Mexican word *catrín*, to indicate a person of the city, or with city habits and dress, is very little used in Tzintzuntzan.

The term *gente criolla* is less common, but is applied by some to Spanish-speaking persons who clearly show Indian ancestry. Probably most people in Tzintzuntzan, since financially they are excluded from the upper crust, consider all persons who cannot speak Tarascan as *gente de razón*, without regard to ancestry. Practically speaking, these distinctions are of little significance. Tzintzuntzeños are catty people, and like nothing better than to criticize their neighbors; praise is the rarest thing in the world. Nevertheless, criticism is based on character and actions, and not on class. An energetic man, be he *naturalito*, *criolla*, or *gente de razón*, can expect all the opportunities that his own personality will offer.

Most people in reply to a point-blank question could not assign their neighbors to a specific class. The term Mestizo is understood by all and generally used without stigma. Even the *gente de razón* recognize that the population of all México is much mixed, and that there are few persons without some Indian blood. Hence, today almost all Tzintzuntzeños would admit to being Mestizos, except for those of Indian speech whose affiliation is clear. Formerly in the birth records the parents' racial affiliation was indicated as Mestizo or Indian. In 1931, the first full year in which records were kept, two-fifths of all births were to "Indian" parents, a figure all out of proportion to any linguistic classification at that time. By 1935, only one Indian birth was recorded; the rest were Mestizo. Subsequently no attempt has been made to indicate racial affiliation. These data have very little to do with race or language.

They do indicate a change in the way of thinking of the people, the tendency to regard themselves first as increasingly Mestizo, and in recent years, simply as Mexicans. Today the Tzintzuntzeño is Mexican in his own thought, and proud of it. He thinks little about social stratification within his pueblo, and is not handicapped socially by what he may or may not be. He accepts the few successful Tarascans living in his town with a feeling that approaches equality; certainly there is no apparent friction. Likewise, though he condescendingly smiles when the *naturalitos* are mentioned he has no real feeling of hostility or antagonism. Lack of economic competition is one of the strongest factors which eliminate friction, more so than any feeling of common ancestry.

Most Mexican towns, including those of very small population, have one or more outstanding families which, on account of wealth and education, stand out beyond their fellow citizens. Parsons has noted this for Mitla (*ibid.*, p. 15), while almost any of the local lists of "Who's Who" published in all parts of Mexico show individuals who as lawyers, doctors, military men, or educators have some claim to fame. Quiroga, 8 km. from Tzintzuntzan, produced the famous Nicolás León and a number of lesser though prominent men. But Tzintzuntzan, since the last of the Tarascan kings, has produced no notable personality, and one looks in vain through the pages of Mexican history for mention of even a single claimant to fame. Today no single family stands out from the rest, and it is hard to see how a local *cacique* or *jefe político* could be produced.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSES AND FURNISHINGS

Houses are most closely bunched along the highway and around the plaza and, in true metropolitan style, property values are here highest. Nevertheless, families like the luxury of land about them, and most houses are set in a *solar*, or lot. The house often, though not always, is built on the street line. Farther from the center of town a house may be set back a short distance from the road, and instead of a

high adobe wall there is a lower stone wall over which passersby can look, or stop to chat. Frequently one enters through a large double door, the *saguán*, wide enough to permit the entry of loaded animals. This door opens to a passage which runs through two halves of the house, terminating in a pleasant open porch which runs the length of the back of the house, facing an open patio which is the work space of the family.

Almost inevitably the low adobe rail of the

porch has its flower pots, filled with a vast variety of flowers — roses, shasta daisies, morning-glories, snapdragons, iris, carnations, poppies, and larkspur. Farther back in the garden other flowers appear, elephant ears, cannas, geraniums, and hollyhocks. The poppy and larkspur, Natividad Peña tells me, are always planted on the day of the Candelaria, February 2. If the family are potters, the circular oven, often covered with a crude roof of maguey leaves, may be to one side. Space also must

and if space permits, a sprinkling of other varieties, all tied up during blossom time with red ribbons to prevent the new fruit from falling. The ubiquitous chayote is found in most houses, its large-leafed vine sprawling over a framework of *quiote*, the dry stalk of the maguey. Between houses one finds an adobe wall, a low stone wall, perhaps a barbed-wire fence, and, at times, a hedge of the *colorín*, which is also popular to divide the rich but small milpas which are found sprinkled between houses in the town.

Most houses have a dirt floor. Around the plaza and along the highway the finer homes have square tile floors, needless to say much cleaner and more pleasant. Except for the poorest houses all have a few windows, of a standard type. The large space is closed with double swinging panels latched with an iron lock (fig. 2). Inside each panel is a smaller one which independently can be opened, above eye level of a passerby, so that air and light are admitted, but privacy guarded. All houses are so arranged that once inside from the street one's attention passes to the rear porch and patio. Often the kitchen is a separate house at the rear, or a separate room adjoining the main house. Whatever its location, the kitchen is the focus of the day's activities. Unlike the Indian homes, where a good deal of the cooking may be done over three stones on the floor, most Tzintzuntzan kitchens have a raised hearth of *mampostería*, a construction of mortar, adobe, and stone often 2 m. square, table height, with the clay griddle or *comal* carefully set over a fireplace, and with a couple of other small fireplaces over which pots can be placed (fig. 3). Most of the pottery is of local manufacture. Nevertheless, a good many homes will have glazed bowls of the type made in Dolores Hidalgo, Guanajuato, and sold in all the markets of Mexico. Metal spoons for soup and a few case knives are found, as well as paring knives and larger cutting knives. Forks are rare, since most food can be eaten either with fingers or spoons. For cooking, large wooden spoons from the sierra are ever present.

In her new kitchen, Natividad has a shelved cupboard set into a wall, in which her prettiest plates are shown. Other kitchens may have the same arrangement, or simply wooden shelves

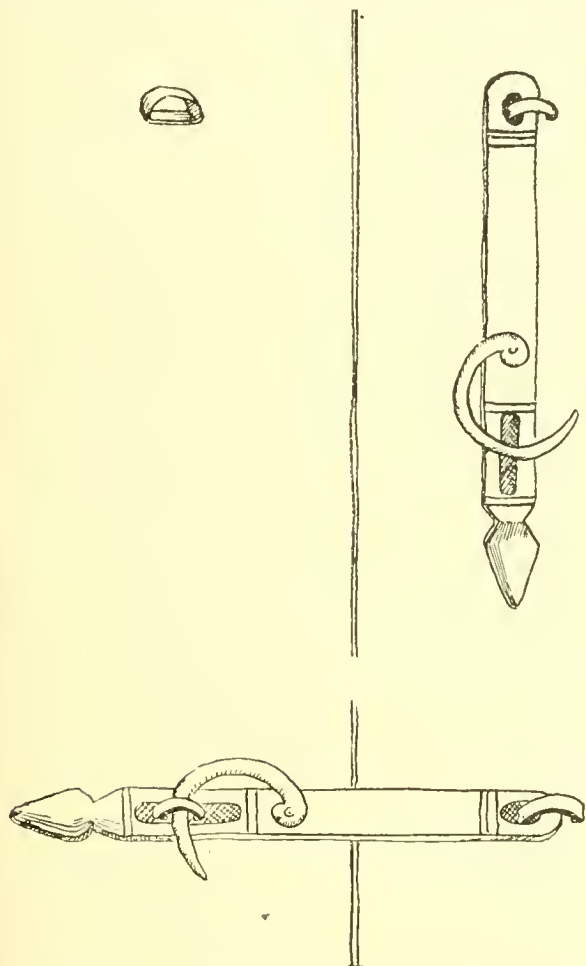


FIGURE 2.—Window latches.

be provided for the animals, the burros, mules, or horses which a large number of people keep. This usually takes the form of a simple roofed stall against one side of the house or a side wall of the patio, with a feeding trough at the rear.

Few families will be found without their fruit trees — zapotes and peaches first of all,

on which spare pottery is kept. Often a plank is hung as a shelf from a rafter, swinging freely, and always a source of regret to a forgetful ethnologist some centimeters taller than the local population. The *garabato* is a stick with several hooks from which small sacks and other objects are hung.¹

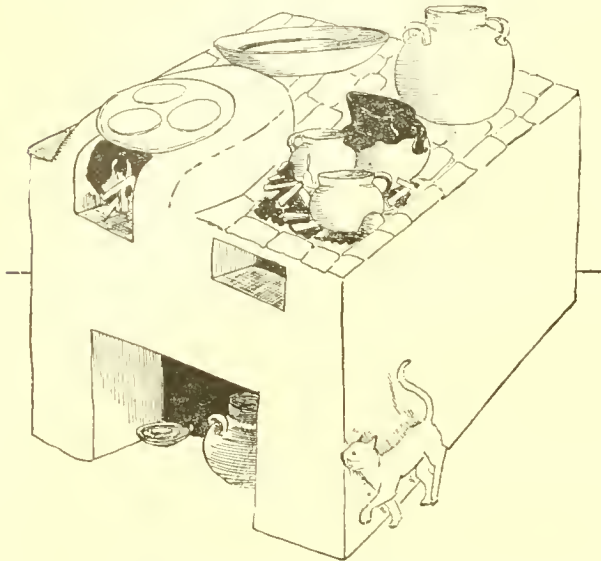


FIGURE 3.—Kitchen stove. Tortillas are cooked on the *comal* at the left. Boiled foods are prepared over the fire chamber at the right. The rear of the stove serves as a table. Space under the stove is for storage.

The metate in Tzintzuntzan is fairly large, of a porous volcanic stone, with three rather long legs. The *mano*, or pestle, is somewhat quadrangular in cross section, shorter than the width of the stone, so that with use a groove is worn in the middle of the stone. As contrasted to the long *mano*, which can be comfortably gripped by the entire hand, this form seems to require greater strength in the fingers and to be more fatiguing. The metate is used either on the ground or set on a bench.

In every kitchen one finds several wooden *bateas* or trays for dish washing, which is done without soap in cold water. The *estropajo* fiber, used equally in metropolitan kitchens, is used for scrubbing, along with ashes for greasy dishes. In season, fig leaves, which are fairly large and rough, may also be used.

A variety of baskets is used. The *tascal* is

¹ Not to be confused with the hooked cane knife or machete used in some parts of Mexico, and called by the same name.

the common tortilla holder, woven of reeds in checkerwork fashion. The *chiquihuite* is a larger reed basket, twilled, while the *chiquiata* is of the same material, but wide and shallow. The *canasta* is also of the same material and weave, but provided with a handle — in Tzintzuntzan no basket without handle can be called *canasta*. All of these are made in Ihuatzio and other lake towns. One also finds, from the markets, *canastas* of willow, often crudely painted, of the type best known from San Juan del Río, Querétaro. Small brushes, *escobetillas*, of the root *raicilla* are used to scrub the metate when grinding is done.

The common *troje* or granary of central Mexico is lacking in Tzintzuntzan. Instead, most houses have an attic or *tapanco* under the low roof where the husked ears of corn and dried beans are stored in jute bags. But storage space, except for families who have large supplies of maize and beans, is not an item to be considered in building a house. Foods are bought daily in small quantities, and a bowl or a basket in the kitchen will meet most demands. Figure 4 shows the house and yard plans of Vicente Rendón and Natividad Peña.

Complete inventories of house furnishings were not made. One afternoon, however, I amused myself by making a list of the furnishings of the main room of the humble home of *Compadre* Guillermo and *Comadre* Carmen. This room is about 5 m. by 4 m., and to the rear is a small kitchen. A door on the north side opens to a narrow porch which runs the length of the house, while access to the attic is from the outside by means of a ladder. The floor is of packed earth, and slants rather sharply from the interior toward the door. There are no windows.

The list of furnishings is not large — a soap box containing a blanket or two and odd bits of clothing, a tattered petate mat rolled in one corner, to be spread on the floor at night as bed for father, mother, and two children, a small table with a few pieces of crockery, two pottery candlesticks, two glasses, a glass water bottle, an empty brandy bottle, several battered chairs, an orange crate to serve the same purpose, an old image of Christ in one corner, its feet eaten away by termites, a pile of pots in one corner awaiting sale, and several molds. On the walls

are pinned spreads of old newspapers, pictures of the Virgin and saints, a framed still life with mirrors on both sides and hooks for hats and coats, a school-drawn map of the State, several more hooks from which hang shirts, jackets and a machete, and a small hanging shelf with dishes.

Better homes are distinguished from that of Guillermo by having an additional room, or perhaps two, and tiled floors. Walls are plaster-

and insects and — when finances permit — is psychologically ready for a real bed. And a few of the central families have made the transition. Ignacio Estrada has a fine metal bedstead with sagging springs, the export of a happier Japan, judging by the painting of Mt. Fujiyama on the head. José Villagómez also enjoys real springs, and there are six other families with real beds.

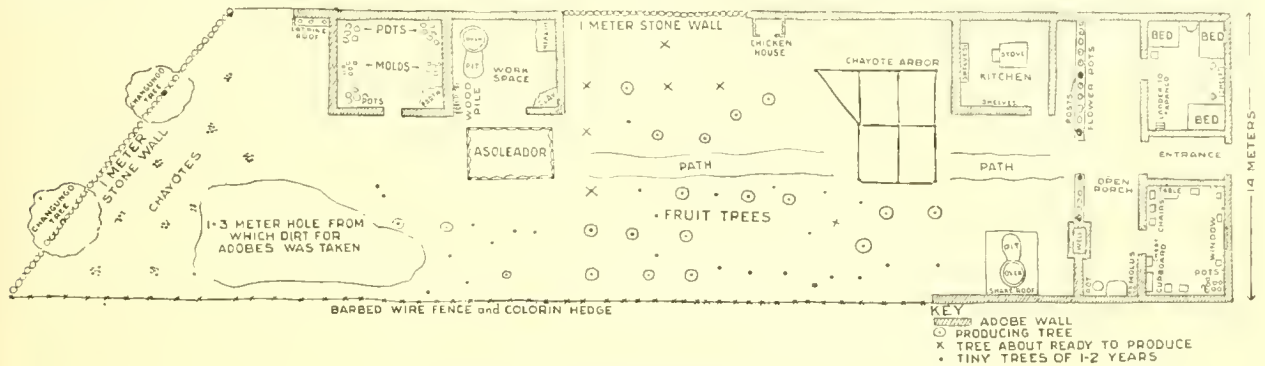


FIGURE 4.—Vicente Rendón yard plan.

ed and painted, and several well-made and decorated chests take the place of the improvised soap-box containers. Electric lights are found in some homes, though wiring usually is limited to a single 40-watt bulb which dangles from a high ceiling. Many homes will have a water tap in the yard — but never inside the house — and a wooden privy seat in an inconspicuous corner of the patio.

Guillermo's house is surpassed by 143, according to the census, which list beds. In most cases the "bed" consists of several planks laid across soap boxes, covered with petates and a dirty serape or two. And listing of a "bed" in the house does not necessarily mean that all members of the family enjoy it. Perhaps the parents sleep on this shelf, and the children, in the manner of the poor, on petates on the floor. Usually some member of the family sleeps on the porch to be on the alert for prowling animals stalking roosting chickens. Besides, a permanent bed takes up room; a petate is rolled up in the morning and flung in a corner, ready to be spread out at night.

In spite of its crudity this "bed" represents a distinct cultural advance over the Indian homes, where the petate on the floor is almost universal. The individual is freer from drafts

Several of the items of house equipment or furnishings represent, in terms of comfort and hygiene, great advances over the pre-Conquest home. Particularly significant are the presence of a bed (henceforth meaning any raised sleeping place), running water, privy, and the use of oil, candles, or electricity for lighting instead of resinous pine slivers (*ocote*). The most primitive and backward home of today, then, is marked by the use of *ocote* for lighting, and the lack of a bed, running water, and privy. Conversely, the most advanced and least Indian houses are those with electric lights, running water, privy, and bed.

Intermediate stages are somewhat more difficult to determine. Thus, does water or electricity represent the greatest progress? Or a bed or a privy?

Logically one might expect to find a very high correlation between all of the improvements, i.e., all houses with electricity also with bed, privy, and water. Inspection of table 5 shows that this is not the case. Some houses will have all improvements, except electricity, while others will lack only water. In an attempt to grade houses in terms of comfort and hygiene, a point system was established. Privy and bed each rated three, because these two improve-

ments seem to contribute most to health and sanitation, and because they could be had by all with the expenditure of a little elbow grease. Water and electricity each received two points, less because of the slight expense involved, and because some houses on the outskirts are beyond the mains or lines and could not have them, even if they wished. Kerosene or candle illumination was given one point, primarily to have some way of differentiation from the most primitive houses with no improvements whatsoever. This point system resulted in a scale of from 0 to 10.

Table 5 shows the number of houses in each category. It will be seen that over two-fifths, 104 to be precise, have progressed but little or none beyond the aboriginal form. Except for an oil lamp or candle, living conditions are about identical to those extant before the Conquest. This means people sleeping on tulle mats on the floor, carrying water from a spring, well, or the taps of neighbors, and satisfying all bodily necessities in the open patio. An additional 30 percent of the houses differ from these only in the use of raised planks covered with mats to form a bed. On the other hand, only 6 houses remain at the absolute aboriginal level, while 22 have advanced to the top. Table 5 also shows the number of houses with each improvement, and in which they are lacking, and the percent of total occurrences of each. For example, in category 10 one finds 47 percent of all privies, 62 percent of all electricity, 15 percent of all beds, and 40 percent of all water taps. Privies are not found below category 7, and hence their use appears to be the product of the most advanced thinkers of the town. Electricity is found as far down as category 5, beds to category 3, and water, curiously, to category 2. Houses with no water are found as high as category 8 — houses with beds, privies, and electricity. This apparent anomaly is explicable. No house has running water in the kitchen. The tap is in the patio, and involves the filling of jars and carrying these to the room of use. Hence, a public water tap just outside the front door is just as convenient as one within the patio, and involves no expense. And, local mores dictate that, although a man may spend \$25 a month on liquor, it is the

TABLE 5.—*Privies, lighting, beds, and water in Tintzuntzan houses*

Category	Houses in each category		Houses having												Tarascan family heads						
	No.	Pct.	Privy		Electric lighting		Beds		Water		Kerosene lighting		No water		No privy		Ocoté lighting		Tulle mat bed		
			No.	Pct. ¹	No.	Pct. ¹	No.	Pct. ¹	No.	Pct. ¹	No.	Pct. ¹	No.	Pct. ¹	No.	Pct. ¹	No.	Pct. ¹	No.	Pct. ²	
10.....	22	9	22	47	22	62	22	15	22	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	18
9.....	7	3	7	15	0	0	7	5	7	13	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	43
8.....	7	3	7	15	7	20	7	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14
7.....	14	5.5	11	23	3	9	14	10	3	6	11	5	11	6	1	3	0	0	0	2	14
6.....	18	7	0	0	0	0	18	13	18	33	18	9	0	0	18	9	0	0	0	3	17
5.....	4	1.5	0	0	3	9	4	3	1	2	0	0	3	1	2	2	1	10	0	0	17
4.....	69	28	0	0	0	0	69	48	0	0	69	34	69	36	9	34.5	0	0	0	12	17
3.....	4	1.5	0	0	2	0	2	1	2	4	2	1	2	1	4	2	2	20	2	0	0
2.....	1	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0.5	1	1	10	1	0	0
1.....	96	39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	96	48	96	49	48	0	0	0	96	18	19
0.....	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	3	6	6	60	6	0	0	0
Total..	248	100.0	47	100	35	100	143	100	54	100	203	100	194	100	201	100	10	100	105	43	17

¹ Percentage of total occurrences or installations.

² Percentage of total houses in each category.

height of folly to spend \$0.75 for a private water tap if such is available nearby at no expense.

The final column of table 5 compares homes with Tarascan heads with the general average, both by number and percent. Of the 248 homes, 43, or 17 percent, are headed by Tarascans. Although the sample is small it will be noted that on a percentage basis the Tarascans own about as many homes in each category as do the Mestizos, with, perhaps, a slight shading in favor of the Tarascans in the upper categories. Significantly, no Tarascan household remains in the lowest bracket.

An obvious question is what accounts for the great differences in Tzintzuntzan houses. To a limited extent, wealth is a factor: both light and electricity must be paid for each month. Nevertheless, the \$0.75 for water and \$1.40 for light each month could easily be paid for by the majority of all homesteaders. And, with little more than elbow grease every home could, with the construction of a privy and board bed, enjoy a minimum status of 6. The only conclusion, then, is that some families are characterized by more progressive thinking and greater initiative; a slight monthly expense and a slight amount of work are more than repaid by the greater comfort of their homes. Who are these people so characterized? Although there is no hard and fast dividing line between categories of householders, in general the literate and the wealthy—as evidenced by land ownership—tend to have better homes. The use of land as a criterion of wealth is not perfect. Storekeepers, in general in the upper categories, usually have their money invested in stocks rather than land, while many families listed as landowners may have only a single tiny milpa. Economically they are closer to the landless than to the larger landholders. Nonetheless, in the absence of better criteria, this has been selected.

Table 6 shows the relationships between house categories and literacy and land ownership. Literacy has been analyzed in terms of both parents (or one person when one parent is dead or the household head is single), father only, mother only, and neither parent (or one person when one parent is dead or the household head is single). The total of the first three

groups gives another, households literate in the sense that one or both parents are able to read. If categories 5, 3, and 2 are excluded, because the maximum sample of 4 is too small to be significant, one notices a steady decrease of literacy from category 10 to 0, and a corresponding increase in illiteracy. This correlation is particularly marked if one considers households in which both parents are literate, as against those in which there is only one literate. The obvious conclusion is that literate households tend to be materially more advanced, and illiterate households materially less advanced.

Land ownership shows the same tendency, to a lesser degree, in that householders in category 4, which is relatively low, correspondingly are as well off as those in the higher categories. This situation is more apparent than real: a numerical count of milpas in each category shows that owners in categories 6 to 10 average 50 percent more land than those in the lower categories. Hence, wealth as represented by land ownership correlates with the materially more advanced houses.

Clearly there is a marked correlation between comfortable homes, literacy, and wealth. Since even the poorest families could have a privy and bed at almost no cost, it must be assumed that either the progressive literate individuals are the ones most likely to succeed financially or that the presence of wealth also produces an advanced thinking that cannot be measured in terms of pesos and centavos. From a practical standpoint it is encouraging to note that literacy appears to be more important than wealth. With the continued functioning of a good school, illiteracy will eventually be reduced to a very low level. Quite possibly with greater education will come the desire for better, more hygienic homes.

As matters are today, however, there is very little urge or desire among the Tzintzuntzeños to improve their homes, and excellent opportunities to better their property have met with little enthusiasm. For example, in 1938 electricity was brought to the town from Pátzcuaro, and a moderate charge of \$1.40 per month for a 40-watt bulb was made. More bulbs enjoy a reduced rate. In addition, the town's main streets are lighted, free of charge, as are the municipal building and the church. Nevertheless, only 35

homes out of the total of 248 have bothered to install electricity. A deterring factor may be the belief that houses with electric wiring are more prone to catch fire, in spite of the fact that a house fire is virtually unknown. A more

ing water through the streets for sale. As a part of his program to improve the village, General Cárdenas in 1938 built a pump house over one of the springs, and laid mains through the central part of town. One hundred and ten taps

TABLE 6.—*House categories correlated with literacy and property*

Category	Houses in each category		Literate parents					Property		
			Both parents	Father only	Mother only	Total	Neither parent	Landowners (house lots excepted) in each category	Proportion of total landowners in each category	
	No.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	Pct.
10.....	22	9	86	..	9	95	5	12	55	12
9.....	7	3	43	43	..	86	14	5	71	5
8.....	7	3	43	14	14	71	29	4	57	4
7.....	14	5.5	43	14	29	86	14	7	50	7
6.....	13	7	39	22	11	72	28	10	56	9
5.....	4	1.5	75	25	..	100	..	2	50	2
4.....	69	28	29	23	13	65	35	41	57	37
3.....	4	1.5	25	50	..	75	25	1	25	1
2.....	1	0.5	..	..	100	100	..	0	..	..
1.....	96	39	11	29	14	46	54	25	26	23
0.....	6	2	33	..	..	33	67	0	..	..
Total.....	248	100	..	..	..	..	..	107	..	100

apparent explanation is the mental anguish caused the householder by having to pay out \$1.40 at one time with nothing in his hand to show for it. At the time of the installation of electricity, light of a sort could be had with candles or kerosene for from \$0.60 to \$0.90 a month. Candles, curiously, are considered superior, because they do not smoke. With the war inflation, however, candles, which last only for a night or two, have increased in price from \$0.02-\$0.03 to \$0.10-\$0.15, and kerosene now costs from \$0.05-\$0.10 a night. Hence, minimum lighting costs from \$1.50 to \$3.00 a month, compared to \$1.40 for electricity. But, with the war, it has been impossible to get wire for new installations, and so the would-be thrift-minded householders are now paying dearly for their conservatism.

The story of water is the same thing. In spite of the proximity of the lake, the traditional water supply has been springs in Ojo de Agua and wells sunk in patios. Since most well water is muddy and unsatisfactory for drinking purposes, families made a daily trip to the springs to bring drinking water, or purchased jars of it from muleteers who made a profession of carry-

were installed in patios, free of charge, and for the benefit of those who lived on the outskirts of town, five public taps were placed in strategic positions. A charge of \$0.75 monthly was announced for private taps, a very reasonable figure, and the public taps were to be free. But no sooner was the new system inaugurated than people began to refuse to pay the monthly charges. Those near public taps found it preferable to walk to them rather than pay a nominal sum for the convenience of water at the kitchen door. Others, farther from public taps, banded together in associations, paid \$0.15 or so apiece, and maintained the tap in the patio of the most centrally located. There was no remedy other than removal of taps; 30 were taken out during the first 2 years, and by 1943, 28 more, leaving only 52 private taps, less than half the original number. One is forcibly reminded of proverbs about horses and water.

As in other parts of Mexico where it has been installed, the *molino de nixtamal*, or maize mill, has been the greatest step toward freeing woman of drudgery. The first motor mill was installed about 1925, and there has been at least one ever since. At present there is one mill

only, electric, which was charging \$0.02 a liter at the beginning of the field period, and which subsequently upped the charge to \$0.03, or \$0.10 a *quarterón* of 4 liters. Natividad tells me that in her youth she arose at 4 o'clock in the morning, ground 5 liters of maize for the family, made tortillas for the day, and prepared breakfast. With all of this work, it was 10 o'clock before she could get to work on her pots. At that time she also worked late at night, after supper, at potmaking. Now, thanks to the mill, she sleeps until 6 o'clock, goes herself or sends a daughter to the mill, and by 9 o'clock the children are off to school and she is busy pot-making. Also, the night sessions with pots are no longer necessary.

The general opinion is that mill-ground maize is inferior for tortillas, but it saves so much time that it is worth the difference. A few men object to having their wives go to the mill, because they feel it promotes gossip and — who can tell — they may idle their time away talking with other men. The census shows that in 27 homes the mill is not used, and this means several hours a day on the part of the women-folk bent over the metate. Analysis of these homes shows that all belong to the lowest categories, 0 to 4, with one exception, a 10. This puzzler was cleared up when it was discovered that the head of the house was very wealthy, had a full-time maid, and simply preferred hand-ground tortillas — it was a luxury which he could afford. Tarascans, in general, are more conservative than Mestizos in the use of the metate, and, though a decided minority of Tarascan households use it to the exclusion of the mill, the percentage is about twice that of Mestizo homes. A few of the poorer families imagine that they save money by not patronizing the mill, though there are few tasks to which they can put their hands that do not result in a higher return than the \$0.02-\$0.04 an hour saved by grinding on the metate. In general, then, one may say that the use of the metate to the exclusion of the mill is correlated with the poorer, less literate, less progressive households, and particularly with conservative thinking on the part of a minority of Tarascans. A metate, of course, is found in all kitchens, where it is used to regrind *nixtamal* and in the preparation of a variety of dishes.

DRESS

The mixed ethnic composition of Tzintzuntzan is reflected in the wide variety of clothing worn. Some individuals — more women than men — are completely *catrín* in dress, i.e., their clothing is entirely modeled after or bought in cities and is no different from that found among the lower classes of Mexico City. Smaller numbers of both sexes are completely Indian in dress, which means that their costume differs little from that which came into vogue during colonial times, after the Conquest. The great majority of persons, however, show a mixture of the two types, both in terms of differential dress for different occasions, and in terms of a mixture of garments worn at the same time. Costumes are first described, and then an attempt is made, utilizing the census data, to determine the numbers of individuals in the two extremes and the intervening categories.

MEN'S CLOTHING

The basic indigenous dress consists of unbleached muslin trousers, *calzones*, and shirt, *camisa*, of the same material. The *calzones* are much wider at the waist than the girth of the man for whom they are intended, and have an open, V-shaped buttonless fly. Two 50-cm. tapes of the same material are attached, one to the top of each side at the fly. When the *calzones* are worn, one side of the fly is drawn over the other and the tapes tied at the back. This is enough to hold the trousers in place, but in practice a bright fuchsia-colored wool sash 20 cm. wide is usually worn as a belt. The legs taper to a width of about 15 cm., and are often decorated with a machine-stitched edging of blue and red thread. The shirt is a pull-over opened half way down the front, with one or two buttons. This opening is decorated with the same machine-stitched design that is found on the bottom of the *calzones*, and often two or three pleats are stitched on each side of it. The collar is of a standard form with tabs, which may also carry a simple, machine-stitched design such as flower petals. Cuffs are tight, buttoned, and embroidered with the blue and white stitching. Tails are square and long, worn over the sash in the fashion of a sport shirt. It is interesting to note that these simplest, utilitarian gar-

ments, worn while plowing, while fishing, or in any other hard and dirty work, are almost always decorated in some fashion, in contrast to store pants and shirts.

There are slight differences between the *calzones* and *camisas* of the Mestizo men and those of the pure Tarascans, showing that even the most characteristic native costume is being modified in the direction of *catrín* clothing. Tarascan *calzones* have no open fly, and are made wide enough at the waist so that one can step into them with space to spare. Waist tapes are also lacking, so that the sash, optional in the case of Mestizo *calzones*, is essential. Tarascan *calzones*, unlike those of the Mestizos, have tapes to tie the cuffs to the ankle. Mestizo shirts have been modified toward *catrín* style with the addition of the standard collar and buttons at neck and cuff. Tarascan shirts usually lack these innovations. Remembered in Tzintzuntzan, but no longer worn, are pull-over shirts which opened down one shoulder.

Blue denim overalls, store purchased, are favored for heavy work, such as digging clay for pots, wood cutting, and other occupations in which there is apt to be a good deal of wear and tear. Often they are worn over the *calzones*, or over undershirt and shorts, with a muslin or cotton shirt. Pants, properly speaking, are blue jeans or cotton in various colors and designs, and occasionally wool. Jackets may be of blue denim or other cotton or wool materials, and occasionally a sweater is seen. For warmth on cold days, however, the *gabán*, a small serape which reaches only a little below the waist, is the favored garment. A few men own complete suits, and most of those with store clothing have a necktie or two. Bright-colored silk shirts, either locally made or imported, are owned by all except the poorest men, for festive days.

Huaraches come in a variety of patterns, some consisting merely of a few straps fastened to a sole, and others carefully woven of narrow strips of leather in the form of a slipper. The traditional leather sole is rapidly being replaced by rubber from old tires; it is disconcerting to encounter on a trail where a wheel has never passed the impressions of non-skid treads. No huaraches are made in Tzintzuntzan; most are purchased in Pátzcuaro, and repaired from time to time by local shoe repair-

ers. Shoes, likewise, are for the most part purchased in Pátzcuaro. Store socks are often worn with shoes, but never with huaraches. Bandana handkerchiefs are owned by most adult men, regardless of type of costume worn.

From early childhood no male ventures into the street without a hat; one would prefer to be seen without pants or without a shirt than to be seen hatless. Hats are of palm, sewn in concentric circles rather than woven, very thick and heavy, and painted white. The brim is wide, turned down slightly in front and up slightly at the rear, and the crown is low and narrow so that the hat perches precariously on the top of one's head rather than actually fitting. A red, blue, or black felt strip usually passes through eyes in the sides of the crown, and is tied at the front or on top, with the other end hanging at the back of the neck. Leather bands, often decorated with silver ornaments on the more expensive hats, are common, and potters and muleteers often have a 20 cm. steel awl stuck in the band, to be used in sewing up gunny sacks.

The hats most commonly worn in Tzintzuntzan are made in Jarácuaro and Cehuayo, both in Michoacán, and San Francisco, Guanajuato. The differences in shape are relatively slight in comparison to the wide variety of Mexican hat styles. Parenthetically it may be said that an analysis of Mexican hats, their styles and distributions, and reasons for preferences in different regions, would be an extremely interesting study. The almost pathological devotion to hats in Tzintzuntzan—and Mexico in general—is difficult to explain. Apparently it is the one item of clothing which custom demands must be worn, and few are those in any society who like to defy a rigid custom. In this sense, at least, there are no social rebels in Tzintzuntzan.

Though not a visible part of costume, all men from early youth carry the wickedly curved *tranchete* jack knife (fig. 5) inside the shirt on the left, where it can easily be reached. In spite of much drunkenness and the presence of a dangerous weapon, there is very little knife fighting in Tzintzuntzan.

A man of average means will have a wardrobe about as follows. Prices are those of the new garment.

3 shirts at \$5.50	\$ 16.50
2 cotton trousers at 10.00	20.00
2 <i>calzones</i> at 5.00	10.00
1 silk shirt	16.00
3 pairs underpants at 2.50	7.50
3 undershirts at 1.50	4.50
1 sash	5.00
1 hat	7.50
3 pairs socks at 0.75	2.25
1 bandana handkerchief	1.00
1 pair huaraches	12.00
1 pair shoes (some men)	28.00
1 <i>gabán serape</i>	30.00
Total value of new wardrobe	\$160.25

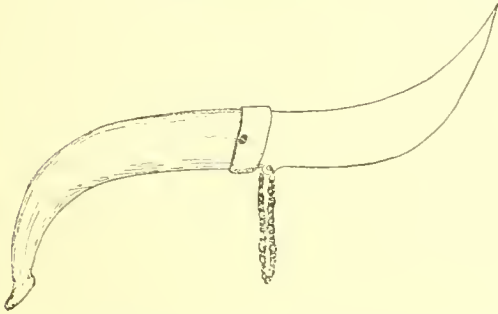


FIGURE 5.—*Tranchete* knife. The blade folds into the bone handle and may be suspended from a button by means of the chain.

Clothing for boys of all ages is about the same as that for their fathers, except that there is a tendency to go barefoot or wear huaraches rather than shoes, and to prefer the less expensive *calzones* to store trousers or overalls. For the first communion a boy needs white pants, shirt, and shoes, with a total value of about \$10. Infants of both sexes are clothed in an undershirt and simple cotton dress. Diapers normally are not used.

WOMEN'S CLOTHING

In the Lake Pátzcuaro area one finds a series of costume types which range from the ancient hand-loomed black wool skirt to modern factory-made cotton dresses. This transition can be traced both by the cut of the garment and the materials used, and is best reflected in skirt forms. Except for cotton dresses, the subsidiary garments are basically the same for all combinations. The costume which is particularly characteristic of the Tarascan and bordering areas consists of a petticoat, blouse, woolen skirt, apron, woolen belt or belts and a *rebozo* (shawl).

This garb, though not pre-Conquest, appears to be the oldest type in Michoacán and hence most properly can be called "indigenous." Its component parts, each with variations, will be described in turn.

The petticoat is a tubular skirt of unbleached muslin or cotton with a circumference several times the girth of the wearer. When worn it is folded in knife pleats across the back so that about 15 cm. rise above the waist and fall back in a ruffle to display machine cross-stitched designs in red, pink, and black thread. It is held in place by a woolen belt. Petticoat bottoms, which reach nearly to the ankles, are decorated with black wool embroidery on strips of unbleached muslin which are made in Nahuatzen and sold over the entire area. Some women sew the pleats of their petticoats to a band which is tied around the waist. This eliminates the need for a belt and facilitates dressing.

The oldest type of skirt, the *telar de manojo*, is made of black hand-loomed wool woven in Nahuatzen and Paracho in strips about 30 cm. wide. These strips are cut in lengths of about a meter and sewn together longitudinally to form a solid piece 10 to 12 m. long. The wearer gathers the cloth in pleats across her stomach, leaving an opening of several centimeters between the vertical edges. Then, one or more belts are wound in place and the skirt is turned half around so that the pleats fall in the rear. Several centimeters of pleated skirt extend above the waist line and fall back in ruffles covering most of the petticoat except for the embroidered top. At the skirt bottom enough petticoat is left exposed to reveal the embroidery. Since the skirt edges have not been brought together, a vertical strip of petticoat is visible from waist to ankles.

The classic Tarascan skirt of the sierra is 33 m. long. It is acquired by a girl at the time of her marriage and used as a source of cloth for the tiny skirts of baby girls. With each new addition to the household, the mother cuts a little off her skirt to clothe the newcomer. For a long time I was puzzled as to how it was possible to wrap a strip of cloth 33 m. long around one's waist and still walk, let alone do all of the chores of a household. The answer became apparent when it was learned that the measure

of 33 m. refers to the 30 cm. wide uncut strip which must be cut and sewn to form the skirt cloth which is only about 12 m. long. Even this size represents a very great weight, and it is said that only those who begin wearing the costume in childhood are able to bear the pressure of the sashes which hold it in place. Needless to say, all wearers of this costume appear ever pregnant. Plumpness seems to be the Tarascan ideal of female beauty though, as Nati says, "it's usually not real, just artificially created."

Utilitarian blouses are referred to as *camisas* to distinguish them from the finer *blusas*. They are muslin or cotton pull-overs with short sleeves, sometimes with a little cross-stitched decoration around the collar. Dress blouses are of brightly colored silk or rayon, and in contrast to the everyday ones have long sleeves. The neck opens a short distance down the back and is secured by a single snap. The cuffs and neck are decorated with white lace bought in Pátzcuaro, and the neck may also have additional designs made by sewing blue or pink ribbons to the blouse material.

Work aprons are of cotton or muslin. When economically possible, however, women prefer for everyday wear an apron of the same material as a dress blouse. The bottom has a white lace decoration and the top is fastened to a drawstring which is tied under the belts. To a woman an apron is as a hat to a man. One never sees a woman on the street without this article, regardless of what her other dress may be. On the rare occasions when I encountered women in their homes without aprons they showed great embarrassment and rushed inside to dress properly for visitors. With the pleated wool skirt the apron is more or less an essential item of dress since it covers the strip of petticoat left exposed in front of the wearer. More significant, however, is the pressure of social opinion. Lack of an apron is the greatest sign of poverty one can show. All women believe that if they appear without one, the others will say, "See, she doesn't even have enough to buy an apron." And fear of what others will say is perhaps the strongest form of social control in Tzintzuntzan.

The discomfort and expense of this great skirt is probably the cause of modifications which have taken place. The first step is the use

of a black wool factory-loomed cloth called *batanada*. Theoretically it could be cut to the same size as the *telar de manojo*, and perhaps in some cases this has been done. Use of a new material, however, seems to give license more easily to new cuts. Sometimes the only difference is that the pleats are sewn permanently to a waist tape. In other cases a tubular skirt with far less yardage is made, either pleated by hand when put on or with the pleats sewn in place. In all cases the ruffled pleats above the waist line are maintained, so that except upon close inspection one cannot distinguish it from the original type. This skirt is called simply *telar* to distinguish it from the *telar de manojo*.

Very few if any Mestizo women wear either of these two types of skirts. If they have not completely abandoned "indigenous" garb their skirts are made of red wool factory-loomed *bayeta* which gives its name to the type of skirt as well. This cloth usually is sewn into a tubular form with a few pleats at the back which, however, do not ruffle above the waistline. Often the top 15 cm. are of green satin, while the bottom is decorated with narrow green and blue ribbons. Occasionally, but not often, this material is sewn to a tape with a back ruffle and open front in the form of the simple *telar*. All skirts of this material, regardless of cut, are called *bayeta*.

The *zagalejo* is the same as the common *bayeta* except that the cloth is woven with black crossing lines to form squares 1 or 2 cm. in diameter. Tubular skirts are also made of cotton prints. Most of the machine-loomed wools are made in Tulancingo, Hidalgo, and are bought in stores in Pátzcuaro.

In Janitzio, La Pacanda, Ihuatzio and other dominantly Tarascan lake villages, the *telar de manojo* remains a favorite. The Tarascans in Ojo de Agua and La Vuelta have almost entirely abandoned this in favor of the lighter, cheaper, and simpler *telar* of *batanada*. The tubular *bayeta* skirt is worn by those Mestizo women in Tzintzuntzan who have not entirely adopted European dresses and by many of the Tarascans in the nearby settlements. Relatively few *zagalejos* are found in Tzintzuntzan.

The woolen belts used with skirts and petticoats are about 6 cm. wide and of varying lengths up to 1.5 m. Color combinations of

light and dark blue, light and dark blue and green, pink and green and white, or green and orange and red are preferred. The stylized designs are given names such as *nopalitos*, *rosa de castilla*, and *canastita* ("little *nopales*," "rose of Castile," "little basket"). They are purchased at the Pátzcuaro market, or at the time of the Fiesta of Rescate when vendors come directly from Nahuatzen where they are made.

Except for the petticoat no underclothing is worn with the *telares*. A muslin slip may be worn with the lighter weight *bayeta*, though it is not deemed essential. With cotton skirts a cotton slip which lacks a bodice and which probably is an outgrowth of the petticoat is worn, along with a heavy muslin underblouse with short sleeves. This underblouse invariably is embroidered around the neck, and although none of it shows it is more decorative than the blouse worn over it. Underpants, except during the menses, are worn only with cotton dresses. Most women own cotton stockings, though they are worn principally by those who wear dresses. Unlike men, women never wear huaraches: they have the choice of going bare-foot or wearing shoes. Consequently, relatively more women wear shoes than men.

All females own rebozos from the time they can walk. Most common are the hand-loomed Paracho products, dark blue with narrow longitudinal light blue or white stripes. Others are from Santiago del Valle, and Moroleón, Guanajuato, and Uruapan, Tangancícuaro and Zamora, Michoacán. The finest are the *icatl* or tie-dye rebozos from Tenancingo, Mexico, famous all over the country for their intricate, named patterns, for their soft colors of gray, blue, and white, and for their fine texture. All types can be obtained in Pátzcuaro. The rebozo may be worn over the head and shoulders as a protection against the elements, or it may be worn over the shoulders alone, as a shawl, or as a sack in which to carry a small baby.

Nati, who wears both *bayeta* and dresses, has the following wardrobe, which is somewhat more complete than average. The prices given are for the garments when new, though many of these are now well-worn.

2 <i>bayetas</i> , 1 old, 1 new, at \$40.00 ..	\$80.00
2 petticoats at 5.00	10.00
2 slips at 4.00	8.00

3 embroidered undershirts at 3.75 ..	11.25
2 dresses of cotton at 16.50	33.00
3 blouses at 4.50	13.50
2 cloth skirts at 8.00	16.00
1 skirt of <i>chermes</i> (cotton, rayon design)	16.00
2 cotton aprons at 2.50	5.00
2 satin aprons at 8.50	17.00
2 sashes at 5.00	10.00
1 rebozo	12.00
1 pair shoes	18.00
1 pair shoes	12.50
3 pairs stockings at 1.75	5.25
3 pairs stockings at 1.00	3.00
3 handkerchiefs at 0.35	1.05
4 <i>cordones</i> , colored wool, for hair ..	.40

Total value of new wardrobe \$271.95

Girls from the ages of 2 to 10 usually wear simple dresses almost to their ankles with slip or underpants and undershirt. Shoes, if owned, are reserved for festive occasions except in a few cases of wealthier persons. Special clothing is necessary for the "presentation" 40 days after birth and for the first communion. The former necessitates, for those that can afford it, a dress of *chermes*, a calico shirt and shawl, calico diaper, a *fajero* (swaddling band), cap, woolen shoes, flannel cape, and *pechera* (bib), all of which is valued at from \$15 to \$20 depending on the quality of material and amount of embroidery. For the first communion the girl needs a white dress of *chermes*, veil of tulle, white shoes, and crown of blossoms, valued at from \$25 to \$30.

CHANGES IN DRESS HABITS

Tables 7A and 7B show the basic combinations of garments which customarily are worn by Tzintzuntzan males and females of 6 years of age and above. Shoes and trousers or dress are considered to be most modern and farthest removed from Indian garb, while use of *calzones* or *telar* and going barefoot is most primitive. The intermediate categories are graded roughly from city to Indian, though admittedly this grading is somewhat arbitrary. As between men and women, certain noteworthy differences are apparent. More women go barefoot than men, but more of them also wear shoes. This is because there are only two possibilities for them, as against three for men, the majority of whom have huaraches. Far fewer men are in

TABLE 7A.—*Dress combinations worn by Tzintzuntzan men*¹

Age group	Shoes, trousers		Shoes, trousers, calzones		Shoes, huaraches, trousers		Shoes, huaraches, calzones		Huaraches, trousers, calzones		Huaraches, barefoot, calzones		Barefoot, calzones		Total	
	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T
6-10.....	8	1	3	..	..	..	1	3	1	13	22	2	18	78	6	
11-15.....	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	16	13	3	..	1	53	4	
16-20.....	..	..	6	..	17	..	2	..	17	7	1	..	..	53	7	
21-25.....	4	..	3	..	25	..	1	..	12	6	..	..	..	54	2	
26-30.....	..	1	1	..	7	..	1	..	4	..	1	..	..	36	5	
31-35.....	2	1	3	1	7	1	2	2	5	3	..	..	..	25	4	
36-40.....	5	..	1	1	8	2	2	..	3	1	4	..	..	40	8	
41-45.....	..	..	1	..	9	4	2	..	4	1	4	..	..	23	9	
46-50.....	1	..	1	..	9	1	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	19	3	
51-55.....	1	..	1	..	2	2	1	..	3	1	4	..	..	13	6	
56-60.....	..	..	1	..	3	1	1	..	2	1	7	..	..	13	5	
61-65.....	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	9	1	
66-70.....	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	6	2	
71-75.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	
76-80.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	
Total.....	26	3	22	2	108	17	15	1	84	9	128	24	20	424	63	

¹ M in column head = Mestizo; T in column head = Tarascan.

enous" *calzones* with or without huaraches, i.e., one step above the lowest possible category. The second most numerous category is that of men who have both trousers and *calzones* and who wear both shoes and huaraches, depending upon their activity.

On the other hand, the most numerous category of women is that which is characterized by shoes and dresses to the exclusion of other combinations. The second largest category is that of women who wear dresses, and shoes only for festive occasions. This gives the illusion that the women are more progressive than the men. Actually, economic factors are probably more responsible. A dress is the cheapest garment a woman can have, and shoes, though relatively expensive, cost far less than a *telar* or even a good *bayeta*. Hence, there is a strong inducement to adopt this garb. Trousers and shoes, on the other hand, are the most expensive garb for men. In addition, huaraches and *calzones* are more practical for most occupations; the former deteriorate less rapidly in mud and water and are more easily repaired, while the latter can be more easily washed than heavy trousers.

Males show little if any correlation between dress and ethnic affiliation. About the same percentages of total numbers of Tarascans and Mestizos are found in each category. On the other hand, among women there is a rough correlation between dress and ethnic affiliation in that only women of Tarascan speech wear the most primitive costume. Indian women, however, are found in all of the other major categories, including the most *catrín*, or citified.

Among men there is no appreciable correlation between age groups and costume. Among women the dress little by little is driving out the older forms of garment: of females under 30 years of age 55 percent wear only dresses, while of those over 30, only 36 percent wear dresses to the exclusion of other clothes. The present trend indicates, then, that "indigenous" garb will disappear more rapidly among women than among men. Shoes and dresses, as the two most citified items, are not as closely correlated as one might expect. A surprising number of barefoot women wear only dresses. On the other hand, only seven women who customarily wear shoes do not wear dresses.

the most advanced category than women, and more are in the least advanced. The largest category of men are those who wear the "indig-

TABLE 7B.—Dress combinations worn by Tzintzuntzan women¹

Age group	Shoes, dress		Shoes, dress, bayeta		Shoes (fiesta), bayeta		Shoes (fiesta), dress, telar		Shoes (fiesta), telar		Barefoot, dress, bayeta		Barefoot, dress, telar		Barefoot, bayeta		Barefoot, telar		Total	
	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M	T
6-10.....	13	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	80	8
11-15.....	29	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	75	4
16-20.....	19	..	6	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	59	6
21-25.....	12	..	4	..	12	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	9
26-30.....	8	..	4	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35	8
31-35.....	6	..	4	..	12	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	33	8
36-40.....	11	..	5	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	32	11
41-45.....	6	..	9	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	32	7
46-50.....	8	..	7	..	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	7
51-55.....	2	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	5
56-60.....	5	..	4	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	..
61-65.....	1	..	1	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..
66-70.....	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..
71-75.....	3	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..
76-80.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
81-85.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Total.....	123	9	49	1	75	8	11	10	65	9	22	2	6	13	470	75	..	..	..	..

¹ M in column head = Mestizo; T in column head = Tarascan.

Clothing is both locally made and purchased in stores or markets. Both sexes may use the sewing machine, but women do so more fre-

quently. All "indigenous" garments, the *bayetas*, skirts, blouses, and aprons are locally made. Men's *calzones* and shirts likewise are made in Tzintzuntzan. Trousers are either home-made or purchased, as are cotton shirts. Probaby three-fourths of all clothing worn in Tzintzuntzan is of local origin.

Women usually wash clothes once a week, often at the spring in Ojo de Agua where there is an abundance of running water. Others who live farther from there use stone wash basins which are natural hollows in large stones which have been carried to patios at unknown times in the past. The usual Mexican custom is followed: clothing is thoroughly soaped, placed in the sun to bleach, then rinsed and dried. Flat-irons heated in charcoal braziers are used for ironing. This is about the only use of charcoal in Tzintzuntzan. Women washing at Ojo de Agua usually take advantage of the water to bathe, so that a weekly bath is most common. Nati bathes at home on Sundays, and again Thursdays or Fridays, if she has time, putting on clean clothing each time. She bathes the children on Sundays, so that they will be clean for school, and again on Thursday. Their clothes are changed three times a week, which is considerably above the average of the town.

Nati is derisive about one woman who never bathes; she puts on new clothing and leaves it until it is worn out. The woman's explanation is that pottery making is such a dirty occupation that bathing and washing are useless; it is much better to spend money on bread than on soap. Vicente bathes every 2 or 3 weeks. It is difficult to tell how often he changes clothing, since he usually has two or three sets in various stages of soiling. His cleanest clothes are put on when he goes to Mass and his dirtiest when he goes to bring clay or to cut wood. Washing of clothes and bathing are always done in cold water. For young children mothers sometimes put water in the sun to cut the edge off the chill. Youths often go to the lake and swim, thus solving their bathing problem.

Care of the hair is important for women and girls. It is washed with fair frequency, and oiled with brilliantine bought in stores, or oil of *verbena*. Combs are used, and parting is sometimes done with a quill. Hair is braided in two strands, usually with *cordones*, woolen cords in

green, pink or red colors, which are sometimes tied at the back of the neck. Young girls' heads are sometimes shaved, as in many parts of Mexico, in the belief that this makes the new hair come in thick and luxurious. Older girls and women frequently go to the chapel in Ojo de Agua on the day of San Juan, June 24, to cut their hair with a knife and thus promote a thick growth, which is a sign of beauty. All men wear their hair fairly short, cut either by the town's only barber, Jesús Huipe, or by barbers in Pátzcuaro and Quiroga on market days. Presumably access to regular barber shops explains the lack of any full-time local barber. Tarascan men tend to wear their hair a little longer than do Mestizos.

THE CULINARY ARTS

In this section the techniques used in the preparation of food, and the typical dishes of the region are considered. Statistical data on quantities of food, consumption, meal habits and other similar items are discussed in the section on the domestic economy (pp. 150-168).

Compared with many, and perhaps most parts of Mexico, Tzintzuntzan and the Tarascan area in general are characterized by well-developed culinary arts. The variety of available foods, the number of herbs used in cooking, and the varied recipes known are outstanding in every sense of the word. Naturally, few housewives have time to make every meal a gastronomic delight, but when the occasion presents itself — a wedding, death, or church fiesta, most can turn out a meal that should be long remembered. Curiously, the best cook in town is a man. Jesús Peña worked for a number of years as sacristan, and while in association with the priest he developed a taste for the better things in life, including fine food. Being possessed of a lively imagination and interest in all things, he took up cooking as a hobby and soon became a master. His talents were particularly valued by the members of the expedition when outside guests were to be fed, at which time he assisted Carmen who normally cooked for us. One day he gave me the list of herbs and condiments which he considered essential for kitchen work: *mejorana* (sweet marjoram) for all soups and broths; *orégano* (wild marjoram) in beans and

stews; *comino* (cumin) for stuffing chickens and turkeys; *tomillo* (thyme) in all clear soups, stews, and with broadbeans; *pimiento* and *pimentones* (peppers) for *mole* sauce; *silantro* (coriander) for fish stew and boiled beef; ginger in *mole*; sesame seed to thicken *mole*. Garlic goes in most stewed dishes and chiles, a half dozen or more varieties, in almost anything.

But Jesús is not the only one who can cook, and any fiesta — a *pozole* during Lent, a funeral, a wedding — quickly reveals that the Tzintzuntzeños recognize and appreciate fine food. Though no attempt was made to write a Tarascan cookbook a number of the most typical recipes were recorded.

MAIZE PREPARATION

Maize is the basis for a bewildering variety of foods. To make most of these, the hard grains are soaked in warm water with lime (*cal*) to soften, to produce *nixtamal*. *Nixtamal* is ground, usually at the electric mill, into dough known as *masa*. To make tortillas the *masa* is passed once over the metate and patted into the typical and well-known thin disks which are toasted on the clay griddle, or *comal*. Tortillas made for home consumption are quite large, averaging 20 to 25 cm. in diameter. But for guests they are made small and dainty, 12 to 18 cm. in diameter. Since about the same amount of work goes into each size, it is time-saving to make the larger ones. Usually the housewife spends an hour or more making a day's supply of tortillas each morning, placing them in a round *tascal* basket of just the right diameter to hold them wrapped in a napkin. For subsequent meals these are heated on the griddle.

Tokeres (*T. thokeri*) are thick, sweetened or salted tortillas made with maize which has begun to mature but which is not yet completely hard. Unsoaked in lime or ash, it is ground on a metate, and formed in the same manner as ordinary tortillas. The sweet variety is flavored with brown sugar, cinnamon, and anise to which baking soda is added. The salt variety has nothing but a little salt added. Milk is often served with *tokeres*.

Pozole is a fiesta dish, so typical, in fact, that many celebrations at which guests are fed are called *pozole* after the main food. The dish is a

kind of hominy made with maize soaked in ashes instead of lime. Pork, chiles, and herbs are added to suit the taste, and all is boiled together. This *pozole* should be distinguished from the drink of the same name known in southern Mexico, which consists of toasted ground maize mixed in water.

Posute is made with sweet corn which is cut from the cob and boiled with young squashes. Boiled pork in a sauce of *pasilla* chiles, salt, and the herb *anicillo* is then mixed with the corn.

Roasting ears are very popular. Sometimes they are boiled in the inner husk; more often they are roasted in the embers of the fire with the outer husk removed. Salt is added, but the common Mexican mixture of red chiles and salt is unknown. Fresh maize stalks are often cut and chewed for the sweetish juice, in the manner of sugarcane.

WHEAT PREPARATION

Most wheat is consumed in bread baked at the two local bakeries. The bakers, like most Mexicans of this calling, are masters at the trade, and the bewildering variety of shapes, names, and flavors which they turn out are a never-ending mystery to an ethnologist raised on the white or whole-wheat system. Several families, as part-time occupations, have small ovens in which they bake a simple, unleavened, slightly sweetened flat loaf.

When a housewife has time she may prepare a number of other wheat dishes, either grinding her wheat on a metate or, if she has a large supply, taking it to Quiroga to be ground at the mill. *Gordas* are thick tortillas baked on a grid-dle. *Miel de piloncillo* (a sirup made of brown sugar and water) and baking soda for lightness are added to the wheat dough. *Capirotada* is a sweetish dish made from thick toasted pieces of bread, *tostadas*, which are soaked in a thick brown sugar sirup flavored with cinnamon, topped off with grated cheese. This dish is particularly favored for the days of *vigilia*, meatless days, the Fridays of Lent and the last half of Easter Week. *Buñuelos* are large thin wheat tortillas fried in deep fat and soaked in the same sweet sirup used for *capirotada*. Since wheat dough cannot be patted into tortilla form, a napkin is placed on the knee of the cook, who grad-

ually pulls a handful of dough into the desired form. This dish is often eaten with *atole blanco* (see below) for supper.

TAMALES

The tamale, while made primarily with maize, may also be made with wheat. The most common types are known as *de frijol*, *de haba* or *de chícharo*, depending on whether they are filled with beans, broadbeans, or peas. Tamale *nixtamal* is made with a mixture of lime and ash; lime alone makes the dough *muy fresco* ("very fresh"). After grinding, the dough is boiled and then handfuls spread out on a table and patted flat. Meanwhile, beans, peas, or broadbeans are boiled, ground to a paste, and mixed with *pasilla* chiles and salt. Any one of these fillers is placed on the boiled corn pats, the edges folded over, and the ball wrapped in maize husks or leaves and boiled for several hours. Husks are called *hojas blancas*, because they are dry and whitish, and leaves *hojas verdes* because they are fresh and green.

The *tamal de cenizas* ("ash tamale") has only salt and lard added to the boiled dough; it is always wrapped in green maize leaves. The *tamal de leche* ("milk tamale") is made from milk *atole* (see below) to which flour is added as thickening. It is boiled, wrapped in husks, and reboiled without filler. The *nacatamal* is made like the ash tamale, except that more lard is added, to make a lighter and spongier product. Boiled pork in a *pasilla* chile sauce is added as filler and the tamale is wrapped in dried maize leaves. *Nacatamales de dulce* ("sweet *nacatamales*") are made with cinnamon, anise, and brown sugar as a filler.

Kurundas (T.) are small triangular tamales wrapped in green maize leaves. Salt, lard, and baking soda are added to the dough to produce a delicacy not unlike Boston brown bread. The *uchepu* (T.) is a tamale made with green corn cut off the cob, ground on a metate, boiled, and wrapped in green husks. Sweet *uchepus* are made with sugar, cinnamon, and anise. Salty *uchepus* have salt and baking soda added. These tamales are, of course, made only during the short season of roasting ears from mid-September to early in November.

The *tamal de harina* ("flour tamale") is made of milled wheat mixed with baker's yeast

to which brown sugar sirup and salt are added. It is then placed in the sun to rise and subsequently boiled. These tamales have a light consistency almost like that of rolls. The similar *tamal de trigo* ("wheat tamale") is made from wheat ground on a metate and mixed with white maize *atole* and brown sugar sirup. This dough is wrapped in husks of black maize whose purplish color is imparted to the cooked product. These tamales are also placed in the sun to rise before boiling.

The *tamal de zarzamora* ("blackberry tamale") is made of blackberry *atole* boiled to the thickness of cornstarch pudding, to which brown sugar is added. It is wrapped in husks and boiled.

ATOLE

A number of thick boiled drinks, most of them made of maize, are known by this term. The basic process consists in taking *masa*, the dough made from *nixtamal*, mixing it with water, and boiling it to a thin gruel of about the consistency of a milk shake. After mixing the dough with water it is strained through a sieve consisting of fine black cheesecloth stretched over a drumlike circular wooden frame 10 to 15 cm. wide and nearly as high. The most common kind of *atole* is *blanco* ("white") made with white maize to which no flavoring is added. It is eaten, often between meals, as a complementary dish to *mescal*, the sweet, oven-roasted maguey heart which is the main delicacy through the spring months. A common sight during this period is to find the members of a family seated or standing in their patio with tobacco-juice-like stains running from the corners of their mouths, trails left by the juicy brown *mescal*, which, like mangoes and roasting ears, can never be eaten gracefully. A confirmed *atole* and *mescal* eater takes a bite of *mescal*, chews it slightly to release the juice, and then takes a drink of *atole* which picks up the sweetness on the way down. The remaining fibrous mass of *mescal* is spat on the ground before the next mouthful.

Atole de grano is ordinary white *atole* to which are added grains of sweet corn and a touch of ground *anicillo* and *perón* chile. *Atole de zarzamora* ("blackberry *atole*") is made with red or black maize flavored with ground

blackberries to which brown sugar has been added. *Atole de cáscara* ("husk *atole*") is made with toasted and ground cacao bean husks to which brown sugar is added. *Atole de pinole* is made with maize or wheat. The grains are toasted on a griddle, ground, mixed with water sweetened with brown sugar, and boiled. *Atole de leche* ("milk *atole*") is made of flour boiled in water to which milk, cinnamon, and brown sugar are added. *Atole de tamarindo* ("tamarind *atole*") is made with a wheat base to which ground tamarinds and brown sugar are added as flavoring. *Atole de arroz* ("rice *atole*") is more properly a pudding. Whole grains are boiled in milk to which cinnamon and brown sugar have been added.

OTHER FOODS

Eggs are eaten both as a dish in themselves, or as a base for a variety of other foods. A fried egg often is served on a plate of beans which, with tortillas, constitutes a very satisfactory meal. Eggs may be made into a *torta*, a sort of omelette, to which boiled beans may be added. *Yema* consists of an egg beaten up in milk; it is often drunk for breakfast. *Torreznos* are beaten eggs mixed with ground rice, shrimp, or other fish, formed into small cakes and fried in deep fat. Boiled potatoes, cut in small pieces and fried in an egg batter, may be used in a form of *torrezno*. *Ajiaco* is the word to describe a number of combination dishes in which the common element is the cooking in deep fat of food to which a beaten egg and a sauce of onion and tomato is added. *Ajiaco de nopal* is made with fried *nopales*, the tender, despined leaves of the prickly pear cactus. *Ajiaco de longaniza* is made with sausage and potatoes.

Nopales are a favorite dish during Lent. The tender *penca*s, the paddle-shaped leaves, are cut, the spines scraped off, and chopped into small pieces to be boiled with salt. Next they are fried in lard to which has been added ground onion and tomato. The taste is suggestive of string beans, but the consistency is more gelatinous. *Nopales* are also cooked *en pipián*. Squash seeds are toasted and ground, and mixed with a little toasted and ground red maize. Ground red chile and garlic are added, mixed with water

to make a sauce which is cooked with the cactus leaves.

Squash are boiled, without being cleaned inside, so that the diner must carefully remove the seeds and pulp or, as is more common, simply spit them out on the floor. Sometimes squash are cooked whole with a small hole cut in one side to allow the hot water to enter. Brown sugar sirup often is added. *Conserva de chilacayote*, made with much brown sugar, is a Lenten specialty. *Orejones* are made by sun-drying thin slices of young squash. Later they are soaked, boiled, dipped in egg batter and fried in deep fat.

Mushrooms, which appear in the hills at the beginning of the rainy season, are a great delicacy. They are boiled, then fried in lard to which chopped onion and tomato have been added, and then allowed to simmer with more water added.

During the spring months green peas are boiled in water to which lard has been added. They are served in the pods as a between-meals delicacy, to be opened by members of the family, who will interrupt their afternoon work for a bit of relaxation. Green vegetables, as well as carrots and beets, are eaten boiled or in a meat stew. Meats and fowl are either fried, sometimes in a tomato-onion-garlic sauce, or cooked with cabbage and perhaps other vegetables in a stew. Fish are prepared in broth, or fried, usually in an egg batter. Cheese, a white, soft type, is grated on beans or fried in slices.

Mole sauce has *pasilla* chile and *mulato* chile, browned in fat and mixed with toasted, ground squash and cordiander seeds to which are added ground tomatoes, garlic, and vinegar.

BEVERAGES

A number of families in the upper income brackets often drink coffee (with or without milk), chocolate, and milk. *Te de limón* is not, as the name suggests, a lemon tea. It is an infusion made from lemon grass (*Andropogon citratus*) which grows along the lakeshore. Pulque, the fermented juice of the maguey plant, is known, but very little is made or consumed. Sugarcane brandy (*aguardiente*) is drunk in bars. Most of this comes from Uruapan. The *Charanda* brand, presumably so named because the fac-

tory was built on the outskirts of town on reddish earth of the type so named by the Tarascans, is most esteemed. As common, if not more so, is the *caballito* ("little horse"), a horrendous tonic made from Coca-cola or soda pop to which pure alcohol has been added. It is also a ceremonial drink, and is presented by a suppliant who comes to ask money or permission for his son to marry another man's daughter. It is also served by a thoughtful host at weddings and funerals and on other festive occasions. *Amargo* is a rather pleasant liqueurlike drink made from alcohol in which sugar and orange or lemon rinds have been steeped for several days. *Refrescos* (soda pop) and small bottles of beer are sold in considerable quantities.

FOOD CONCEPTS

Tzintzuntzan still retains in a mild form the basic Mexican Indian division of foods into hot and cold categories, which have nothing to do with actual temperatures. This concept is now little more than mild superstition, scarcely credited by most people, and no two informants give quite the same list. *Comidas irritantes*, or hot foods, Nati tells me, include *atole*, opossum, beef, white fish, chicken, wheat, chocolate, mangoes, bananas, *mescal*, white zapotes, *capulines*, potatoes, and rice. Hot foods are pork, bass (*trucha*), lime, milk, *kurundas*, pears, oranges, and peaches. A third category, rather vague in the minds of informants, is the *cordial*, neither hot nor cold. Hot and cold elements may be mixed to form a *cordial* meal. The nearby Tarascan hamlets recognize three categories, *irritantes* (hot), *frescas* (medium) and *frías* (cold). This is also true for the Sierra Tarascan town of Charapan, and probably for other Tarascan villages as well.

Very few food restrictions were noted. If one eats white zapotes, *capulines*, or *mescal* before breakfast, stomach ache is believed to result. For the same reason milk should not be eaten with fish, pork, alligator pear, cherimoya, or *capulín*. Milk also is said not to help one's condition when suffering from a hangover.

Tzintzuntzeños, like members of most other cultures, have no doubt but that their kind of food is the best. One of the problems connected with traveling to distant places is the fear

that satisfactory food will not be obtainable. Men who have gone to the United States to work have only one real criticism: they cannot stand the food, particularly the lack of tortillas.

Vicente, Natividad, and Consuelo once came to Mexico City with me for several days, staying in a small hotel. After our return to Tzintzuntzan they showed me a photograph they had taken. "We look terrible," said Nati. "I am naturally ugly, but I look uglier in this picture. It's because we hardly ate a thing all the time we were in Mexico City. We were afraid of what might be in the food that they gave us in the restaurants, so we didn't eat much else but bread. And what terrible bread they do have in Mexico City, too. I can't think what the bakers must put in it. It isn't edible."

"Is it true," asked Vicente, "that in Mexico City cats are considered a great delicacy and are eaten a great deal?" Nati then told a story in which cat meat in *mole* had been served to some people under a name they did not recog-

nize. They thought it was chicken. When they had finished, the waiter told them that it was cat, asked if they did not think it delicious and if they did not eat cat in their town. Vicente expressed the belief that dog, horse, and burro meat are also freely eaten in Mexico City. "Why they even eat the flesh of babies who have died," exclaimed Nati. "A lady in the hotel where we stayed told us that they did and that we should be careful what we ate in restaurants. I know that what she said was true, too, for a priest from Tzintzuntzan, who is now dead, went to Mexico City with a señorita from here. She said, 'Let us go in this restaurant and eat some *nacatamales* and some *atole*.' They were eating their tamales when the priest began to examine a piece of meat in his more closely. It was the end of a baby's finger, and even had the fingernail on it! He looked a little further and found the upper joint of a baby's finger. Of course they didn't eat any more. They stopped right there, paid their bill and left in a hurry!"

EARNING A LIVING

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

For all societies, life is made possible by the earth and its offerings. Among primitive and semiprimitive peoples the relationship between the soils, the waters, and the air is far closer than that among peoples characterized by a specialized industrial economy. It will become apparent to the reader that Tzintzuntzan, in most of its aspects, is not an Indian community; more of its cultural roots are traceable to the Old World than to Mexico. Nevertheless, in the sense of a community economically closely tied to the earth, in which the day-by-day weather, the rains, the unfolding of the seasons are of intimate concern to every individual, Tzintzuntzan must be considered a "primitive" village. Life, in the sense of food, shelter, and clothing, is closely tied to the earth, and the economic processes by which the individual and the family exploit the offerings of the environment are for the most part simple and direct. No one can afford to remain indifferent to his surroundings and expect to survive.

In Tzintzuntzan a casual walk through the

town reveals the basic outlines of the relationship between man and nature. The circular adobe ovens in yards, the rich lakeshore milpas, and the stony hillside fields reveal that it is a town of potters and farmers. The broad surface of Lake Pátzcuaro suggests, also, the possibility of fishing as a major industry. The visitor may logically assume that there are secondary occupations which at first glance do not meet his eye.

The exploitation by which man here makes nature work for him takes place on several levels. First, and today of least importance, is the gathering of wild products, principally vegetable but also mineral, usually for immediate consumption or use. This is done in a haphazard fashion, without complicated organization, and in a manner to meet the immediate ends of the participant. In form, fishing must fall within this category, but in function it is rather different. Intensive exploitation of the lake during certain seasons makes possible the basic income of some families. Nothing is put into the lake to ensure a continued supply, and the fisher's concern is adequate equipment and his

skill in finding quarry. Each day's work is entirely separated from all others; bad luck or unfavorable weather today are unfortunate for today, but have little bearing on the nature of the work tomorrow or a week hence. Once the product is removed from the lake the basic "productive" process is finished, and the fish is eaten or sold. It is not a raw material to be worked and reworked into a final form with economic value. Hence, as a form of exploitation, fishing differs from simple collecting in that it is an organized industry involving cooperative effort on the part of several individuals, expensive equipment, and knowledge of specialized techniques. It differs from the following forms of exploitation in that there is, properly speaking, no "productive process." No raw material is treated, and the product does not need continual attention over a greater or lesser period of time.

The potter is tied to the earth in a somewhat different manner from the fisher. Presence of adequate clays are the prime requisite. As in fishing, knowledge, skill, and equipment are essential to extract the earths, though relatively all three points are less important and more easily mastered. Unlike fishing, mining of earths is a means to an end, and not an end in itself. The earths are raw materials which must be worked and completely transformed before they have any intrinsic value. The environment, in the sense of winds, rains, and presence or absence of firewood, plays a part in this productive process, but it is essentially a handicraft. And, ten days or two weeks sees the end of the process as far as any single "batch" is concerned.

Agriculture differs from all other forms of exploitation in that the investment in equipment — land, tools, oxen — is higher, and in that the labor of the individual is constant and continuous over long periods of time. Bad weather today has a direct bearing on the situation 4 months hence, and there is no way by extra energy and hard work to make up for the pranks of nature. Thus, of all the major exploitive processes, agriculture is that which is most intimately connected with the environment, and that in which success or failure is most closely linked to the annual vagaries of weather.

Before beginning to examine each of the tech-

niques by which man exploits his environment in Tzintzuntzan, it will be revealing to examine the census to determine what is the relative importance of each. Likewise, from the census, we learn a great deal about the stability and change of professions.

Occupations have been classified on two levels: all *jefes de familias*, family heads, have been considered according to major and minor occupations; they total, including 41 women heads, 292. In addition, all persons of 16 years of age and over, other than heads, have been considered only in terms of major occupation. In all, the occupations of 346 men and 379 women over 16 years of age are treated. Table 8 shows the occupations of all family heads, and those of the fathers of the men. It will be seen that of the 251 male heads, 93 have secondary professions of sufficient importance to merit mention in the census.¹ An absolutely accurate census would show more. This repartition of work is to a large extent the result of a seasonal rhythm dependent on rainy and dry periods. From October through May there is little rain, the pottery clays dry easily, and the potter can dedicate himself wholeheartedly with few interruptions. From June through September the rains interfere with the work, and because of the lack of an income for many people in the entire area, there is little market for pots. Hence, the potter either works as a farmer, if he has land, or hires out as a day laborer. The busy agricultural season is from May until October, and then the pace slackens. Some will hire out during the slow season, while others will work as *rescatones* carrying pottery to distant markets to sell. Of the 14 men who fish, only 4 have no other occupation. The rainy season is poor for fishing, but is the time for agriculture, and a surprising number of fishermen have milpas. Others may work also as *rescatones*, or occupy their time in the making

¹ The classification in major and minor occupations admittedly is somewhat arbitrary. All men who make pottery have been listed in the potters' section. Hence, the figure 147 is the total. Some men who are part-time farmers are listed with the potters, fishers, or under other heads; 66 persons do some farming, as against 32 listed directly as farmers. All men who fish, with one exception, are listed with the fishermen. If all persons who earn a part of their living as day laborers are included, the total is 40 as against 17 listed in this category. Likewise, a total of 42 persons earn at least a part of their living as *rescatones*, as against the 14 listed in this category.

TABLE 8.—Occupations of family heads and of their fathers

Occupations of family heads	Occupation of father																
	Number in each category	Potter	Farmer	Fisherman	Day laborer	Storekeeper	Rescatón	Musician	Petate maker	Barber	Druggist	Carpenter	Baker	Soldier	Shoemaker	Father unknown	School teacher
<i>Men</i>																	
Potter (full time).....	94	82	3	2	1	...	1	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	2	...
Potter and																	
Farmer	22	13	6	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Rescatón	18	15	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Day laborer	6	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mason	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fisherman	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Carpenter	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shoemaker	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Farmer and rescatón	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Day laborer and rescatón	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total.....	147	117	12	4	2	0	1	3	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	2	0
Farmer (full time).....	18	2	12	1	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Farmer and																	
Day laborer	4	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rescatón	3	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rescatón and day laborer	2	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rescatón and singer	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Net weaver	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Municipal employee	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mason	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Day laborer and petate maker..	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total.....	32	3	20	2	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Fisherman (full time).....	4	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fisherman and																	
Farmer	6	...	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Day laborer	3	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rescatón	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Farmer and petate maker	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Farmer and day laborer	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Farmer and rescatón	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Day laborer and rescatón	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total.....	18	2	2	12	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Day laborer (full time).....	14	2	5	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
Day laborer and																	
Mason.....	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Petate maker.....	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total.....	17	3	6	1	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0

of petates. The case of Jesús Huipe is unique: carpenter, potter, mason, common laborer, and barber, and, contrary to the axiom, he is master of all. He comes by his talent naturally; his father is mason, blacksmith, farmer, potter, carpenter, and petate maker.

Approximately half of the women *jefes* are *domésticas*, housekeepers without other occupation. Sixteen are potters, two keep stores, one is a maid, one a seamstress, one a petate maker,

and one a *fondera*, proprietor of a "restaurant" where the few commercial travelers are fed.

A comparison of occupations of male heads of families with that of their fathers is revealing. Presumably in a very homogeneous community, such as some of the simpler Indian groups of Mexico, one would expect to find a high correlation between occupations of fathers and sons. To a large extent this is the result of little division of work. Among the Popoluca

TABLE 3.—Occupations of family heads and of their fathers—Continued

Occupations of family heads	Occupation of father																
	Number in each category	Potter	Farmer	Fisherman	Day laborer	Storekeeper	Rescatón	Musician	Petate maker	Barber	Druggist	Carpenter	Baker	Soldier	Shoemaker	Father unknown	School teacher
Storekeeper (full time).....	8	2	3	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Storekeeper and Baker.....	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Farmer.....	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Singer.....	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total.....	11	3	3	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Rescatón (full time).....	11	7	3	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rescatón and Day laborer.....	3	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total.....	14	8	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mason (full time).....	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mason and Carpenter and petate maker...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Carpenter, potter, barber, and day laborer.....	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Carpenter, potter, petate maker, farmer, and blacksmith.....	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total.....	4	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other occupations:																	
School teacher.....	3	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Municipal employee.....	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Priest.....	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sacristán.....	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Baker.....	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total.....	8	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total male heads.....	251	138	53	23	8	4	3	5	6	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	1
<i>Women</i>																	
Housekeeper.....	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Potter.....	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Storekeeper.....	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Domestic work.....	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Seamstress.....	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Petate maker.....	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Restaurant keeper.....	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total female heads.....	41	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total family heads.....	292	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

of Veracruz, where the author has worked, *everybody* has his milpa, even though on the side he may be carpenter or hunter. In that society every son automatically follows his father, and becomes first a farmer and secondarily a carpenter, hunter, or fisher. In a heterogeneous society one would expect to find much more occupational mobility. Because of the high degree of specialization the opportunities for sons are great, and individual interest will cause many

to adopt work or professions other than that of their fathers. In such a society one can expect to find that in certain professions the degree of mobility is greater than in others, i.e., more coal miners' sons become coal miners than doctors' sons become doctors, and so forth. Tzintzuntzan, as a traditional folk culture, might logically be expected to show an intermediate stage, and the statistics bear this out. For lack of other data of this type the comparative value

of much of this material is not fully realized; it will become increasingly significant as other similar studies are made.

The census reveals to what extent family heads in each of the major categories have followed their father's profession. Table 9 lists all full-time potters, farmers, *rescatones*, laborers, fishermen, and storekeepers, together with the occupation of their fathers, designated as the same, similar (e.g., *rescatón* son of a potter, net-weaving son of a fisherman), or different. Also listed, as a single category, are those individuals with two or more major occupations. The number of sons with the same occupation as, or similar to that of their fathers, is expressed on a percentage basis.

Of the 93 family heads with two or more important occupations, 72, or 77 percent, are descended from fathers with the same or similar occupations. This figure is not, of course, strictly comparable with the preceding ones, since if any of the sons' occupations was the same as, or similar to that of the fathers, correspondence was assumed. Hence, the correlation is deceptively high. Considering all family heads as a group, 181, or 72 percent, follow occupations the same as, or similar to that of their fathers. If secondary occupations of fathers were known, the correspondence would be somewhat higher—perhaps 80 to 85 percent. (The three men of unknown paternity have been figured as following occupations other than that of their

TABLE 9.—Comparison of occupations of family heads with those of their fathers

Occupation of family head	Number of cases	Occupation of father			
		Same as son's	Similar to son's	Different from son's	Sons with occupation same as or similar to father's
		Number	Number	Number	Percent
Potters (full time).....	94	82	1	11	88
Farmers (full time).....	18	12	0	6	67
Rescatones (full time).....	11	0	7	4	64
Laborers (full time).....	14	2	0	12	14
Fishermen (full time).....	4	3	0	1	75
Storekeepers (full time).....	8	1	0	7	12
Miscellaneous occupations.....	9	1	0	8	11
Heads with two or more occupations.....	93	68	4	21	77
Total.....	251	169	12	70	72

It is seen that pottery making is the most stable profession; of 94 full-time potters, 83, or 88 percent of the total, have followed their fathers. Fishing ranks next, though the sample is so small as to be worth little. Of the four full-time fishermen, three, or 75 percent, are descended from farmer fathers. None of the *rescatones* is descended from a father so listed, though seven, or 64 percent, are sons of potter fathers. Were the secondary occupations of these fathers known, doubtless many *rescatones* would be included. Of 14 full-time laborers, only 2, or 14 percent, and of 8 full-time storekeepers, only 1, or 12 percent, are descended from fathers with the same occupations. Only one, or 11 percent, of the nine family heads with other professions has followed his father.

fathers; obviously there was no sociological or economic connection which would or could influence them to follow their fathers.)

The rather considerable differences in occupational mobility between the several categories of work can in part be explained by economic considerations and in part by attitudes toward kinds of work. First of all, it must be noted that there are no trade secrets or guild rules which close certain occupations to aspirants. With sufficient intelligence, energy, and wealth, all occupations are open to any man. The amount of each of these factors which an individual commands determines what occupation will attract him. In terms of status, the land-owning farmer and the storekeeper occupy the highest positions. Potters and *rescatones*

come next, respected if they work hard and well, but rarely among the topmost families of the village. In the eyes of the Mestizos, fishermen are on a somewhat lower level, simply because nearly all men so engaged are Tarascans. The fact that they may own some of the finest agricultural lands in the area, and that they earn excellent money, does not mitigate a certain disdain for this work. The Tarascans, on the other hand, would consider fishing as occupying a higher status level than pottery making, and the combination fisherman-farmer with good lands as occupying the highest of all positions. Day work for hire is the occupation of least prestige; such individuals are dependent upon the whim of others for their daily bread, have no security, and generally occupy an inferior position. It must be remembered, however, that these social differences are relatively slight. Tzintzuntzan in no sense of the word represents a stratified society.

It is clear, then, that the attraction of status tends to pull most Mestizos toward farming, with a few drawn to storekeeping. Pottery draws individuals who, for economic or other reasons, do not qualify for the highest category. Fishing is an obvious occupation for Tarascans with sufficient wealth to keep canoes and nets, while day work is left to those with less energy, initiative, and wealth.

In practice, most sons of farmer fathers tend to follow this occupation if they inherit sufficient lands to make it possible. Customarily (p. 175) a father divides his land among his sons, and perhaps also his daughters, so that frequently there is insufficient land for all to make a living from farming alone. Hence, one must turn to other occupations. Some may marry into pottery-making families and take up the work, while others may become *rescatones*, buying pottery wholesale and carrying it to distant markets to retail. Still others, should they possess draft animals, may remain farmers by share cropping (p. 71), while still others will take to day labor during at least a part of the year. Eventually, some of these men will acquire enough money to buy lands and become full-time farmers, and upon their deaths, the cycle will repeat. The less capable or fortunate sons who have inherited small pieces of land may find it necessary to sell their holdings,

sometimes to brothers, sometimes to others, and to come to rely entirely on nonagricultural pursuits. Obviously, only a limited number of men by temperament will be drawn to storekeeping and of this limited number, still fewer will have the necessary capital. Outside limits on the numbers of storekeepers are placed by the necessities of the town and neighboring hamlets. Outside limits on agriculture are placed by an absolute land shortage. Hence, regardless of how openings are shuffled, and who may fill them in each generation, the numbers cannot greatly change. The smaller number of farmers (66 full-and part-time) as compared to the number of land owners (107) is explained by the fact that some owners of land share crop entirely, and hence do no agricultural work themselves.

Pottery, as an occupation, has several attractions worth noting. It requires no great capital investment as compared to fishing, farming, and storekeeping, one's wife and children are of great help, and by hard work it is possible to earn an adequate living. Hence, men who cannot qualify for farming or storekeeping are drawn to this work. They may have learned the technique as a child from their own parents, or as a result of marriage into a potter's family they gradually acquire the necessary knowledge. Some of these men will farm during the wet season, and a few, through hard work and luck, will graduate to the farming class alone.

Rescatones occupy a special position. Though a moderate capital investment in pack animals is necessary, this is relatively small, and most men, by some means, would be able to find the money. By and large, they are the only ones who openly express love for their work. They are *rescatones*, not because of necessity, not because they can do nothing else, but simply because they like the life of the open road, the chance to go to different places, and to see new faces. Farmers may feel satisfaction in seeing a ripening crop, and potters are content when they uncover a kiln after firing and find little broken ware. But a conscious joy from work apparently is limited to the *rescatón*. Hence, temperament, and not wealth or status, seems to determine what individuals take up this livelihood.

Full-time day laborers are, for the most part,

those individuals with the least ability, energy, and initiative. During recent years considerable numbers have been employed on the construction and maintenance of the highway and in the excavation and restoration of the *yácatas*. Normally, agricultural work is the chief opening for them. They have drifted into this work from a variety of other professions, primarily because of inability or unwillingness to make the grade where prevision and initiative command higher premiums. A second class of part-time laborers must be mentioned. These are the farmers, the potters, and members of other professions who, under the stress of highway or archeological work, will work for several weeks for hire, and who are not to be included among the professional day laborers, of whom the census lists 40. The attraction for these men seems to be, not the meager pay, which is less than they would earn in their usual professions, but the desire for variety, to break out of the daily channels, to talk with other people, and to earn something with a minimum expenditure of brain and brawn.

Table 10 shows the principal occupations of both men and women not heads of families. Among the men about the same ratio is maintained as among the heads. Comparison of both charts clearly reveals that pottery is overwhelmingly the chief occupation of the town, and the source of most of its income. Wives and daughters of potters usually help the hus-

TABLE 10.—Occupations of all persons 16 years of age and over, excluding family heads

Men		Women	
Occupation	Number	Occupation	Number
Potters.....	40	Potters.....	193
Day laborers.....	23	Housewives.....	127
Farmers.....	14	Teachers.....	5
Fishermen.....	5	Petate makers.....	5
Rescatones.....	4	Seamstresses.....	5
Scholars.....	4	Scholar.....	1
Hired help.....	3	Maid.....	1
Tailors.....	2		
Total.....	95	Total.....	337
Family heads.....	251	Family heads.....	41
Grand total.....	346	Grand total.....	378

band and father, though a surprisingly large number of women, 127, are listed simply as *domésticas*, or as having as occupation *su casa*,

“her house.” The few young scholars are the ones who have gone away to an *internado* or boarding school to continue their studies beyond the 6 years offered by the local school. The two tailors are youths, apprenticed in Morelia.

AGRICULTURE

In Tzintzuntzan 66 family heads earn all or part of their living from agriculture. In terms of numbers of individuals employed it ranks next to pottery. Because the surrounding mountains closely approach the lake, agricultural land is relatively limited, and consequently there is an absolute limit to the number of individuals who can be employed as field laborers. Before the land “reforms” of the last century the village owned communally, through the instrument of the Indigenous Community, a much larger area than at present. When individual title was given to the inhabitants many were swindled of the lands they had cultivated for years. In a later section the formation of the modern *ejido* will be discussed. Here it is sufficient to say that the plan has been rather unsuccessful in Tzintzuntzan, and has not added appreciably to agricultural lands. With the exception of the *ejido* all cultivated fields are privately owned.

TYPES OF SOIL

The Tzintzuntzan farmer is a practical soil scientist. He recognizes a number of different types of earths and categories of fields, each with certain special qualities or shortcomings. The *orillas* are the rich black alluvial shores of the lake, level and relatively free of stones. The *laderas* are the stony, badly eroded, and often steep sides of hills. To these may be added a less important category, the *solares* or small plots within the village. Often they are simply an extension of the building plot itself which has been planted with a few rows of corn or several handfuls of wheat. In a strict sense the word *solar* refers only to building lots.

Within these major categories all soils are by no means identical. Ten basic types are recognized and named, and any farmer can tell where they are to be found and to what use they can best be put.

(1) *Tierra migajón* ("friable earth"). These first few meters of rich black soil which are adjacent to the lake are the best in the village. Rain is of little importance because of the natural moisture of the earth, and all crops grow well and mature rapidly.

(2) *De pan llevar*. This is the next strip of lake-shore soil. It is similar in consistency to the *migajón* but because it is farther from the lake it has somewhat less natural moisture. Most lakeshore milpas consist of both *migajón* and *de pan llevar*.

(3) *Tierra colorada arenosa* ("red sandy soil"). This is the sediment brought down by erosion and deposited near the lakeshore where large gullies have been cut. It is good land for maize, wheat and beans.

(4) *Colorada charanda* ("red *charanda*"). This is the best of all hillside soils. It is found principally above the *yácatas* in the ancient *barrio* of San Pablo. It is superior even to the lakeshores for beans, and is very good for maize, peas, and broadbeans. In years of adequate rainfall wheat also does well.

(5) *Tierra amarilla cascajosa* ("yellow gravel soil"). Soil of this type, found principally on the slopes of Tariaqueri, is very good for beans and broadbeans, but maize and other crops do poorly.

(6) *Cascajo* ("gravel"). This earth is found on both sides of the highway south of Tzintzuntzan, on the lower slopes of Tariaqueri and Yahuario. Its properties are similar to those of number five, but it is less fertile.

(7) *Tierra colorada cascajosa* ("red gravel soil"). This is land higher up on the slopes of Tariaqueri and Yahuario. It produces peas and beans in small quantities, less of broadbeans, and almost no maize.

(8) *Tierra pedregosa* ("stony soil"). These patches of stony soil in many places surrounding Tzintzuntzan produce nothing but a few beans.

(9) *Tierra amarilla topura* ("yellow *topura* earth"). This soil, found on the slopes of Tariaqueri, is *muy fría*, very cold, and although some maize will grow it is slow in maturing.

(10) *Tierra colorada gramosa* ("red grassy earth"). Some of the flat town fields are rich and productive, but rapid growth of grama grass chokes out a part of each harvest.

Most milpas have distinctive names by which they are known to all members of the community, and by which they are identified in the tax records. Often a tree, either still standing or now only a memory gives its name, *El Capulín*, *El Zapote*, *Los Nogales*, and *El Naranjal* ("the capulín," "the zapote," "the walnuts," "the orange grove"). Other natural features may lend their names, as *La Zarzamora* ("the blackberry"), *Piedras Grandes* ("large stones"), *La Cueva* ("the cave"), *El Puerto* ("the pass"). Other names are acquired in different manners: *En Casa del Chino*, so called because a man known as the "chinaman" had once had a house

on this land; *Los Cistos*, after the surname of a family that had once lived on the land; *El Triángulo*, because of the triangular form of the field; *Los Tepalcates*, because of numerous potsherds on the ground; *El Puente*, near an old bridge; *Púlichio*, the site from which pottery earth of the same name comes, and so forth.

The basic agricultural cycle consists of alternate sowing of wheat and maize. Beginning in August wheat lands are prepared so that planting can begin immediately when the rains slacken in mid-September. Wheat is harvested throughout April and the first part of May, terminating in time to permit the complicated plowing for maize which is planted with the first rains in late May or early June. Most maize is not harvested until November or December, too late for sowing wheat. Hence, the stalks are allowed to stand as animal forage until the following August when the land is again prepared for wheat. Thus, land is under cultivation for only 15 or 16 of each 24 months. Lakeshore milpas, however, are too valuable to be utilized only two-thirds of the time. Maize planted on these plots is harvested while still slightly soft in October and left to harden in the sun. The land is quickly plowed and by early November has been sown with wheat. This later sowing is possible because of the greater moisture content of the soil as compared to other lands. Thus, except for the month of May lakeshore milpas are almost continuously under cultivation.

THE PLOW

Most soil is prepared with a wooden plow. A couple of men own steel plows, sometimes borrowed by other farmers, but these are generally unpopular and are used primarily when heavy grass roots do not yield to the wooden plows. A poor man with a tiny corn patch in his yard may plant a few stalks with a digging stick, but this technique is relatively unimportant.

It is perhaps not generally recognized that in Mexico a variety of types of wooden plows is found. Some have no steel share, others have an iron point, and still others have a steel share that approaches a steel plow in efficiency. As a base for later comparative studies I give a

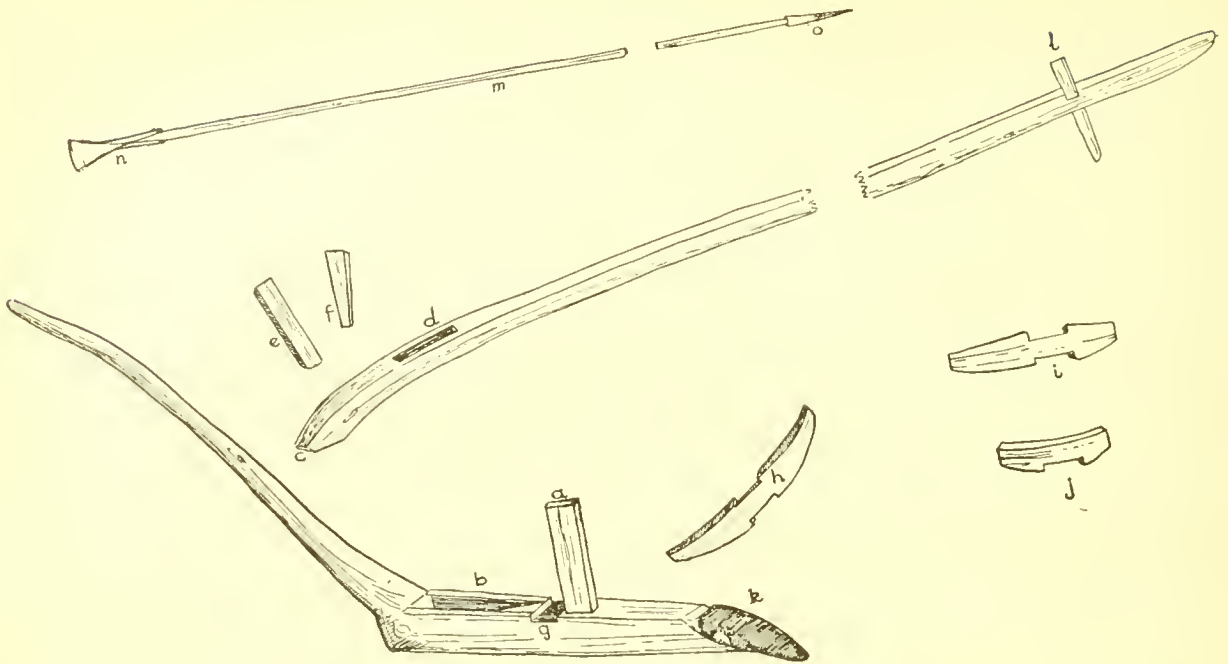
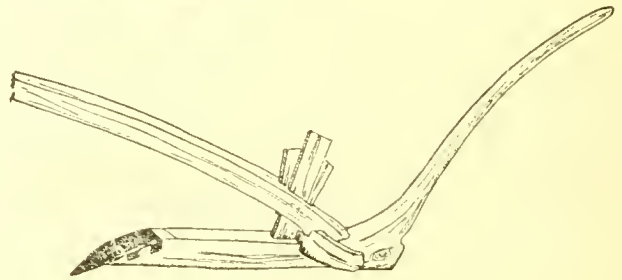


FIGURE 6.—The Tzintzuntzan plow. Top, the parts unassembled: *a*, *Telera*. *b*, *Encarcelaje*. *c*, Shaft butt. *d*, Hole through which *telera* passes. *e*, Rear wedge. *f*, Front wedge. *g*, Notch for cross beams. *h*, *Orejera* beam. *i*, *Bigote mocho* beam. *j*, *Bigotera* beam. *k*, *Reja*. *l*, Shaft pin. *m*, *Garrocha*. *n*, *Rejada*. *o*, *Gorbús*. Right, the assembled plow. See text pp. 59-61 for explanations.



rather detailed description of the plow used in Tzintzuntzan. Figure 6 shows the assembled plow and its component parts. The basic pieces are the *timón* or shaft, up to 4 m. in length; the *cabeza*, which is a solid piece combining share and handle, with a 75 cm. foot; the *telera* (*a*) or plow pin, which passes through a tapering hole from the under side of the *cabeza* and is tightly wedged in place; a front wedge (*f*) 25 by 5 cm.; a rear wedge (*e*) 30 by 5 cm., which has almost no taper; and the *reja* (*k*) or iron share. To the rear of the plow pin and beneath the rear wedge, is a notch (*g*), which holds the cross beams (*h*, *i*, and *j*). To assemble the plow the beam is laid crosswise in this notch, the butt of the shaft (*c*) dropped into the *encarcelaje* (*b*) or groove to the rear of the beam, with the pin (*a*) passing through the hole (*d*) in the shaft. The rear wedge is dropped into place, bracing the beam, and the front wedge inserted to tighten the entire union.

The wedges also control the depth to which the share digs. Lowering the rear and raising the front wedge increases the angle between the shaft and the share, causing a deeper bite. Various adjustments are necessary for the several cultivations. The first plowing, or loosening of the earth, requires a fairly shallow cut; the oxen cannot pull the plow at depth through the hard ground. For planting, a somewhat deeper furrow is made in the now soft earth. The first two cultivations are still deeper, since part of the purpose is to heap earth around the stalks, while the last, in the words of Salvador Villagómez, results "in a regular canyon." Three different cross beams are used, each for a specific purpose:

1. *Bigotera* (*j*). This a curved beam 25 cm. long. Since the plow head is about 10 cm. wide, only about 7.5 cm. project on each side. This beam is used in preparing maize and wheat fields, and to open the furrow to plant maize.

2. *Bigote mocho (i)*. This beam has a curved "horn" or projection 10 or 12 cm. long on one side, and a short 5 cm. stub on the other. It is used to cover the planted maize seed, and in the cultivation known as the *escarda*.

3. *Orejera (h)*. This is the largest beam, with a length of from 45 to 60 cm. and a dihedral of from 10 to 20 cm. It is used for the cultivations known as the *trozada* and *tablón*.

The plow is fastened to the yoke by means of a twisted leather rope 4 m. long, known as the *barsón*, which engages a pin (1), near the tip of the shaft. The yoke goes above the shaft and in front of the pin. The oxen in turn are bound to the yoke by means of two *coyundas*,

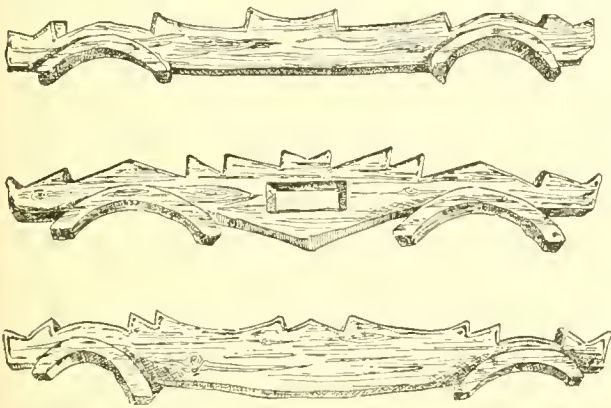


FIGURE 7.—Tzintzuntzan ox yokes. The middle yoke measures approximately 1.70 m. as compared to 2.10 m. for the top and bottom yokes. It is used for plowing when measured furrows are not desired.

simple leather thongs 5 m. long which are lashed to the horns. Two different widths of yoke (fig. 7) are used, one measuring a little over 2 m. (top and bottom) and the other about 1.70 m. (center). The former is used to make planting furrows, one ox walking in the furrow just completed, thus throwing the plowshare 80 cm. farther out. The other is used in preparing land for wheat, and for the first maize preparation. Oxen are driven by means of a *garrocha* (fig. 6, *m*), a 3 m. pole with an iron point, the *gorbús* (fig. 6, *o*), on one end, to prod the animals into greater speed, and a flat metal scraper, the *rejada* (fig. 6, *n*), on the other end, used to clean the share of mud.

Plows are almost always made of white oak, or occasionally *changungo* wood, except for the beams which are of *madroño*, which is easier to

work. The only tools are a large cold chisel and an adze. A pattern made from the side of a soap box is used to measure the distance from the butt of the shaft to the rear wedge, the size of the hole in the shaft, the notch for the beams, and the hole in the head through which the plow pin passes. Plows are local products made by three or four individuals. They sell for about \$8 and last for several years. The share is purchased in Pátzcuaro at a cost of about \$8, and must be retempered each year to reduce wear.

Obviously this plow is far from a primitive instrument. The Tzintzuntzeños are perfectly familiar with steel plows, but feel that their *arado de palo* is a far more versatile tool. It does not turn over the soil, but by means of the various beams and adjustments the earth is thoroughly pulverized to depths of from 15 to 20 cm. after a complete preparation. The ingenious combination of beams makes possible just the right amount of cultivation at each stage of growth, without damaging the plants. Finally, since most farming is on steep hills, where erosion at best is a serious problem, it has perhaps been a blessing that the steel plow has not been used. Such additional stirring of the soil could only result in an increased rate of erosion followed by rapid impoverishment of the farmer.

MAIZE

First preparation of the soil rarely is begun before May 1, and most persons wait until the middle of the month. The most complete preparation of the soil is that for sowing *en cruz*, "in a cross." This is done only in the rich lakeshore milpas. The steps in the entire agricultural process are as follows:

(1) Initial plowing. The field is plowed back and forth, with furrows from 10 to 30 cm. apart. A second plowing, the *rayada*, at right angles, and with the same furrow spacing then follows. Since the ground is hard the share is adjusted to cut only 10 to 12 cm. deep. If the land has been planted in grass fodder and is full of tough roots, a steel plow will be borrowed or rented for the first plowing.

(2) Next the field is plowed in the same direction as for the first preparation, in furrows one *vara* (80 cm.) apart. The distance from the plow axis to the path of the oxen is automatically adjusted by the width of the yoke. Hence, one ox walks in the preceding furrow and the next is precisely spaced. The short

bigotera beam with the plow set slightly deeper than for the preceding operation is the rule. Since the earth is now fairly soft the plow moves more rapidly; still, a timing operation showed a speed of only 20 m. a minute. The earth is now ready for sowing when the first heavy rains come. In 1945, which was an average year, the first sowing was done on June 1, after a couple of heavy rains. The date may vary from a week earlier to two weeks later.

(3) To sow, the plow is pulled at right angles to the wide furrows, at the same spacing of 80 cm., to open the *surcada*. The *bigotera* beam is used. This results in "crosses" 80 cm. apart over the entire field. The ideal sowing team consists of two *yuntas* or ox teams, with driver, and two or three boys to drop the seed. With a bowl or small sack of maize the first boy follows the ox team which is making the new furrow, and each time it crosses another furrow at right angles, he drops three grains. A second boy follows with beans, placing one in each cross. If squash is to be planted, a third boy drops a squash seed at the same spot. Thus, all three plants are sown at the same position. The following plow, with the *bigote mocho* beam, runs 10 cm. to one side of the furrow and with the long "ear" of the beam throws earth over the first furrow, covering the seed.

(4) Two to three weeks later the maize will have sprouted, and be 10 to 20 cm. tall, ready for the first *beneficio*, or cultivation, the *escarda*. The plow passes the row of sprouting maize on the *opposite* side from which it was covered, with the stub end of the *bigote mocho* beam toward the plants. This furrow is made primarily to loosen the earth. At the end of the furrow the driver turns and comes back in the same furrow, this time with the long "ear" of the beam toward the plants. This "ear" heaps the soft soil over and around the new stalks. A couple of boys are necessary to follow the plow, walking astride the line of corn with a foot in each opposite furrow, heaping the earth around the plants to strengthen them, and perhaps uncovering smaller ones which had too much earth thrown on top.

(5) Three weeks later the maize should be 30 to 40 cm. tall, and is ready for the *trozada*, or the *segunda* cultivation, as it is often called. This time the plow is provided with the *orejera* beam, with ears 20 to 25 cm. long; it is set somewhat deeper than for the previous cultivation. The oxen are driven at right angles to the furrows of planting and *escarda*, equidistant between the two rows of corn. This heaps up earth on both lines of plants, instead of one, so that double the number of boys is needed to heap this loose earth around each stalk. Since there is one furrow only instead of two, as for the *escarda*, considerably less time is needed.

(6) About three weeks later, or during the first half of August, the maize should be from 45 to 60 cm. tall, and is ready for the third *beneficio*, the *tablón*. This is with the large eared *orejera* beam, as for the *trozada*, and the plow is set for its deepest cut. Midway between the two rows, and at right angles to the *trozada*, that is, parallel to the line of sowing, the

plow cuts a very deep furrow, heaping earth on each line of plants. One or two boys must be on hand for any necessary piling of earth around the plants, which are now quite strong and well rooted.

(7) Often after the final cultivation one must *chaponear*, weed with a machete, especially along the edges of the lake where the weeds grow more luxuriantly. This may be done on several different days, in an informal manner when the farmer has spare time, and in addition to clearing the field produces fodder for domestic animals.

In summary, the necessary plowings for this complete treatment of the earth, sowing *en cruz*, are as follows: plowing of field in closely spaced furrows, plowing at right angles in equally close furrows, making the *surcada* parallel to first plowing, in which seeds are dropped, a parallel furrow to cover the seeds, two parallel furrows for the *escarda*, a deep furrow at right angles for the *trozada*, and a final deeper furrow parallel to sowing, the *tablón*. This elaborate process, as will be seen, is limited by the nature of the ground to the level land near the lake. Even here it is often skimmed, if the farmer is busy or lazy or the soil is fairly damp and soft. Minimum treatment consists in plowing the field back and forth, in one line only, exactly as for the first step described. Then at right angles the *surcadas* for sowing are opened, and covered in standard fashion. The *escarda* is done exactly as for the better prepared land. Instead of a *trozada* a second *escarda*, this time one furrow only, is done. Since the maize was not sown in crosses the plants do not line up at right angles, and cross plowing is impossible. The final *tablón* may be omitted.

This maize process varies somewhat on the hillside milpas. The original plowing follows the contours of the land, and hence may be somewhat irregular. Because of erosion, the cross plowing cannot be done. Planting and the *escarda* are done exactly as described above, always following the countour of the hillside. For the same reason of erosion, the *trozada*, equidistant between two furrows, is parallel to the line of sowing, and not crossed. A *tablón* may or may not be given. Hence, in contrast to the cross plowing which is possible on flat land, all plowing is in one direction, parallel to contours. The wisdom of this system is apparent the morning after a rainy night: parallel ditches

of water, 15 cm. or more deep, are arranged in terraces up the hillside. There is almost no runoff, and the captured water works slowly into the ground. Tzintzuntzan farmers were practicing contour plowing long before the word was heard in the United States.

By mid-September the stalks are 2 to 3 m. tall, well-tasseled, and the ears beginning to form; roasting ears, *elotes*, will be ready by the end of the month. Each milpa is a veritable jungle; each stalk supports a climbing bean plant, and creeping squash vines cover all the earth. Unlike the custom in many parts of Mexico, the stalks are not doubled, but allowed to mature at full height. The lakeside milpas to be planted in wheat are cut beginning about mid-October and the stalks formed in shocks, or *toros* ("bulls") in the center of the field. A single plowing clears the roots and suffices for the wheat planting. Then the farmer husks the still slightly soft ears with a metal blade, a *pis-cador*, leaving them in the sun to harden. The largest ears have a single layer of husk left on, and the smaller are entirely cleaned. Black maize is tied in *mancuernas* ("pairs") to be hung from house rafters. Fields not to be planted immediately are not cut. The ears are husked and carried home when thoroughly mature, and stock is turned loose to forage.

Three basic maize colors, which correspond to well-known Mexican varieties, are grown. *Maíz criollo*, locally known as *pipitillo* or *maíz blanco*, has heavily dented yellow-white grains on a narrow cob. It is preferred for tortillas, and because this is the most important form in which maize is taken, accounts for 75 percent or more of all plantings. *Maíz almidonoso morado*, locally known as *maíz prieto*, is dent or semident, with near-black, slightly oily grains. It is used for some kinds of *atole* and also tortillas, which are bluish in color and considered somewhat inferior to those made of the white maize because they are tougher in consistency. *Maíz almidonoso colorado*, locally known as *maíz colorado*, is dent or semident with rich red grains. It is used for *pozole*, *pinole*, and some kinds of *atole*. *Maíz pinto* results from crosses between the three basic types. Ears with red and white, red and black, white and black, or all three colors of grains are found. Stalks of all types are tall, often reaching a height of

well over 3 m. Because of weak root systems winds often cause great damage in maize fields.

All maizes are sown at the same time, but mature at slightly different intervals. Greatest variety is shown by the *colorado*, which actually comprises two types, the *violento*, characterized by a very narrow cob, and the *tardón*, which has a thick cob. The former is first to have roasting ears, followed a week later by the *blanco* and *prieto*, and 2 weeks later by the *colorado tardón*. All types are harvested at the same time.

Crop hazards are numerous. Lack of rain is always a potential danger. Maize should be sown 2 or 3 days after a good rain, so that the ground is moist but not soaked. A good rain 4 or 5 days after planting is essential. Otherwise there will be insufficient moisture to sprout the seed, and replanting may be necessary. At this time the seed is vulnerable to a black ant which eats and destroys it. Heavy following rains and rapid growth eliminate this danger. Small rodents eat the tender leaves of the plant. Dogs may be tied in fields in the hope that their barking will frighten away animals. Flocks of *tarengos* (towhee), which attack the ripening ears, are combated, rather ineffectually, with scarecrows.

Maize is planted by 101 families. This figure, which is considerably greater than the census list of 66 full- and part-time farmers, is explained by the fact that a number of individuals plant small gardens in their house lots.

BEANS

As has been seen, beans are planted with maize, a bean with each several grains of maize on the lakeshores, and an additional bean between maize plants on the hillsides. This double quantity of seed on the lakeshores would produce such a thick growth that the maize would be strangled out. Fewer beans sprout on the hillsides, so the number of plants is about equal in both types of soil. All beans are climbing types, and are known by names which have a fairly wide acceptance in Mexico. Most popular is the *bayo*, a buff-colored bean about 1.5 cm. in length. The *rosa de castilla* looks very much like the *bayo*, but has a reddish-purple cast. The *ranchero corriente* has the same color-

ing as the *bayo*, but is somewhat smaller, averaging a little over 1 cm. in length. It is a very hard bean, and requires longer to cook than the others. The *bolita*, also known as *jaboncillo*, is somewhat smaller and plumper than those just described, almost in the form of a cod-liver-oil capsule, and is characterized by a very tough pod. In color it may vary from the dull yellow of the *bayo* to a red-purple cast similar to that of the *rosa de castilla*. The *parraleño* is small, round to oblong in shape, varying in color from a decidedly dull red to the purplish cast of the *rosa de castilla*. Several apparently closely related beans are characterized by dark spots on a lighter background. The *cucunito* resembles the *bolita* in size and shape. Its gray-brown background is striped and spotted with black which runs from end to end. The *higuerilla* is slightly less round, has the same markings, and a background that is rather purple. The *tiguerillo* is still longer in form, has a light-buff background, and gold-brown spotting. The *moro* is a long, narrow bean, crimson in base color spotted with white. The *paloma* is a small white bean. The *violento* ("rapid" in this sense) is so named because it matures in less than 3 months as compared to 5 or 6 for the others. It is similar in size and color to the *bayo* but is marked with tiny dark stains. It is carefully cut from maize stalks in August and September so as not to harm the still-maturing maize. The large purple *patoli* bean grown in other parts of the lake area is not found in Tzintzuntzan. The *violento*, *bayo*, and *rosa de castilla* are grown for home consumption, while the others are for export.

Except for the *violento*, beans remain on maize stalks until maize harvest time, and are piled in the corn shocks until the ears have been taken home. Threshing of beans is the principal agricultural activity from the end of the maize harvest in November until Christmas. Bean plants are piled on a petate in the milpa and beaten all day with poles 2 to 3 m. long until the beans fall from the pods. The vines are removed by hand and the chaff which remains is winnowed with paddles exactly as for wheat (p. 65). A few farmers with large plantings thresh beans with horses in the manner of wheat. A faster and more economical method, it apparently is not thought justified unless the farm-

er has a very large quantity of beans. During bean harvest time there is no other pressing agricultural work, and the farmer feels that he had just as well thresh his own beans in a leisurely manner rather than rent horses to do it more quickly.

Beans are planted by 101 families, exactly the same number as for maize.

WHEAT

Preparation of soil, sowing, and care of wheat require far less work than maize. Beginning in mid-August the farmer plows the *laderas* with the short *bigotera* beam, either *delgado* or *grueso*. The former means that the parallel furrows are close together, and the latter, wider apart, in case the farmer is pressed for time. September 17, the day after the Mexican Independence day, is the traditional day for sowing if conditions are propitious. This means moist soil beneath a dry surface. The field is marked in *melgas*, a measure of width, about 3 *varas* or 2.4 m., which run the length of the milpa. A notch on the ox driving stick indicates the distance from the edge of the milpa, a furrow is plowed, a second measure is taken from this furrow, a second furrow plowed, and so forth.

After marking two or three *melgas* the farmer pours a couple of liters of seed into his serape, drapes one end over his left shoulder, and holds the other with his left hand, so that the wheat can be reached with the right hand. Some farmers, particularly Tarascans, carry seed in a wooden tray or a hat, believing that if it is carried in a fiber bag or other container, such as is used for maize, the wheat will be blighted by *tecolote*, a black mold. Advancing slowly down the marked section he scatters handfuls of seed between the marks of each *melga* furrow. After planting 2 or 3 *melgas* he lays aside the serape and plows the planted area, using the *bigotera* beam, so that the seed is mixed with the earth, rather than covered. Some seeds are 10 to 12 cm. deep, and others remain on the surface. The furrows are then leveled and the clods broken by fastening the team to a heavy log and dragging it horizontally over the field. Wheat sowing goes much more rapidly than corn planting. Seed rots if the soil is too moist. A heavy rain immediately

after planting can cause this damage — rain 2 or 3 days later is much preferable.

After sowing, the farmer has nothing to do in his fields until harvest time. If the light *cañaueles* rains, which sometimes fall in December and January, come on schedule a good crop is almost a certainty.

The main wheat types are well known in Mexico, and fall into two groups, the *pelón* or beardless, and the *barbón*, or bearded. *Pelón blanco*, known in other parts of Mexico as *camarón* or *Baja California*, is said to be softer than the bearded varieties. It is ground on the metate for home consumption. Differences between bearded wheats are relatively slight. The *tejido*, which with the *ocotillo*, is most favored, has small, very compact grains, giving the “woven” impression which the name implies. The *ocotillo* has larger and heavier grains, but fewer of them on a head. One hundred liters are said to make a *tercio* of 80½ kilos as compared to 110 liters of *tejido* for the same weight. The unidentified *siciliano* is somewhat more bearded than the two foregoing varieties; by weight it produces less per hectare and relatively little is planted. *Trigo extranjero*, said to be planted by a few farmers, was not seen. It is bearded “almost like barley,” and is said to have very white, round grains. Production by weight is so low that it is very rarely planted; occasionally it is cut to use as green fodder. The unidentified *trigo violento* is a fast-maturing variety which, with luck, may be ready to harvest by December, after a growing season of only 3 months as compared to 6 or 7 for other wheats. Except for the *violento*, harvesting normally does not begin until April, and it continues well into May.

The *tejido* and *ocotillo* are the overwhelming favorites and apparently do as well as any of the other varieties under adverse circumstances. This raises the question as to why the others are planted at all. In part, the explanation is pure accident. Apparently nowhere in Mexico is an entire wheat field of one single variety found; Tzintzuntzan is no exception. Mixed with the predominant and preferred seed one always finds at least one, and usually two or three other varieties. Hence, a ramble through an average milpa will reveal most of the types planted in the area. Normally in harvesting

no attempt is made to segregate different species. A second explanation is more purely cultural. A farmer has always had a certain species, and a portion of each harvest is saved for seed the following year. There is great reluctance to buy seed from another man, and perhaps reluctance on the part of the prospective seller if he feels he has a superior type. Apparently no mystic connection between farmer and seed exists; it is simply a case of extreme conservatism and reluctance to try anything the least bit new, even though the benefits are apparent. In any event, even though in small quantities, inferior types of wheat are planted year after year. Even the most progressive farmer makes no attempt to segregate the species which he prefers for seed and to thresh it apart from that which he sells, in an effort to improve the total yield of his milpas.

Wheat is harvested from early April well into May. A short, crescent 20-cm. sickle is used. A few stalks are grasped close to the ground, and the sickle, held on the far side, is deliberately drawn toward the harvester, never with a quick, slashing motion. With these stalks in hand the harvester grasps a few more, and repeats the operation until he can hold no more. These are placed on the ground and are subsequently added to until the reaper has progressed so far that it is easier to start a new pile. These *manojos* are left to dry, and several days later are tied up in bundles with wheat straws that are still slightly green.

Threshing is done by driving mules or horses — even burros — over the threshing floor. There are a few stone floors in town, but more commonly the farmer erects a six-sided corral with rope and *quiote* stalks, perhaps 5 m. in diameter, on a smooth hard spot in a street. This is filled to a depth of 30 cm. with wheat, leaving a mound a meter or more high in the center. Horses are preferred to mules and burros because of their larger hoofs. From one to five animals are driven into the enclosure, and a boy with a whip on the central mound urges them in the perpetual circle, reversing the direction every few minutes when they get dizzy. Animals thus run the entire morning. Wheat gradually is thrown down from the mound, and all is stirred frequently. After lunch the corral is removed, a clearing a couple of meters

in diameter is made in the center of the trodden wheat, and using either the lolly-pop canoe paddles or wooden paddles made for the purpose, winnowing begins. The outside straw is tossed toward the clearing, the heavy seeds fall, and the chaff is driven away by the wind; this is the windy time of year and few days are unsuitable. When most of the chaff is gone the wheat is gathered in gunny sacks and poured, and the remaining debris blows away. Finally the wheat is measured in *medidas*, square wooden boxes of 5 liters capacity, and poured into gunny sacks. From 2 to 3 *tareas* (lit. "tasks"), a volume measure of 40 *manojos* of cut wheat, normally go onto the floor at one time. The entire threshing process is known as the *barba*. A *tarea* of average wheat produces about one *carga* (161 kilos) of cleaned grain. Hence, if a field produces 9 *cargas* the owner will thresh a minimum of 3 *barbas* and should receive about 9 *cargas* for the 3 days of work. Though the composition of the threshing party varies from case to case, and throughout the day, a minimum of two men for each *barba* must be calculated.

Wheat is planted by 98 families.

SQUASH

Squash are grown both in milpas and patios. Eight types are planted. *Calabaza de temporal* is sown with maize, and is ready to eat from mid-August on into the fall, first as the young, tender *calabacitas* and later as mature squash. *Calabaza cuarenteña*, so named because it ripens in 40 days (*cuarenta días*), is planted in irrigated lakeside gardens (p. 67). Five very similar squashes are sown in patios on Candlemas, February 2. The *de castilla* and *de pellejo* are considered superior types because of their thin shells and rich meat. The *cáscara*, as the name indicates, has a thicker shell. The *prieta* and *amarilla* are so named because of their black and yellowish colors respectively. These five types begin to produce in September. In cooking, the young, tender squash need no sweetening; when mature and hard they are usually cooked with crude brown sugar.

The squashlike chilacayote (*Cucurbita ficifolia*) is planted both in patios and milpas at the same time as maize, and is ripe in September. A hole 30 cm. deep and 45 to 60 cm. in diameter is made, in which are placed a dozen

or so seeds. Thus, a number of vines come from one spot and spread over a rather wide area. Three basic types of chilacayote are recognized: the *macho*, the *calabaza*, and the *milpera*. The first-named is distinguished by its wide, flat, black seed. It is very tough and requires longer to cook than the other types; usually it is prepared as a conserve, sweetened with brown sugar. The *calabaza*, considered superior to the others because of tenderness and sweetness, has black seeds that are narrower and smaller than those of the *macho*. The *milpera* seeds are white, of the same size as those of the *calabaza*. It is somewhat less tasty than the *calabaza*. Chilacayotes are sometimes coated with ashes to make the shells harder after ripening, or placed on the edges of roofs in the sun. One of the characteristic fall sights in Tzintzuntzan is the rows of chilacayotes sunning on roof tops.

OTHER MILPA CROPS

Habas (Vicia faba), or broadbeans, are sown on a small scale by 76 farmers. They may be planted on the lakeshore in December and January, to be harvested as early as March, or they may be planted with the first rains in May or June. Furrows 40 cm. apart are made, and one seed is sown at a time at 40 cm. intervals. There are two varieties, a large one for eating and a smaller one for feeding to pigs.

Peas are sown, broadcast like wheat, on lakeshore lands in December and January, and are ready to eat in April and May. They are boiled while tender, pod and all, often with a little oil and garlic, and eaten as a between-meals snack at odd intervals during the day. In this form they are considered a great delicacy. Dried peas are rarely used.

Other milpa crops, as contrasted to those sown in patios and small gardens, are of limited importance. *Janamargo zacate*, a fodder grass, is sown along the lake edge toward the end of October. It is ready to be cut by mid-February and continues to produce until the first of May, at which time the last is removed to allow the preparation of maize lands. The dry zacate is threshed by hand flailing to obtain seed for the following fall planting. Eight men sow a little barley in September as fodder for animals; it is ripe in April. Two men sow

a little alfalfa for fodder purposes. Alfalfa and barley are considered especially good for milk cattle. A little clover is planted for fodder, and *carretilla zacate*, which grows wild in milpas, is also cut. A wild radish which grows in milpas is not cut, but cattle are turned in to graze upon it.

GARDEN CROPS

A good many — perhaps a majority — of householders plant minor crops within their patios or in flowerpots near the house. Small gardens, *hortalizas*, are often located along the lakeshores, and are particularly popular among

which the vine climbs. Unlike in some other parts of Mexico, the vine is but rarely allowed to grow along the ground. A few small chayotes are produced the fall following planting, but real production does not begin until a year later. Then, each fall for a period of 7 or 8 years, fine large chayotes are produced. One of the most characteristic sights of many patios is the circular fences in spring, and in fall the arbors covered with the large green leaves and the ripe fruit.

When the vine is old it is cut down, and in January, February, and March one digs for the roots, which vary in size from that of a small

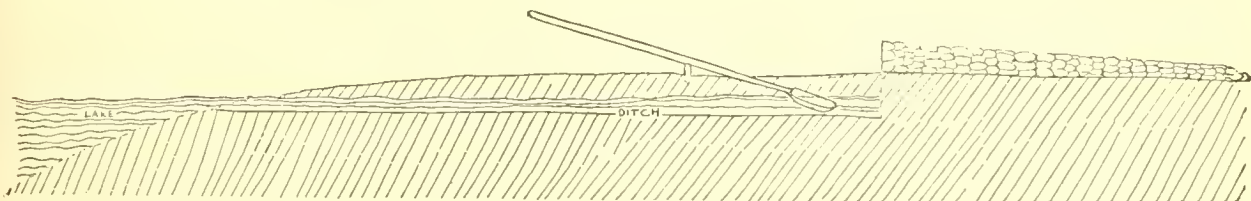


FIGURE 8.—Irrigation system.

the Tarascans in Ojo de Agua and La Vuelta. A primitive type of irrigation makes possible continuous planting throughout the year. A ditch is dug from the lake, as far inland as is practical. At the head a stone structure about 70 cm. high, with a trough running down grade away from the lake is constructed. Across the ditch a cross bar is placed, and a wooden scoop 60 cm. long by 20 cm. wide by 14 cm. deep fastened to a 2.5-m. pole is balanced on it. By dipping the scoop into the canal water and lifting it with a swift motion, the water sloshes out, falls on the stone structure, and runs down the trough to a series of minute irrigation canals which lead it through the garden. Occasionally the first scoop is used to fill a second canal which continues a few yards farther inland, where the process is repeated (fig. 8).

Most important of patio crops is the chayote, planted in 43 percent of all Tzintzuntzan yards. Most families have one or two vines only, though some have up to 10 or a dozen. Chayotes can be planted any time of year, but February and March are the common months. The young vine is protected with a circular fence of *quiote* stalks 70 cm. in diameter and 120 cm. high, and later a trellis is erected of the same wood on

potato to that of a large manioc tuber. A pickax, shovel, and pointed iron tip on a wooden handle — the same as that used to excavate pottery clay — are used, as one feels through the earth, looking for the roots. Often several cubic meters of earth may be removed, and with good luck a half dozen roots will be discovered. Sometimes the roots have rotted, and a molded tuber is all that rewards the digger for his work. Some persons are believed to have a *bucña mano*, a good hand, and can easily find large, plump tubers. Others have a *mala mano*, a bad hand, which causes chayotes to wither and dry; they can neither successfully plant chayotes nor dig for the root.

Boiled chayote roots are a great delicacy. They taste like the fruit but have a firmer, starchy consistency and a richer flavor. Usually they are cooked as soon as dug and eaten as a between-meals snack. Eleven-year-old Gaudencio, when asked whether he preferred the root or the fruit, probably summed up the majority opinion when he replied, "I think I like the root best, although now that the season for chayotes has finished, I think maybe I like them best."

In addition to chayotes the following vegeta-

bles are planted either in lakeside gardens or in patios:

Cabbage. Most common of all green vegetables.

Carrots. Very few planted.

Chiles, green and *pasilla*. Commonly sown in gardens in February to be harvested in June, and in patios and occasionally milpas in June to be harvested in October.

Coriander. Herb whose leaves are used to flavor fish broth. In Mexico for reasons of delicacy plant is known as *silantro* rather than by more common word *culantro*, said to be suggestive of *culo*, "anus."

Garlic. Very little planted though much is used in cooking, purchased in markets.

Lettuce. A good deal is planted in the nearby Tarascan settlements.

Melons. A very few cantaloup are planted, but cannot be considered typical of the area.

Onions. First planted in irrigated seed beds in spring and then transplanted to gardens.

Potatoes. A few sown in lakeside gardens; not an important crop.

Tomatoes. An important vegetable, particularly favored as seasoning in many dishes. Most commonly planted in December in seed beds covered with *chuspata* tules or zacate to protect from the cold. When plants 5 to 6 cm. high, are transplanted in rows, often with *jara de castilla*, said to protect fruit from frost damage and useful as vine support.

FRUIT TREES

Table 11 lists the principal fruit trees grown in Tzintzuntzan, the number of families which have one or more of each, and the total number of mature producing trees and seedlings. As is apparent, the peach is far and away the most important, and in August great quantities are sent to dealers in Pátzcuaro, from which point many are exported to other parts of the country. Ten to 15 peach trees is not an uncommon number for a family, and several have 25 or 30, with 50 trees the largest orchard mentioned. Five varieties are grown, *de hueso colorado* ("red seed"), white, yellow, bitter, and *prisco*. The first is considered superior to all, and the white and yellow also rate as excellent. All are ripe during August. The *prisco* is planted because it matures earlier, in July. It is said to be *muy fresco* "very cold," and a person with a delicate stomach should avoid it. The bitter peach is planted because it is ripe in September, when the others are gone. Peaches sell at \$0.01 each during the season.

TABLE 11.—Numbers of fruit trees planted in Tzintzuntzan

Tree	Number of families planting	Number of trees planted
Peach.....	102	1,447
White zapote.....	95	144
Cherimoya.....	73	86
Fig.....	67	82
Alligator pear.....	65	85
Lemon.....	40	51
Apricot.....	38	57
Pomegranate.....	32	50
Lime.....	16	24
Orange.....	16	119
Quince.....	12	13
Pear.....	11	15

¹ Plus 100 in school yard.

The *zapote blanco*, or white zapote, although planted by nearly as many families as the peach, averages only a tree or two per family, and while the quality of the fruit is excellent, relatively little is exported. Mid-May to mid-August is the season. Individual vendors may carry them to the markets in Pátzcuaro and Erongarícuaro, where they bring \$0.03 to \$0.05 each, according to their size.

Cherimoyas, like most of the fruits which follow, are planted, a tree or two in a patio. They are ripe from December to February, and bring from \$0.10 to \$0.75, depending on size, quality, and season.

Figs are of excellent quality, ripe in August and September. They are mostly consumed at home, and no price was obtained.

Alligator pears are in season from May to August, and sell at from three for \$0.10 to three for \$0.20, depending on season and quality.

The lemon, or *naranja lima*, is ripe in September, October, and November, and sells on the local market for \$0.02 to \$0.03 apiece.

Apricots are in season from mid-April to the first week in May, and sell four for \$0.05. The other listed fruits are grown in smaller quantities, and are only occasionally sold on the local market. In addition, small numbers of the following fruit trees are found:

Guava; bananas of the *manzano* type; walnuts; *guinda* (*Prunus cerasus*); mulberry; *nispero* (*Mespilus germanica*). There are several mango trees in Ichupio, which are said to give a good fruit in October, much later than the usual season for this fruit. A few apple trees

of the type known as *perón* are rather disappointing in their production. A few *capulín* trees produce well from mid-May to mid-July, and the fruit sells for a handful for \$0.05. A tree known as *limilla* or *limita* gives a tiny, bitter fruit in June. The wild *tejocote* (called *Manzanillo* in Tzintzuntzan) is esteemed for its fruit, but is not planted. It is occasionally used, however, as a root for grafting peaches and other fruit. A 2-cm. stem is cut off square, split, the graft placed in the crack, and the joint bound. The fruit of the *nopal* cactus, the *tuna*, grows wild or semi-wild. If one is fortunate enough to have such a plant on one's property, the fruit can be sold for \$0.05 apiece during the summer months. Of little economic importance, though worthy of mention, are the 100 orange trees and 250 *guinda* trees planted in the school yard. This attempt to push new crops for Tzintzuntzan has not been carried out, and they will probably have little effect on the life of the community.

The date of the introduction of European crops into Michoacán is uncertain, but apparently the most important ones were brought shortly after the Conquest. In the Descripción Geográfica of Pátzcuaro in 1581 it is said that wheat and barley grew in abundance, and the common fruit trees were the apple, quince, pear, peach "and others brought from Spain" (Toussaint, 1942, p. 234).

AGRICULTURAL SUPERSTITIONS AND RITES

Agricultural superstitions are relatively few. None of the elaborate observances of more primitive peoples of Mexico, such as continence before planting, smoking of the milpa with copal, sacrifices to deities, and so forth, are known. A first fruits ceremony is observed by many families; samples of the first field crops, vegetables, and fruits are given to the priest, who blesses them, and then eats or sells them. This is believed to ensure a good harvest. The Tarascans are more prone to this practice, though many of the Mestizos also do it.

Natividad tells how in her childhood there was a huge fig tree in the patio. The first ripe fruits were presented to the priest, and a second batch sold, and with the money obtained a candle was purchased and lighted in the church "for the souls" of those who had planted the tree. Only then could the family eat. To this

day Natividad follows the first fruits observance, and extends it to poultry as well. One chick of each new brood is carried to Mass, and then presented to the priest who blesses it. The rest of the brood always grow up, good fortune which is due to her foresight, she believes. Husband Vicente periodically buys a *velador*, the squat, cup-shaped candles placed before church images in all Mexico, with the proceeds of a batch of pottery, and lights it in the church in honor of Don Vasco de Quiroga, who is popularly, though erroneously, credited with having introduced pottery making in Tzintzuntzan. A minor belief is associated with figs: they must never be cut green and cooked with brown sugar to make a sweet. The tree would dry up and die.

Eclipses of the sun or moon are dangerous for fruit trees, causing the blossoms or green fruit to fall, or the ripening fruit to rot. A small rag of red flannel hung from a branch counteracts the damage. When blossoms are falling, and to set the fruit, many families thread a needle with red thread, stick the needle in the trunk, and wind the thread through the branches. The needle and thread are left until the fruit is ripe. On Saturday before Easter one often beats fruit trees with a stick so that they will produce well.

Maize and beans are supposed to be harvested when the moon is near full to prevent rotting. Some people believe that if women aid in sowing, the crops will be extra good. Nevertheless, among the Mestizos at least, women but rarely aid. Twins who sow maize, chayotes, and squash are rewarded with a crop that includes many *cuates*, or twin fruits. When one is sowing squash, it is wise to avoid the temptation to eat some of the seeds; if one eats, the crop will be poor. Cattle are said to have an *ocico caliente*, a hot snout. If they eat any growing plant, such as chayote, squash, or beans, the plants will grow back with renewed vigor. Horses, sheep, pigs, turkeys, and chickens have *ocicos fríos*, cold snouts, and if they eat growing plants, the plants wilt and die.

Religious rites connected with maize growing appear to be entirely Catholic. There are three Masses in May, on the 6th, 8th, and 19th respectively, known as *Misas del buen temporal*, at which the litany of San Marcos is the charac-

teristic feature. These Masses are prayers for good maize harvests. On May 15 the Mass is dedicated to San Isidro, patron of agriculturalists. Each farmer carries a handful of seed to be blessed by the priest, which is then mixed with the profane seed before sowing. If rains are delayed, farmers carry the image of the Santo Entierro in a solemn procession through the town, and the next day there is a special Mass. Christ, witnessing this show of devotion, takes pity on the farmers and sends rain. And all informants agree that rain invariably follows such a demonstration. The *cargueros* of San Isidro are in charge of these functions, and collect the costs of the Mass from all farmers.

Before sowing, farmers say "*En el nombre de San Isidro Labrador, acompáñenos en el día de hoy*" ("In the name of San Isidro, accompany us today"), and "*En el nombre de Dios Padre, Hijo, y Espíritu Santo vamos a tirar*" ("In the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, we are going to sow"). When the final cultivation is completed, the farmer shouts "*Ave María Purísima,*" while the peons reply "*Gracias a Dios concebido*" ("Thanks to God conceived without sin"). The same day many farmers put a cross and a frond of blessed palm in the field, to ward off damage from storms and hail. Some also prepare a light meal, for unknown reasons called a *combate* ("fight"), consisting of rice cooked in milk, milk *atole*, and bread, which is given to all the field workers who have participated. The day of the harvest a similar meal is offered by the farmer to all those who have worked for him during the season. The fact that there are no rites or beliefs connected with wheat suggest that these purely Catholic maize observances may represent a post-Conquest substitute for earlier indigenous beliefs.

THE YEARLY CYCLE

In Tzintzuntzan there is a rather marked division of the year into two unequal parts, owing to the all-pervading effect of the rainy season. This division, most marked in the agricultural cycle, nonetheless extends itself to most other aspects of life. Pottery, for example, the single most important economic pursuit, is made on a very small scale during the rains, in part due

to the fact that landowners are farming, in part due to lessened demand, and in part to the fact that the rains do not permit thorough drying of the earth. More by chance than causal connection, religious and festive activities are more pronounced during the dry season; no major fiesta comes during the rains. The following summary attempts to capture the spirit of the change of months, and the different pursuits during the year:

January. Period of little agricultural work. Cornfields have either been cleared of stalks, or the brown stalks still stand, affording forage to cattle. Wheat fields stand out as soft green patches on the hillsides, a few of them turning yellow for the early harvest of the *violento* variety, which takes place this month. The first *mezcal* is offered for sale, to be eaten with *atole*, and *chayote* roots will be dug during the next 2 months. Pottery production is in full swing, and the *rescatones* are occupied with trips to the hot country, bringing back with them sugarcane and mangoes. Fishing is at its height, and ducks are plentiful. Adobe making and house building are occupations all through the following dry months. Nights are cold, days clear and cool.

February. Activities much like January. Chayotes are planted, and some squash sown February 2, Candelinas. Attention is oriented toward the Fiesta del Rescate, and new clothes are bought or made, houses cleaned up, replastered, and in general the town prepared for this 10-day period of little work. Considerable sickness traditionally follows the fiesta. Nights are still very cold, and the air very dry. School begins.

March. Beginning in this month and continuing through April and part of May there is much wind and dust. Temperatures have somewhat moderated, but generally the next 10 weeks are the most disagreeable of the year. By the end of the month wheat fields are yellow, though there is still little agricultural work. Fresh green peas, boiled in their shells, are the between-meals delicacy. *Nopalitos*, boiled prickly pear cactus leaves, are a frequent food item. When Easter comes in this month there is a slackening in the pottery making tempo and other activities. Wind makes pottery making difficult, since it cracks the unfired pots.

April. Continued wind and dust. Most wheat is cut and threshed. Corn fields have been cleared, and some plowing is observed. First apricots ripen. Burning of grass lands around lake causes frequent forest fires. April and May are the hottest months of the year.

May. Final cutting and threshing of wheat. Peas and *janamargo* zacate also are threshed. Corn lands are plowed, and the first rains are anxiously awaited. First capulines, first zapotes, and first alligator pears appear. With early rains, the first maize, beans, and squashes will be planted. End of the *mezcal* season.

June. Intensive planting of maize, beans, and

squash, first in the lakeshores, and then on the hillsides. With the rains the pottery making tempo noticeably falls off, to half or less of the dry season production. Fishing comes to a virtual halt, both since fish do not bite well, and because most fishermen own farm lands. The fruits of the preceding month continue, and *tunas* and *limillas* are added. Corpus Christi sometimes falls in this month, and when so is the only significant fiesta of the rainy season. Much lightning, usually producing fatalities in lake area.

July. Maize cultivation is the important agricultural activity. During the last of June and the first part of July comes the *escarda*, followed by the *segunda* during the second half of the month. Rains are heavier than in June and greenery comes out to a remarkable extent. Wild zacate grows wherever there is no cultivation, the *violento* bean flowers, maize is knee to hip high, and mothers are worried about their children who insist on eating green peaches and who consequently suffer from stomach ache. The air is pleasantly damp and warm, with a humid feeling much more like the Tropics than the *tierra fría*. Magnificent cloud displays, with immense thunderheads piling up over the lake and mountains all day long; heavy downpours and then rapid clearing up of the atmosphere. Much mud everywhere, and great difficulty in drying clay for pots. This is a time of relatively little sickness, and the malarial mosquitoes have not yet come. The first *prisco* peaches are ripe, as are apples.

August. The final cultivation, the *tablón*, takes place, and there is some hand weeding. First preparation of wheat lands by mid-August. First *violento* beans, first squash, and first figs appear. Peaches in full season. Heavy rains continue.

September. Rains decrease considerably, and first wheat is sown. Maize is now 2 to 3 m. high, much of it in tassel; bean vines cover the stalks, and squash vines trail over the ground—the milpa is a dense, green jungle. By the end of the month the first roasting ears are ready. Figs, peaches, *tunas*, and *perones* continue as fruits, but the season for the others is over. The first *naranja limas* appear, to continue until November. From the *yácatas* one gets a fine idea of the land under cultivation — the soft green maize milpas, and the brown patches where wheat will be sown. All uncultivated grounds are covered with a luxuriant vegetation, with many blossoming flowers and much grass. Maize stalks are cut, the hard outside covering peeled off, and the moist, refreshing, slightly sweet pith is chewed "a la sugarcane." *Calabacitas*, or young squash, are a great delicacy. Nights are cooler, but days are still sunny and warm, and it is a nice time of year. Bean and maize crops can be pretty well estimated, so the farmer knows whether his work has been fruitful or in vain.

October. Wheat sowing continues. In the lakeshore milpas at the end of the month maize is cut to allow wheat planting. Roasting ears, *atole de grano*, and *uchepus* (p. 49) are the great delicacy during the first half of the month. Great quantities of chayotes and squash, and the few *níspero* trees are giving fruit.

Milpas begin to turn brown and yellow, though green is still the predominant color of the landscape.

November. Late wheat sowing and harvesting of maize and beans are the main agricultural pursuits. First official communal duck hunt takes place near Janitzio, and fish reappear in quantities in the market at Pátzcuaro. Rains have pretty well stopped, and local fruit harvests are over. Pottery is again in full swing. The Day of the Dead is the big fiesta of this month. New wheat fields begin to show a soft greenish cast overlaying the brown earth.

December. Normal dry season activities are well under way. Threshing of beans and late harvesting of maize are the principal agricultural activities. Cherimoyas, to last through February, have appeared. Sugarcane, brought from the hot country, is the special food treat of this and several following months. The period of intense cold has begun, and days are clear and crisp. Beginning with the fiesta of the Virgin of Guadalupe, December 12, through Christmas, there is a slackening in the work pace.

THE ECONOMICS OF AGRICULTURE

Milpas, apart from the house plot, are owned by 107 of the 248 households. A dozen individuals, including a woman, hold *parcelas*, plots of several hectares, in the *ejido*. A handful of subordinate family heads in joint families own additional land, so that of the 292 heads of families in Tzintzuntzan, about 125 have some agricultural lands.¹ Actually the picture of land-hunger is much worse than these figures indicate. Of the 125 landholders, only 15 have enough to produce the maize, beans, and wheat which are needed for family consumption. Ten of these are large landowners — relatively speaking — and receive the bulk of their cash income from the sale of surplus crops.

Nonlandholders who wish to farm during the rainy season have three possibilities open to them: farming *a medias*, share cropping; farming on *tierras empeñadas*, on which they hold a mortgage and as interest enjoy the use of the land; and working as a *parcionero* or indentured laborer who receives a fixed quantity of maize at the end of the season. Importance is in the order given.

In the classic form of share cropping the *mediero* or share cropper provides all the work of

¹ The difference between these figures and the census count of 66 full and part-time farmers is explained in two ways. Some landowners do not farm their holdings, because of lack of draft animals or other reasons. Such land is worked by share croppers. Other persons may plant maize in such small milpas that, while technically they are landowners, for all practical purposes they cannot be considered farmers.

plowing, planting, and cultivating, and the owner furnishes land and seed. Both share harvest costs equally and both receive a half of the crop. A modification of this system is farming *a tercios*. The owner furnishes the land while the share cropper provides all of the rest — seed, work, and harvesting costs. The owner receives one-third and the share cropper two-thirds. Another type of share cropping has no standard name. The owner furnishes the land, the seed, and either himself does one-half the work or pays for it to be done. The share cropper does the other half, including paying half the costs of oxen and other hired animals. Half of the crop is "for the land," i.e., for the owner. Another fourth is the share of the owner for his work, and the final quarter goes to the share cropper for his work. If the land so worked is lakeshore, the share cropper also receives free a small plot in which he can plant *janamargo zacate* for his exclusive use.

The common technique to raise money in Tzintzuntzan is the *empeño*, security in the form of material property given in exchange for a loan (p. 144). Land, as the most valuable property, is thus pledged for sums of money from \$50 up. There is no money interest, and the loaner has the right to exploit the land for the period stipulated in the contract, which is drawn up with three witnesses, and stamped with official government stamps. The normal period is slightly over 1 year, that is, time for a wheat crop followed by a corn crop. During this period the loaner utilizes the land exactly as if it were his own, either farming it himself or share cropping. Contracts may be renewed at the end of the stipulated time, and occasionally, if after several years the owner is unable to raise the money, he may sell the land to the loaner. The owner must pay taxes during the period land is mortgaged.

Most farmers during the course of the agricultural year will have occasion to rent ox teams from time to time, and to hire peons to aid them with the work. This is paid for at prevailing rates, given below. Small fields of both wheat and maize can be plowed, sown, and cultivated by the individual farmer himself. For larger areas it is desirable to have two or more teams working together, to speed plowing, and to cover seeds as soon as planted. Thus, in nor-

mal maize planting a second team follows immediately behind that which opens the furrows for planting, to cover the seed. Relatively well-to-do farmers with an ox team are often therefore in need of extra help during peak periods, and will hire teams and helpers, in turn renting their own equipment when not needed. A few of the larger landowners, in need of continuous help of oxen during the maize season, make use of a contract known as the *zafra*. From June 1, or a few days earlier if the rains come, until August 28, the day of San Agustín, comprising the period from the sowing until the final cultivation, the ox team stays in the home of the renter, who must feed and care for the animals. The value of the animals is agreed upon beforehand, and in case of death of one or both, the renter is responsible. At the end of this period, the owner receives 20 *fanegas* — 2,000 liters — of maize (worth \$350 in 1944) as rent.

Usually the large landowner makes a similar contract with a peon, usually an unmarried youth without many responsibilities. This youth, the *parcionero*, lives in the home of the farmer during this period, receives his food, any necessary clothing, the indispensable palm raincape (*capote*), his cigarettes, and so forth. He works from dawn till dusk, plowing, cultivating, and caring for the animals, and at the end of the season receives from 10 to 15 *fanegas* of maize, worth \$175 to \$250, whatever sum is agreed upon at the beginning.

Tzintzuntzan peons are notably lazy, and unless supervised closely will loaf on the job. Hence, whenever possible laborers are hired for the *destajo*, or job, on the theory that they will hurry to get through, and the work will not be delayed. In agriculture, wheat is almost always cut under this system, and occasionally land is prepared for sowing. Usually the owner himself wants to be on hand for sowing and for cultivating, so since the laborer is under observation and the pace set by the farmer with his team, a straight daily wage is in vogue. A fast worker on the *destajo* system can usually better the average \$1.50 to \$2.00 daily wage, while slow ones fall behind. In threshing wheat the owner often pays his helpers in kind or in straw. Faustino Peña worked all day aiding with threshing, and took a part of the straw and a couple of *medidas* of 5 liters of wheat. Probably pride

kept him from accepting money. He is a *rescatón* and as such does not work for money. Also, the straw was very desirable as fodder for his burros.

Disposal of crops depends upon the individual farmer, amount of production, size of his family, and so forth. Generally, maize is raised for home consumption; only 10 farmers produce enough to sell. This means that Tzintzuntzan draws on the surrounding agricultural area for its basic food, since three-fifths of the families produce no maize at all. In 1945, maize sold for \$0.175 a liter at harvest time, and up to \$0.30 in the months before harvesting. Purchase is usually by the *cuarterón* of 4 liters, and various notes show average fluctuating prices from \$0.70 to \$1.20. In April 1946, maize sold at \$1.00 a *cuarterón*. Calculations of agricultural profits and family incomes have been made on the basis of \$0.225 per liter. Some farmers in need of money may sell a part of their crop *al tiempo*, on time. The purchaser buys at half price a predetermined number of *fanegas* while the maize is still young. The farmer has the money at this time, but must deliver the maize after harvest. Should the harvest be poor, just enough to cover the amount of maize sold on time, he takes a disastrous loss. If there is a complete crop failure, which is not very likely, the purchaser loses as well — he has the right to what maize there is up to the amount he purchased, but the farmer is not responsible for any deficiency.

Beans sold in 1945 at \$0.30 a liter, and the price increased 50 percent or so before harvest time. Although it is difficult to tell, it appears that Tzintzuntzan produces just about enough beans for the local market. Next to maize they are the most important food, although there is a surprising number of families in which they are eaten but rarely.

Wheat is the main export crop. Most is sent in trucks to the mill at Pátzcuaro, where after harvest in 1945 it was sold at an average of \$55 a *carga* of 220 liters. For calculations of agricultural profit and family income, wheat has been figured at \$0.275 a liter (\$60.50 a *carga*). Wheat rises to about \$65 a *carga* before the next harvest. Lesser amounts are sent to the mill at Quiroga. Small amounts are ground on metates to make a thick wheat tor-

tilla known as a *gorda*. A few farmers, not large producers, may carry wheat to the mill at Quiroga, a few *cuarterones* at a time, where it is ground for \$0.20 the *cuarterón*. Families doing this will eat *gordas* while the wheat lasts and thus cut down on their purchases of bread.

Estimates of crop production are among the most difficult problems facing the ethnologist, and perhaps the problem most open to error. Estimates by landowners are worth little, since usually they have only the remotest idea of the size of their lands. One Tzintzuntzeño, after neatly answering my questions about amount of seed per hectare of milpa, size of crop, number of days of work for each step, and so forth, blandly asked, "And just what is a hectare?" Actual milpas must be known, and the processes of planting, cultivating, and harvesting be observed over the entire period. With this as a base, it is possible to calculate roughly for good and bad years, since the owner can say that he harvested half as much or three times as much the preceding year. This observation is time consuming, and in Mexico close rapport to make possible even rough mapping of milpas can be established with only a limited number of individuals. Hence, the relatively accurate sample is small, and may not include all types of land. And, with all possible care it is not possible to be at each milpa under observation each day when work is being done. This means that the ethnologist at times must ask, "How many persons helped you in the *escarda* today," and the farmer, trying hard to be truthful, may overlook a boy who, nevertheless, is of economic importance. Or, after visiting a field in the morning and noting for oneself, another ox team and driver may appear just after one has left. Likewise, there is the problem of equating 12-year-old boys with grown men, in terms of work output, not to mention women. Hence, no one is more conscious than the author of the possible errors in the data which follow, nor more critical of the results.

All data are based on actual milpas, whose area was determined by pacing. On level rectangular milpas this gives a rather close approximation to the true area. On hilly or irregular milpas, and those formed of several small pieces of cultivated land, the error is considerably greater. Cases 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 (ta-

bles 12, 13, 14) fall in this second category. The first four milpas are the rich, fertile lakeshore *orillas*; the next two are flat *solares*, or town lots, less fertile than the lakeshores, but much preferable to the hillsides. The last seven cases are hillside *laderas*, probably average in fertility, though the sample suffers from the fact that all are from the immediate region of the *yácatas*. In all three tables each milpa occupies the same place and has the same number.

Table 12 shows the results for maize and bean production. An average of about 45 man-days of work per hectare for maize alone results. The lakeshores require a bit more, since the land is also cross-plowed, while the hillsides require a bit less. Considerable variation in the amount of seed used is apparent, ranging from 8 to 21 liters per hectare. From 15 to 20 liters would seem to be about optimum; less seed is reflected in lower yields. Lakeshore milpas average about 30 *fanegas* or 3,000 liters of crop per hectare, while hillsides produce only about 5. Town lots are intermediate.

Lakeshore milpas average about 150 liters of crop for 1 of seed, while hillsides average only about 50 to 1. Lakeshore milpas require only 1.5 to 2 man-days of work to produce a *fanega* of crop, while hillsides require from 6 to 9.

Bean data are somewhat less reliable, since it is not always possible to know whether the entire milpa was sown, or only a part. Cutting and threshing is the only labor time which need be attributed to beans, since all of the rest of the work in the milpa is for maize. In a sense beans are a parasite on maize cultivation. The very low figure for labor in threshing in case 3 is due to the fact that horses were used instead of the common flail. Eight or nine liters of seed per hectare are planted on the lakeshores, while about 12 are planted on the hillsides. This is an approximate check with actual practice; it will be remembered that an additional bean is planted *between* maize plants on the hillside. Liters of crop per liter of seed is difficult to estimate, but based on the poor sample, the lake-

TABLE 13.—Wheat production

Owner of milpa	Type of land	Area (hectares)	Man-days of work						Seed used (liters)		Crop yield				Man-days of work per carga of crop
			Plowing	Planting	Harvesting	Threshing	Total	Per hectare ¹	Per milpa	Per hectare	Liters	Cargas	Liters per liter of seed ²	Cargas per hectare	
1, Salvador Villagómez....	Lakeshore	2.15	24	24	20	8	76	35	³ 150	70	⁴ 3,300	15	22	7	5
2, Melesio Hernández....	do	.45	3	3	4	2	12	27	24	54	550	2.5	23	5.6	4.8
3, Ignacio Estrada.....	do	3.10	48	12	22	10	92	30	108	35	⁵ 3,960	18	37	5.8	5.1
4, Mariano Cornelio.....	do	1.45	9	9	10	6	34	24	³ 110	76	1,540	7	14	4.9	4.9
5, Vicente Rendón.....	Town lot	.15	1	1	1	1	4	27	10	67	125	.6	12.5	3.8	6.7
6, Name unknown.....	do	1.20	..	..	..	..	..	..	50	42	440	2	9	1.7	..
7, Vicente Barriga.....	Hillside	.70	4	4	3	1	12	17	24	34	⁶ 100	.45	4	.6	26
8, Vicente Barriga.....	do	.50	3	3	2	1	9	18	20	40	⁶ 108	.5	5	1	18
9, Micaela Hinojosa.....	do	.50	4	5	5	2	16	32	22	41	250	1.1	11	2.2	14.5
10, Soledad Vázquez.....	do	.60	3	4	3	2	12	20	20	33	⁶ 108	.5	5	.8	24
11, Moisés Zavala.....	do	.55	4	5	3	2	14	31	20	36	⁶ 100	.45	5	.8	31
12, Melesio Hernández....	do	.70	6	6	8	2	22	30	30	43	440	2	15	2.9	11
13, Micaela Hinojosa.....	do	.55	4	5	5	2	16	25	24	44	⁴ 500	2.25	21	4.1	7.1

¹ Beals' Cherán data (1946, p. 67) show 26.5 man-days of work per hectare. As is the case for maize, the time required for plowing is relatively much greater than in Tzintzuntzan, and that for other activities much less. The best wheat lands are said to produce 2 cargas of wheat, far below that of Tzintzuntzan.

² The Agrarian Census (Archivo, file 44) for April 6, 1927, reports that wheat yields 12 for 1; the range is not given. Its value at harvest time is given as \$13 a carga, as compared to \$55 in 1945.

³ This appears to be far more seed than is needed for a milpa of this size.

⁴ This recorded yield probably is somewhat higher than reality.

⁵ This is a 5-year average. The 1945 drought year yield was 3 cargas, giving some idea of how lack of rain, even on the best land, may reduce production.

⁶ This is for the drought year, 1945. A normal year should produce two or three times as much crop. The other wheat fields, except as noted in footnote 5, are quoted for 1944 or 1946, both good average years.

shores are considerably higher. It is interesting to note that the hillsides seem to produce about as much beans per hectare as the lakeshore.

Table 13 shows the data on wheat production. An average of 26 man-days of work per hectare is required, with the recorded range from 17 to 35. The lakeshores, as in the case of maize, get a little more attention. There is also a great range in the amount of seed planted per hectare, from 33 liters to 76 liters. The average of 46 seems to be about optimum. Lakeshore milpas produce from 5 to 7 *cargas* of 161 kilos each, averaging 220 liters, per hectare. Town lots range from 1.7 to 3.8, while hillsides in normal years average from 1 to 3. Cases 7, 8, 10, and 11 are harvests for 1944, a bad drought year. Lakeshore milpas produce from 15 to 35 liters of crop for 1 of seed; hillsides average 5 to 15. Lakeshore milpas require about 5 man-days of work per *carga*, while the hillsides require 10.

An attempt, more or less as an academic exercise, was made to translate agricultural costs of production into terms of pesos and centavos (table 14). Cultural values are sufficiently different in Tzintzuntzan so that such an interpretation would mean quite a different thing to the local farmer than to us. Nevertheless, it does give some idea as to what is profitable work, and what is not, and reflects a good deal of light on these different cultural values. Costs of production are figured as plow and equipment, interest on money invested in the land, taxes, rent of oxen, rent of horses for wheat threshing, labor, and seed. Determining land value is the most difficult problem. Tax records are notoriously low, and some of the land is not even listed. Nevertheless, this figure, when available, has been included in the table. Ignacio Estrada, case 3, bought his milpa in 1939 for \$1,200, at a time when land was far less costly than today. On the bill of sale the price was given as \$300, in an attempt to keep taxes at a minimum. In 1945 he claims to have turned down a fantastic offer of \$20,000. "What would I have done with all that paper?" he asks. Good land is the most priceless treasure a man may have. Ignacio acquired by good luck what is perhaps the best milpa in the entire region, and, since he has adequate income for his daily needs, the land literally is price-

less. Only if the offer had been made in silver would he have considered it. A compromise value of \$9,000 was decided upon for this land.

Mariano Cornelio estimated the value of his land, also not for sale, at from \$4,000 to \$6,000, and the minimum figure was taken. Vicente Rendón estimated the value of Salvador Villagómez' milpa, which he farms as share cropper, at \$6,000, the figure which was taken. In 1942 Vicente Rendón refused to buy the small town lot which he cultivated as security in 1945 at a proffered \$350; in 1945, when he offered this sum, the price had risen to \$450, which he refused to pay. Hence, a figure of \$400 was decided upon. Roughly, good lakeshore land may be considered to be worth about \$3,000 a hectare, a truly fantastic sum measured by any standards. In 1945, land around the *yácatas* was expropriated for the archeological zone for about \$500 a hectare; impartial estimates suggest that \$600 would have been closer to a true value. This sum was taken as the base for estimates of values of the hillside milpas in question. Interest has been figured at 6 percent. Taxes, clearly, are a negligible factor, as are plow and other equipment.

Apart from relative fertility, lakeshore land should have a higher value, since it can be farmed almost continuously, two crops a year, wheat and maize, while the hillsides can average only two crops every 2 years. In practice, lakeshores are not entirely sown every year. If wheat has been planted, the following maize crop may cover only a half of the milpa. Hence, utilization might average 80 percent compared to 50 percent for the hillsides.

It is apparent that a hectare of land planted in beans and maize is almost invariably a better investment than one planted in wheat. The best lakeshore milpas indicate profits of from \$400 to \$750 per hectare, while good hillsides average about \$100 or a bit more. The importance of beans becomes apparent when it is noted that their harvest value just about covers all agricultural costs for the maize-bean planting. This means that, when both are planted together, the value of the maize harvest approximates the theoretical profit on the land. The importance of beans is further apparent in that, without them, it is a rare hillside milpa that will show a profit; in fact, a loss would

TABLE 14.—Maize, bean, and wheat production costs and income

Owner	Type of land	Area (hectares)	Land value			Maize and beans										Income
			Tax records	Estimates	Taxes	Production costs										
						Plow and sowing equipment	Interest on land at 6 percent	Taxes	Oxen at \$4 a day	Maize labor at \$1.75 a day	Maize threshing at \$1.75 a day	Maize seed	Bean seed	Total expenses	Maize crop at \$0.225 a liter		Bean crop at $0.30 a liter
1, Salvador Villagómez.....	Lakeshore	2.15	\$250	\$6,000	\$3.38	4.00	66.60	\$1.69	\$81.00	\$78.75	(1)	3.37	...	\$238.41	630.00	630.00
2, Melésio Hernández.....	do.	.45	(2)	1,500	7.80	2.00	45.00	1.00	48.00	43.75	14.00	1.80	1.20	156.75	270.00	330.00
3, Ignacio Estrada.....	do.	3.10	600	9,000	7.80	12.00	270.00	3.90	258.00	250.25	38.00	14.30	7.20	853.75	2,250.00	3,210.00
4, Mariano Cornelio.....	do.	1.45	80	4,000	1.03	2.00	120.00	.54	48.00	50.75	(3)	3.94	...	225.23	337.50	337.50
5, Vicente Rendón.....	Town lot	.15	70	400	.95	1.00	12.00	.48	8.00	12.25	(4)	.45	.22	34.40	45.00	45.00
6, Name unknown 3.....	do.	1.20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7, Francisco Barriga.....	Hillside	.70	100	400	1.35	2.00	24.00	1.35	28.00	35.00	15.75	1.35	2.40	109.85	67.50	120.00
8, Francisco Barriga.....	do.	.50	100	300	1.35	2.00	18.00	1.35	24.00	26.25	10.50	1.35	1.80	85.25	67.50	90.00
9, Micaela Hinojosa.....	do.	.50	50	300	.68	2.00	18.00	.68	44.00	36.75	21.00	2.25	2.10	126.78	185.00	240.00
10, Soledad Vázquez.....	do.	.60	60	300	.81	2.00	18.00	.81	48.00	49.00	26.25	1.12	1.80	146.98	67.50	150.00
11, Moisés Zavala.....	do.	.55	125	300	1.62	2.00	18.00	1.62	48.00	49.00	24.50	1.80	1.20	145.92	67.50	217.50
12, Melésio Hernández.....	do.	.70	125	300	1.62	(3)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13, Micaela Hinojosa.....	do.	.55	(2)	300	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Owner	Total maize profit (or loss)	Maize profit (or loss) per hectare	Total profit (or loss) of maize and beans	Profit (or loss) per hectare, maize and beans	Wheat										Profit (or loss) per hectare	
					Production costs											
					Equipment, interest, taxes	Plowing and sowing (oxen at \$4 a day)	Planting and sowing (labor at \$1.75 a day)	Harvest and threshing (total costs)	Cost of seed at \$0.275 a liter	Total costs	Crop value at \$0.275 a liter	Straw value	Total			
1, Salvador Villagómez.....	\$ 391.59	\$182.13	\$ 391.59	\$182.13	\$185.69	\$192.00	\$84.00	\$73.00	\$41.25	\$575.94	\$ 907.50	\$ 83.00	\$ 995.50	\$119.56	\$195.12	
2, Melésio Hernández.....	128.45	285.44	173.25	395.00	48.00	24.00	10.50	16.50	6.00	105.60	165.25	14.00	165.25	59.65	131.55	
3, Ignacio Estrada.....	1,411.45	464.98	2,356.25	760.08	285.90	240.00	105.00	86.00	29.70	746.60	1,089.00	11.00	1,193.00	446.40	134.55	
4, Mariano Cornelio.....	112.27	77.43	112.27	77.43	122.54	72.00	31.50	46.00	30.25	392.29	423.50	40.00	463.50	161.21	111.13	
5, Vicente Rendón.....	20.82	72.13	10.82	72.13	13.48	8.00	3.50	6.50	2.75	34.23	34.37	3.00	37.37	3.14	20.93	
6, Name unknown 3.....
7, Francisco Barriga.....	-24.20	-34.57	77.65	110.93	21.35	32.00	14.00	10.00	6.60	89.95	27.50	2.50	30.00	-59.95	...	
8, Francisco Barriga.....	-5.45	-10.90	72.25	144.50	27.35	24.00	10.50	8.25	5.50	69.60	29.70	2.50	32.20	-37.40	74.30	
9, Micaela Hinojosa.....	31.32	62.64	113.22	226.44	20.68	36.00	15.75	18.25	6.05	96.73	68.75	8.00	76.75	-19.98	39.96	
10, Soledad Vázquez.....	-51.43	-85.71	70.52	117.53	20.81	28.00	12.25	14.75	5.50	81.30	29.70	2.50	32.20	-49.10	81.83	
11, Moisés Zavala.....	-52.72	-95.85	11.58	21.05	21.62	36.00	15.75	14.75	5.50	93.62	27.50	2.50	30.00	-63.62	115.67	
12, Melésio Hernández.....	...	...	...	...	21.62	48.00	21.00	23.50	8.25	122.37	121.00	12.00	133.00	10.63	13.18
13, Micaela Hinojosa.....	...	...	...	...	21.62	36.00	15.75	18.25	6.60	98.22	137.50	12.00	149.50	51.28	93.23

1 None planted. 2 Not listed. 3 Insufficient data. 4 Beans cut when green.

otherwise be the rule. Hence, while lakeshore milpas planted in maize alone will show a good profit, beans are essential to make hillside farming worth while. Beans planted in hillside milpas produce, on the average, about 50 percent more harvest value than maize; in the lakeshore plots their harvest value is a third or a fourth that of maize. Beans, apparently, thrive under more adverse circumstances than maize. It will be noted that production costs on the hillsides equal from a third to a fourth of the total investment, while on the lakeshore they represent a mere 5 percent or 10 percent.

In terms of our own economics wheat is obviously a less successful crop than maize. A profit of about \$150 per hectare on the lakeshores compares poorly with that for maize and beans on the same land, while on the hillsides one is lucky to break even in a good year and will almost certainly suffer losses in a bad year. Straw, it will be noted, is much less important than beans in cash value, though not insignificant, averaging about 10 percent of the grain value.

To the Tzintzuntzeño this discussion would be nearly meaningless. How would he interpret the agricultural situation in his own pueblo? First, good lakeshore land is the greatest treasure which one may have. Well farmed it will produce large crops of maize, beans, and wheat year after year. The Tzintzuntzeño probably does not realize that wheat is relatively less profitable than maize and beans. And even if he did he would be satisfied with the situation: wheat is grown at a time when maize could not be grown, so any profit at all is welcome. On the hillsides our farmer knows, and regrets, that his maize harvest cannot compare, for equal amounts of work, with that of the lakeshores, but he knows too that his work is worth while, and that he is much better off than the landless.

The theoretical futility of growing wheat on the hillsides is not reflected in reality. Apparently a man could earn more by hiring out as a laborer than in working his own field. However, if this were done the greater labor supply would cause a corresponding lowering of wage rates; in fact, without wheat agriculture in the late summer and early fall and again at harvest and threshing time, there would be almost no

demand for hired labor at these periods. And, since the farmer is doing part of, and often all, his own labor, and since he may own his own oxen which could not otherwise profitably be used, these costs as listed are more theoretical than real. Finally, in terms of Tzintzuntzan concepts interest on the land investment would be an incomprehensible cost of production. Thus, real costs out of pocket are reduced to seed, possibly a little help, a slight investment in a plow, and perhaps rent of animals. On this basis, except for very bad drought years, even the hillside milpas show a profit when planted in wheat.

Presumably farming maize and beans year after year, which would appear to be more profitable than the maize-wheat cycle, would result in more rapid exhaustion of the soil, and hence in the long run not be worth while. Moreover, if maize and beans were farmed to the near-exclusion of wheat, and the same were done in other neighboring villages, the greater abundance of maize and beans might so reduce the crop value that this would not be a profitable enterprise. Hence, the evidence indicates that, in spite of the theoretical implications of cost analysis, the Tzintzuntzeño is doing about as well with his land and crops as might be expected. Much more exhaustive studies, including soil analysis, wider marketing possibilities, the use of new plows, and so forth should be undertaken before changes in the basic agricultural pattern are to be recommended.

In summary, in the local mind it is better to farm even the poorest land than not to farm at all. Relative standards of living bear out this opinion. It is possible to make a good living as a potter, and some few families do. Nevertheless, the farmers, and particularly the landowners, enjoy a higher standard of living than most nonfarming potters. The more energetic men try to farm each year, preferably on their own lands, and, if these are lacking, as a share cropper or on land taken as security. Those that are successful in their efforts try, little by little, to acquire more and more land, as the only worth-while investment for surplus money, and a small majority eventually come to have enough land so that, either from farming alone or combined with other occupations,

they enjoy a good standard of living, as measured by local standards.

POTTERY

At the time of the conquest Tzintzuntzan was already a famous pottery-making town which supplied many other villages by means of the aboriginal markets. Through Colonial times to the present this preeminence has been maintained. New techniques, new firing methods, and new measures have been acquired, but the basic system of the family workshop has remained with little modification. For without the cooperation of a number of individuals, each with specific tasks, the efficient production of pottery is almost impossible.

The basic steps are as follows: mining the clays and bringing them on mules or burros to the home; drying the clays in the sun; crushing the clays first with heavy rocks, and then either grinding them on a metate or passing them through a sieve to obtain a fine powder; mixing the clays in the proper proportions; kneading the clay to the consistency necessary to form pots; preparation of tortillas, flat pancake-like forms of clay; placing the tortillas in the molds; drying the roughly molded pots in the sun: *alisando*, or polishing with stone, rag, and water; placing of the handles; placing of the pots in the kiln; firing; grinding on the metate of the several rocks used in the glaze; mixing of the glaze and application to the pots;

¹ The most commonly used clays, and the ingredients used in glazing and artistic pottery show the following chemical analyses. I am indebted to Ing. Antonio Rodríguez L., of the National Department of Irrigation of Mexico, and his assistants, Ing. Miguel Brambila and Ing. C. A. Navarro, for these analyses.

Chemical composition	White earths		Red earths			Other ingredients				
	Capilla	El Panteón	De la Mesa	El Puerto	Cerrito Colorado	Tizar	Atashakua	Hormigón	Charáspakua	Tierra blanca
CO ₂	1.22	.42	1.02	1.51	0.98	2.01	0.30	1.11	1.22	1.51
SiO ₂	58.00	64.34	56.78	50.82	43.06	68.84	77.96	22.66	40.24	49.42
SO ₃ .....	.00	.14	.00	.00	.00	.12	.32	.00	.00	.00
MgO .....	.48	.18	0.24	.34	.32	.21	.48	.00	.39	.30
CaO	1.32	.67	0.67	1.12	1.12	1.57	1.45	1.34	.89	1.12
Al ₂ O ₃	20.83	20.88	24.73	30.53	28.08	18.27	12.13	26.81	36.12	32.06
Fe ₂ O ₃	8.89	5.72	6.99	6.63	16.90	1.91	3.61	13.67	9.16	3.18
MnO .....	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	19.44	.00	.00
Lost by ignition	9.26	7.65	9.57	9.05	9.54	7.07	3.75	14.97	11.98	12.41

The glaze is a natural litharge (PbO) containing 16.58 percent humidity and impurities.

second firing in the kiln; packing pots, carrying them to market, selling them.

POTTERY CLAYS

It is perhaps surprising to many anthropologist readers that no temper is used in making this pottery; in fact, the idea of a temper cannot be grasped by the potters. Instead, two different earths are mixed, which together have such a consistency that a firm, hard-baked clay results. Basically, a red earth, *tierra colorada*, and a white earth, *tierra blanca*, are combined.¹ Several *minas*, or quarries, for each type are exploited:

Mines of white clays

La Capilla, "the chapel," so called because the clay is taken from a site near the old chapel of the ancient *barrio* of San Pedro. This mine is also called La Cueva, "the cave," because of its proximity to a large sandstone cavern from which part of the stone used in the kilns is taken. A 10-minute walk beyond El Rincón, somewhat up the side of Tariaqueri, La Capilla is probably the most commonly exploited of the white-earth quarries.

El Panteón, also called La Pera, is a small site near the cemetery.

Santiago is to the east of El Panteón, up the hillside, near the boundary between the ancient *barrios* of San Pablo and Santiago.

Púlcho is a small site to the west of the cemetery. El Madroño is a site above Santiago.

Mines of red clays

De la Mesa is a site about 15 minutes' walk over the first ridge of Tariaqueri above Tzintzuntzan.

El Puerto is located 3 km. from Tzintzuntzan on the Pátzcuaro road, on the west side just at the summit of the pass.

Cerrito Colorado, the "little red hill," formerly called Rosa Castilla, is the most important of the red earth mines. It is an area of several hectares, badly eroded into gullies and ditches, 4 km. from Tzintzuntzan on the east side of the road to Pátzcuaro. This area was purchased by the *Comunidad Indígena* for \$50 in April 1923 from the Sra. María Soledad Tovar, widow of Villanueva, and owner of the Hacienda Sanabria, which was later broken up to form the *ejido* of Tzintzuntzan.

The common term *mina* ("mine") is fairly accurate to describe the quarries from which earth is taken. Over the surface is a layer of soil from 1 to 2 meters deep which is of no value. Hence, the common technique is to begin cutting away at the side of a gully where the vein or layer of desired earth is exposed, little by little working horizontally into the ground. At the Cerrito Colorado, where the process was most closely observed, the exploitable earth forms a hard and resistant vein a little more than a meter thick. By means of straight picks, an iron point hafted to a meter-long wooden handle, the miner little by little chops away at the ground until he has a small pile of clods, which are placed on a piece of burlap and carried outside to be dumped into a gunny sack. This process is repeated until the desired number of sacks are half-filled; full sacks weigh too much to be packed on animals. These are hung, one on each side of the pack animal, be it mule or burro, in the fashion of saddlebags, and carried to the home of the potter.

PREPARATION OF CLAYS

In the patios of many homes there is a cobbled floor exposed to the sunlight, the *asoleadero*, on which the earth is spread to dry for a day or two. Other families with less space often spread out their clay in the street in front of the house, carefully picking it up each night to prevent theft. The initial crushing is done with well-rounded granite boulders up to 30 cm. in diameter. The potter, kneeling, rolls the boulder over and over the clods until they are reduced to a fairly fine powder. Formerly the universal following step consisted in grinding all of this powder on a metate, of the standard kitchen type, thus reducing it to a very fine dust.

Don Bernardino Morales and Doña Andrea Medina, for example, stick to the ancient, exhausting method, claiming that it results in a harder, more compact pottery. Natividad, Doña Andrea's daughter, has fallen for the new system, which consists in passing the powder through a fine sieve, to obtain the dust. This system saves a great deal of work, and is far less exhausting. Older potters are very critical, and feel that the traditional quality of Tzintzuntzan ware is suffering. Natividad agrees that the metate grinding, when well done, is superior but that it is so exhausting that few persons can do it properly, and that the average of powdered earth from the metate is no finer than that from the sieve. Whatever the merits of the two systems, it may be noted that sieved pottery commands a price equal to that of the metate pottery, and that it seems to hold up equally well.

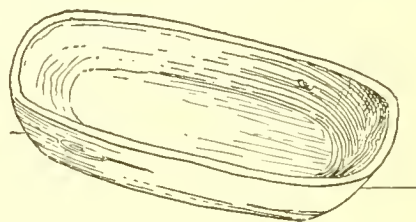


FIGURE 9.—Wooden tray.

Probably a good deal of folklore is bound up with the earths and various proportions used in mixing. Thus, white earth from La Capilla is considered indispensable for the largest pots, and is mixed with red earth from Cerrito Colorado. White earth from Púlichio is considered almost as good as that from La Capilla. White earth from El Panteón, Santiago, or El Madroño may be used in the smaller pots. The red earths seem to have less distinctive qualities, though that from Cerrito Colorado would undoubtedly win in a popularity contest. Red earth from La Mesa is usually used for the smaller pots, mixed with any of the white earths.²

The powdered earths are measured in an oval wooden tray (fig. 9) about 5 by 20 by 30 cm., of the type made in Quiroga. For the largest pots Natividad mixes a level tray of red Cerrito Colorado earth with a heaping tray of

² The slight chemical differences shown by the red and white clays suggest that the proportions used, and even the use of two clays, is governed by tradition rather than technological factors.

white Capilla earth, proportions nearly equal to two to one. For smaller pots the proportions are reversed: a heaped tray of red Mesa earth is mixed with an even tray of white Capilla earth. These are the measures she has learned from her mother, and she has not seen fit to vary them. Old Don Bernardino Morales, one of the oldest active potters, gets by with one combination for all sizes of pots: an even tray of red Cerrito Colorado earth to a heaped tray of white Panteón earth, in the proportions of about 1 to $1\frac{3}{4}$. Since there are no secret formulas, and since each family has its own preferred combination of earths, all of which work well, it appears that there is a high degree of permissible latitude involved in the selection.

The process of kneading follows grinding of the earth. On the *asoleador*, or in the shade of a porch, a small cone-shaped pile of mixed earths is placed, hollowed at the top like a small volcano. This is filled with water, and earth is scooped into it until it is well absorbed. The kneading itself is much like that for dough, with a little additional water splashed on from time to time to maintain the proper moisture content. Always the consistency is kept firm, somewhat like that of a child's modeling clay. Also added are pieces of pots which cracked while drying, and which were thrown into a large water-filled pot to keep moist. These pieces are worked in with the fresh paste. When the process is finished a ball of paste about 25 cm. in diameter results — enough to make one *real* of pottery. A half dozen or more such balls will be made at one time, enough to keep an individual busy for several days. Paste in this form can be kept for up to a week, covered with damp cloths or leaves of the castor bean or the *tronadora* (*Tecoma mollis*).

MOLDING OF POTS

Four basic forms of pots are made in many sizes. The *olla* is a round, wide-mouthed pot with handles. It is the traditional pot for cooking. The *cántaro* is a water jar of the same general shape, but without handles and with a small mouth. The *cazucla* is a wide and shallow casserole used for cooking such things as rice, *mole*, meats, and potatoes. The *comal* is a flat grid-dle. The larger sizes are used for cooking tor-

tillas and the smaller sizes serve as plates and pot lids. A number of modifications and less important types will be explained later.

All pottery, with the rare exception of hand-modeled figurines, is made in molds, of which two basic forms are used. Molds for pots and jars consist of identical vertical halves (fig. 10, *e*). The clay is placed inside of each half, the halves joined, and the molds removed. Thus, the form is given by an *outside* shaping. *Cazuclas* and *comales* are formed from a single piece of clay placed over a mold which is like a plate or shallow bowl with a handle projecting from the inside (fig. 10, *a-d*). Thus, the form is given by shaping from the *inside*.

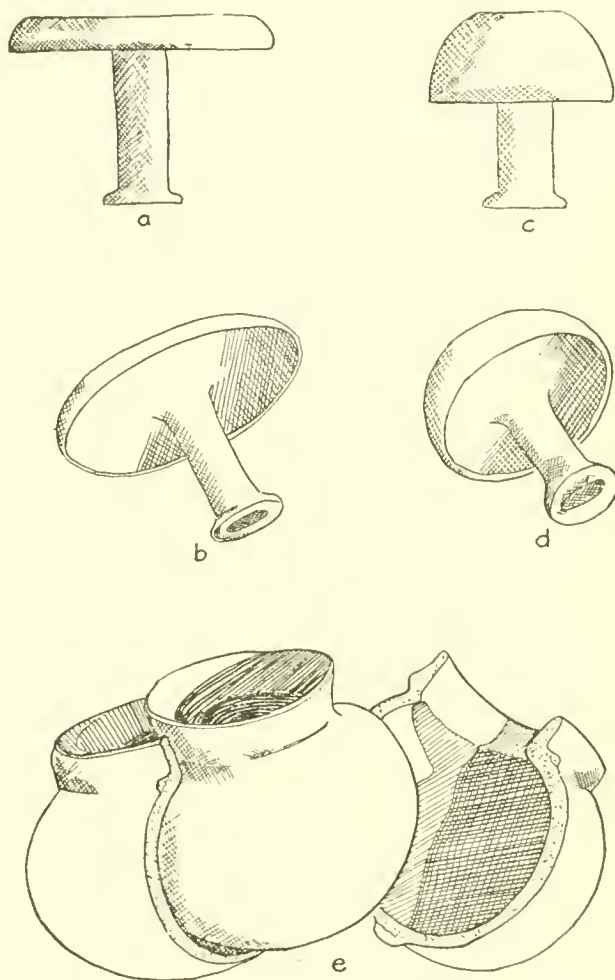


FIGURE 10.—Tzintzuntzan pottery molds. *a, b*, Horizontal and oblique views of mold used in making small plates. *c, d*, Same views of mold used in making cups. *e*, Method of forming pot inside mold consisting of two vertical halves.

The actual processes and motor patterns involved in making pottery can best be visualized if we imagine that we are watching potters at work. So, with a *con permiso*, we step into the kitchen-workshop of Doña Andrea where she is about to begin work on large pots of the size known as *tacha*. She kneels on the earth floor, and before her is a flat limestone slab of irregular shape, averaging about 75 cm. in each direction. On one side of her is a pile of molds, and on the other side several round balls of freshly kneaded paste. On the far side of the stone we see a few handfuls of a white earth known as *atáshakua*, which comes from near Quiroga.

Before beginning work Doña Andrea makes the sign of the cross over her materials, as she does before initiating each stage of the work, so that the Virgin will smile on her and that breakage will be slight. Then, with a practiced eye she breaks off enough paste from the large ball to roll a cylinder 35 cm. long and 10 cm. in diameter. As she works she sprinkles a little of the powdered *atáshakua* on the stone to keep the paste from sticking, just as a good housewife sprinkles flour on her kneading board. Next, with a flat, oval stone about 15 by 7 by 5 cm. — actually a piece of broken metate *mano* — she flattens the roll into an oblong form about 2 cm. thick. With a sharp stone this pancake is divided, and one half is laid aside. The other half is patted and pounded, revolved and turned over, until it assumes the form of a shield about 1 cm. thick. Then the other half is similarly treated.

Next Doña Andrea takes a mold, with the opening facing her and the mouth up. The shield or tortilla of paste is laid inside, with the flat side fitting into the mouth. With a small piece of rag, continually dipped into a bowl of water at one side, she smooths the clay until it adheres firmly and takes the exact form of the inside of the mold. Then with a piece of maguey fiber, one end held in the mouth and the other between thumb and index finger of the right hand, she quickly trims off any surplus that extends beyond the edges. After the other half of the mold has been similarly prepared the two pieces are fitted together, with the mouth facing the potter. She takes small bits of paste to fill any spaces at the joints, and then with

the wet cloth smooths the inside until it is almost impossible to tell where the contact has been made. The mouth is carefully worked and smoothed, and with the same maguey fiber — or perhaps a horsehair, if there is no maguey at hand — the surplus is trimmed off. This mold is laid aside, and the process is repeated with others, each pot taking about 20 minutes to form. Six pots exhaust the supply of this size of mold. Doña Andrea lifts off half of the first mold, and taps the emerging pot inside and outside. The dead sound indicates that it has dried sufficiently, so she carefully carries it, still resting in the other half, to a bed of zacate grass in the sun, where it is lifted out and left to dry. For these large pots the fresh paste must be left in the mold for up to 2 hours to prevent sagging when it is removed.

Beside Doña Andrea, sits her young daughter-in-law, Pachita, wife of Faustino, who, although he helps with the earth and firing, finds the open road more attractive, and hence is a *rescatón* who carries the finished work on his mules to sell in the *tierra caliente*. Pachita is making small cups of the size known as *media bolera*. She makes a stack of tortillas, 20 or more, cut and shaped, before she begins to mold. With these tiny molds the process is identical to that of the large ones. Each tiny pot requires but a minute, and Pachita works with 18 molds. Thus, each new pot dries but 20 minutes before it is removed. Because of the light weight of the paste there is no need for the longer hardening period.

Cántaros, which may be made tomorrow, are made in the identical manner. The small pots, Doña Andrea tells us, can be fired the same day they are made. The larger ones must dry a day or two, depending on the heat of the sun, and are then polished and the handles added before firing. There is no real maximum time limit for firing — they can be stored in a corner of the room for 2 weeks, or a month, and are still perfectly good. Still, given the usual work cycle they will be fired within a period of from 2 or 3 days up to perhaps 2 weeks, if fiestas interrupt the work.

“¿Gusta un taquito?” asks Doña Andrea. “Would you eat a bite?” Doña Andrea is one of the most hospitable of all Tzintzuntzeños, and feels that no guest, however constant, should

be allowed to leave without some token of friendship. It is 11 o'clock in the morning, and the family is stopping for *almuerzo*, a midmorning snack. Faustino comes into the patio, his burros loaded with oak and pine for the kiln. Doña Andrea washes her hands, sets before us a tiny table covered with a white cloth, and presently a china dish with eggs and a stack of tortillas appears. The rest of the family stand around the large stove, which serves also as table, but visitors cannot be served in such informal fashion. Fashion dictates that the cloth must go on the table, however immaculate its top may have been scrubbed.

The potters will continue with the same work in the afternoon, so we decide to move two doors down to the home of Doña Andrea's daughter, Natividad, and her son-in-law Vicente to see if other tasks are being done. The move is also diplomatic. In Tzintzuntzan, although trying to be on good terms with many families, one inevitably comes to have special friends with whom greater confidences are established, and who are always more pleased to see one. Within this inner circle, however, no favoritism must be shown. A visit to one house must be matched by a visit to all of the others, if one is not to offend. Hence, it is time we pass over to the homes of the others. "Many thanks, Doña Andrea, we will see each other soon." "*Que pasen buena tarde.*" she replies. "May you pass a pleasant afternoon." "*Que pasen buena tarde.*" we echo to all the assembled members of the family.

Nati, of course, knows that we have been at her mother's home. Doña Andrea lives with her youngest son Gabino, age 13, and with an older son Faustino and his wife Pachita, and baby daughter Lucía. In the same patio, but in a different house, lives her daughter-in-law Macaria, with her children Celia and Adolfo. The father, Jesús, is absent in the United States, working as a *bracero*, or laborer. Next door is an older son Wenceslao, his two children Esperanza and Miguel, and his wife Otelia, who is the sister of his dead first wife, the mother of the children. Natividad and Vicente, and their three children, Gaudencio, Teresa, and Consuelo, live in the next house. Hence, when a visitor arrives in one house his presence is immediately

known in the others, by means of small children slipping in and out of gates and doors.

Vicente and Nati are, by good fortune, engaged in what is the next step of work. Yesterday they made a number of large *de a medio ollas*. Today these must be polished and the handles added. The pot is placed in a ring made of tule reeds of the type known as *chuspata* (*sikwa*, peeled sections of the stalk of a banana tree, may also be used) and covered with the remains of an old felt hat. With a short knife hafted to a corncob handle Nati trims the ragged bits of clay which project at the point of contact of the halves of the mold, and also trims the neck a little to improve the contour. Then she takes a handful of very damp and pliable paste, gives it a last minute dousing in a small water-filled dish, and goes over the entire surface of the pot, filling any cracks and imperfections that may have resulted. Next a polishing stone of *janamo*, a coarse volcanic rock, is dipped in water and rubbed over the outside to level any ridges and give a smooth surface. And finally, with a wet rag, the same process is repeated, to give the final finish. Nati looks admiringly at my old khaki pants. "You don't have any old pants like that that are about worn out?" she asks hopefully. "It's the very best material for polishing, but we don't see much of it." I make a mental note to buy her some new khaki cloth; the extravagance of using new cloth for polishing should make her the happiest woman in Tzintzuntzan. On a subsequent visit the cloth is presented, but the next day when I come I find she has made it into a new apron, and the longing look in her eye for the old khaki pants still remains. Well, the apron will also be old someday, and then she can use it.

Next come the handles. This is work exclusively for Nati. Vicente does all the rest, but he has never mastered handles. She makes two rolls of paste on her working stone, about 12 by 4 cm. On the selected spot for the contact of the first handle she places a moistened finger, then pushes the end of the roll against it, smooths the clay against the pot, and then works the roll out until it is longer and narrower, passing it between thumb and index finger and maintaining a perfect cylinder. When it is deemed long enough it is curved and the other end stuck to the pot, a bit pinched off and

placed on the under side of the roll, and all smoothed. The second contact is by sight only: no preliminary mark is made. Finally, at each end of the handle she places her thumb to make a shallow groove on the outside which continues to the pot itself, thus slightly enlarging the area of contact. This is necessary, she says, to increase the strength of the weld. The exact size and form of this groove is one of the distinctive features of each potter's work, and one which enables him or her to distinguish his work from that of all others. Each potter, of the nearly 400 persons so engaged, can tell his work at a glance — the handles, the sworls inside and outside which result from polishing, slight irregularities in the molds, and so forth, all serve to identify the work of each.

The other handle is similarly placed on the opposite side: Nati scarcely seems to look to see if it is exactly opposite, but so it always turns out. Horizontal handles are always placed straddling the joint between the two halves of the pot. Smaller pots have a single handle, vertical, from the lip to the wide lower bulge, in the manner of a coffee cup. This handle usually is flat and wide, and not round. *Cántaros* are finished in identical fashion, except that no handles are applied.

To make *cazuelas* and *comales*, we learn on subsequent visits, disks of paste of proper content for the size desired are made and stacked beside the potter. These are then flattened from the top so that they expand in a circle. Taking the handle of the mold in the left hand the potter places the thin tortilla of paste on top, works the sides down around the edges, smooths it with a piece of *janamo* stone and a wet cloth, and with the horsehair or maguey fiber trims off the edge evenly. *Comales* are finished, except for polishing, with this operation. Often a small ring of paste is added to the rims of *cazuelas* to increase their depth. A small roll long enough to encircle the *cazuela* is rolled on the stone and pinched onto the outside of the rim, simultaneously being flattened as it is worked in a clockwise direction. Subsequently it is further thinned by polishing with a damp cloth until it has the same thickness as the rest of the vessel. A slight ridge is visible at the point of contact. This operation is the only suggestion of coil pottery found in local pottery

techniques. Some of the *cazuelas* have a final scalloping around the edge. This is done by folding the polishing cloth and making a series of small indentations.

CLASSIFICATION OF POTS

The next step is the first firing. However, so that the technique of filling the kiln may better be understood it seems wise at this point to digress and discuss the ways of naming pot sizes and measuring quantities. Because of the mold system it is possible to make any number of pots of a given size and shape. And because pots are made for sale and exchange, and not primarily for home consumption, it is essential to have an easily recognized system for evaluating one pot against another. The system in use today is a carry-over from former days when the "real" (\$0.125) was the common coin, and when the cost of living was so low that the real was of great value. The largest pot sold for two reales, and hence was named *de a dos reales*. At the present time there is no *de a un real* pot, and there is some question as to whether it ever was made. Nevertheless, in comparing terminology for *cazuelas* the *sopera* was said to be equivalent to a pot "*de a un real.*" This may, however, be a rationalization resulting from the desire to have a perfect correlation. The most common large pot is the *de a medio*, that is, a pot which sold for a *medio real*, half a real, about \$0.06. One man today makes a size called *de a cuártula*, so named because it formerly sold for a *medio real* plus a quarter, or three-fourths of real. This is the only current size between the *de a medio* and *de a dos reales*. In descending order the sizes are *de a cuartilla*, a quarter of a real, or \$0.03; *de a tres*, 3 for a *medio real*, or \$0.02; *de a cuatro*, 4 for a *medio real*, or \$0.015 each; *de a seis*, or 6 for a *medio real*; *de a ocho*, 8 for a *medio real*; and *de a diez*, 10 for a *medio real*. The next smaller size is the *atolera*, so named because it is the size commonly used for *atole*. Following is the *bolera*, the *media bolera*, the *menos de media bolera*, or "less than half *bolera*," the *olla chiquita*, almost a toy, and the *chuchería*, a term applied to any tiny pots or dishes which are too small to be of practical use.

Many of the sizes have additional names, some of which are carry-overs from days when

Tzintzuntzan was a Tarascan village. The Tarascan term *temetz* is infrequently applied to the *de a medio ollas*. In the Tarascan sierra this word is applied to any large undecorated pot. I have also, though infrequently, heard this size called an *arrobera*, from the Spanish measure of weight "arroba," $11\frac{1}{2}$ kilos. The *de a cuartilla* is commonly called a *tacha*, from the Tarascan *thachan*, meaning "de a cuatro." The *de a tres* is almost invariably referred to as a *kuicha*, from the Tarascan *kuima* "six," meaning six for one real, \$0.02 each. *Sangarangwa* is a Tarascan term also applied to the *tacha*, but primarily by the Indians. Many potters are unfamiliar with the word, and its

derivation is unclear. The *de a cuatro* is usually called a *tlaco*, after an ancient Mexican coin worth \$0.015. The Tarascans often call this size a *tanicha*, which comes from the root *tanimu* "three," and which therefore would seem to be an incorrect appellation. Natividad Peña understands by this term any *de a seis* or *de a ocho* pot which, unlike most, is completely glazed. The Tarascans use the term *alkawetiya*, which does not seem to be Tarascan, for *de a seis* pots. The *de a ocho* is sometimes called a *comidera* "one used for eating," while the *de a diez* may be called *comiderita* "little one used for eating." Any pot of a size commonly used in cooking — *de a seis*, *ocho*, *diez* — may be

TABLE 15.—Pottery dimensions¹

Size name	Olla				Cántaro			
	Diameter	Depth	Neck diameter	Capacity	Diameter	Depth	Neck diameter	Capacity
	Cm.	Cm.	Cm.	Liters	Cm.	Cm.	Cm.	Liters
Chuchería ².....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Olla Chica.....	5.0	6.4	4.4	0.07	5.0	5.0	3.2	0.05
Menos de ½ bolera.....	7.0	9.0	5.0	.10	7.0	7.0	3.8	.07
½ Bolera.....	8.3	9.0	5.0	.17	9.0	9.0	4.4	.14
Bolera.....	10.0	11.5	7.6	.50	10.0	10.0	5.0	.40
Atolera.....	12.0	12.7	9.0	.75	12.7	12.0	6.4	.75
De a 10.....	14.0	15.2	10.0	1.50	14.0	13.4	7.0	1.25
De a 8.....	15.3	16.5	11.5	2.25	17.8	16.5	7.6	2.00
De a 6.....	19.0	20.3	12.7	4.00	20.3	19.0	9.0	3.50
De a 4 (tlaco).....	23.0	24.0	15.3	7.00	24.0	23.0	9.5	6.00
De a 3 (kuicha).....	25.5	28.0	17.8	10.00	26.7	25.5	9.5	9.00
De a cuartilla (tacha).....	29.0	31.7	20.3	15.00	29.0	28.0	9.5	12.00
De a medio.....	34.3	38.0	24.0	25.00	33.7	30.5	10.0	15.00
De a cuartilla ³	39.5	42.0	24.0	34.00	.....	.....	.....	.....
De a dos reales ³	46.0	48.8	28.0	45.00	.....	.....	.....	.....

Cazuela				Comal		
Size name	Diameter	Depth	Capacity	Size name	Diameter	Depth
	Cm.	Cm.	Liters		Cm.	Cm.
Chuchería.....	5.0-7.5	2.5	0.04	Chuchería.....	5.0-7.5	0.6
Pajarera (olla chica) ⁴	8.3	3.8	.03	Cuatro por cuartilla.....	9.5	1.2
Pajarera (½ bolera) ⁴	10.0	5.0	.25	Platoncito ½ bolera.....	11.5	1.2
Turquera (bolera) ⁴	12.7	5.0	.50	Platoncito bolera.....	12.7	1.2
Mantequera (atolera).....	15.2	5.7	.75	Platoncito atolera.....	15.3	1.9
De a 10.....	19.0	6.4	1.00	Tapadero.....	16.5	1.9
De a 8.....	23.0	7.6	1.75	Do.....	20.3	2.5
De a 6.....	26.7	7.6	2.75	Do.....	24.0	2.5
De a 4.....	31.7	9.0	3.50	(5).....	.....	.....
Kuicha.....	35.5	10.0	5.00	Calentador.....	29.0	2.5
Tacha.....	38.0	11.5	7.00	Do.....	38.0	2.5
Buñuelera (de a medio) ⁴	43.0	12.0	10.00	Tortillero.....	43.0	2.5
Sopera (de a un real).....	50.0	12.7	14.00	(5).....	.....	.....
Guajolotera (de a dos reales).....	58.0	16.5	24.00	Tortillero.....	56.0	2.5

¹ Most dimensions are based on the average of several specimens. Variations may be from 5 to 15 percent from the mean.

² Various minute sizes.

³ Cántaros of this size not made.

⁴ Corresponds to this olla size.

⁵ Comales corresponding to *de a 4* and *de a un real* sizes not made.

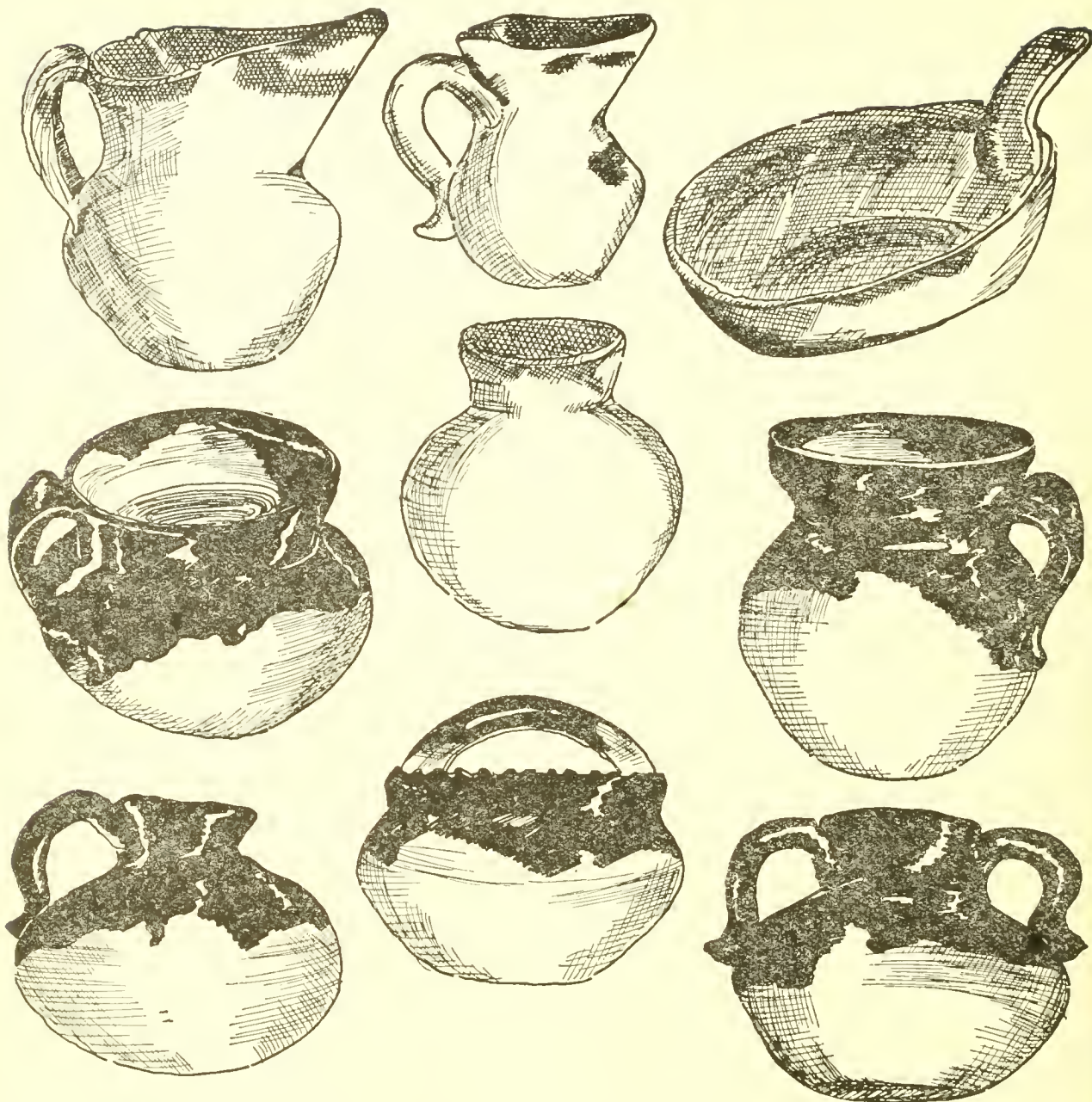


FIGURE 11.—Small pottery vessels of the size known as *chuchería*. The maximum diameter is about 6 cm.

called an *olla lumbrera*. A pot with one handle is an *olla de asa*. The *de a diez* is the largest size regularly to have one handle. A pot with two handles is an *olla de dos asas*. The *de a diez* is the smallest regularly to have two. Thus, it is seen that the basic terminology has been modified at a number of points, and no two people would agree entirely on the meaning of the secondary terms. Tzintzuntzan appears to be

unique in Michoacán, if not in all Mexico, for the complexity of terminology.

Cántaros are named in an identical manner. *Cazuelas* follow the basic system, in terms of former value expressed in reales, but the larger and smaller ones have distinctive names. Nevertheless, all sizes have their corresponding *ollas* and *cántaros*. The *de a dos cazuela* is a *guajolotera*, from *guajolotc*, turkey, so called because

it is the proper size for cooking this fowl. The *sopera* is the next size, which corresponds either to the hypothetical *de a un real* or the *de a cuártula*, depending on how you want to interpret it. The *buñuelera*, used for preparing a dish known as *buñuelos*, corresponds to the *de a medio*. The *tacha*, *kuicha*, *de a cuatro*, *seis*, *ocho*, and *diez* follow logically. The *mantequera*, from *manteca* ("lard"), is the *atolera*; the *turquera*, of unknown derivation, is the *bolera*; the *media bolera grande*, which follows, is slightly larger than the more common *pajarera*, which corresponds to the *media bolera*. Or, one may think of two sizes of *pajareras*, the larger corresponding to the *media bolera* and the smaller to the *olla chiquita*. *Palanganas*, sometimes called *chalupas*, are oval *cazuelas* made in sizes from *chuchería* to the *de a diez*, which is a dish 22 by 12 by 8 cm. A type of *cazuela*, though not so usually considered, is the *pinípite*, which is of the size and form of a cereal bowl. Tradition says that this is the ancient type of eating dish.

Comal terminology corresponds with that of the *cazuelas*, except that there are no *sopera* nor *de a cuatro* sizes. The largest size, called *tortillero* because it is used to make tortillas, corresponds to the *guajolotera*. The next size, also called *tortillero*, corresponds to the *buñuelera*. The *tacha* and *de a cuartilla comales* are often called *calentadores* ("heaters") because they can conveniently be used for reheating tortillas previously made. The *de a seis*, *ocho*, and *diez* sizes often are called *tapaderos* ("lids") since they are of the right dimensions to cover pots. Smaller sizes with different terminology are the *platoncito atolera* ("little plate corresponding to the *atolera*"); the *platoncito bolera* ("little plate corresponding to the *bolera*"), and the *de a cuatro por cuartilla* which corresponds to the *media bolera*; a smaller *pajarera*; a still smaller unnamed size which corresponds to the *ollita chiquita*, and finally the inevitable *chuchería*.

A number of less important forms of pottery are made. The *chocolatero* is basically an *olla* with a higher rim and a rising spout for pouring. It is made in sizes up to *de a seis*. *Macetas*, flowerpots, both with a pedestal base and in the more common form, are made in sizes up to the *tacha*, and are called by the terms used for *ollas*. *Respaldos* are half *macetas*, with a flat side provided with a hole for nailing to a wall.

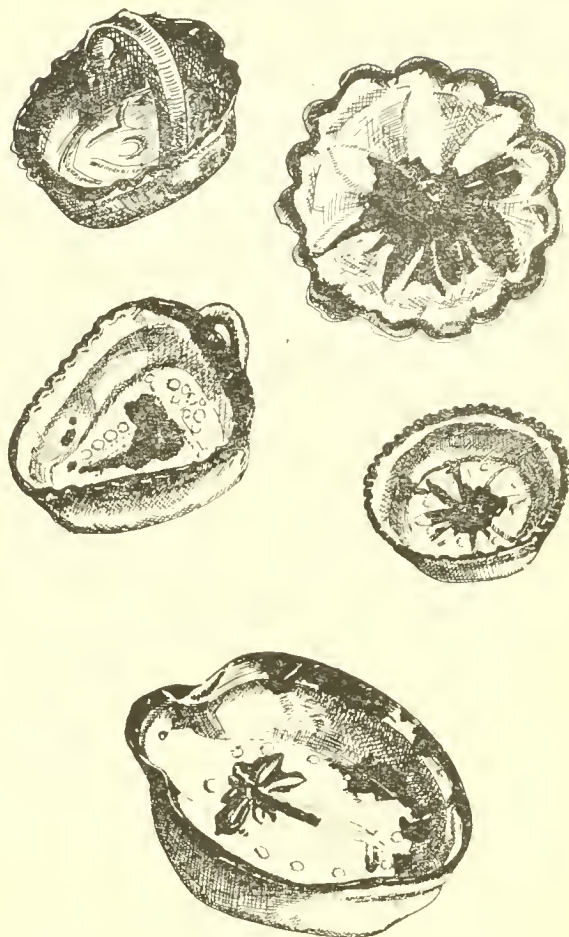


FIGURE 12.—Small pottery vessels of the size known as *chuchería*. The maximum diameter is about 9 cm.

Cazos are paillike pots with a flat bottom and flaring sides, made occasionally in sizes up to the *tacha*. Some of these small dishes have blossomed out with such names as *salsera* "sauce dish," *convoy*, and so forth. A few beer mugs are also made. Reserved for later treatment are two specialized types of pottery, the burnished *tinaja* ware, and the painted *loza blanca* of Doña Andrea and her daughter Natividad.

Table 15 shows the gradation of sizes of the principal types of pottery, their names, and their average dimensions and capacities.

Quantities of pots are calculated by the "peso." Thus, one may speak of a "peso" of *de a medio* pots, or a "peso" of *de a diez*, or of any other size or combination of sizes. This terminology stems from the ancient relationship of the "real" monetary unit to the peso. Thus, 16 *de*

a medio pots add up to one "peso" of pots, since each was worth half a real and there are 8 reales in a peso. Similarly, a "peso" of *de a seis* pots amounts to 96 units. In the same fashion all sizes down to the *media bolera*, with 384 (32 dozen) units to the peso, can be calculated. As calculations are made the *atolera* corresponds to a hypothetical *de a doce*, the *bolera* to a *de a dieciséis*, and the *media bolera* to a *de a reinticuatro*.

This terminology is useful in estimating the amount of pottery a kiln will hold, and even more so for the *rescatones* who buy part or all of the wares they carry to the hot country at wholesale prices expressed by quantity and not monetary "pesos." The number of units of each standard size necessary to make one "peso" is as follows:

<i>De a medio</i>	16
<i>Tacha</i>	32
<i>Kuicha</i>	48
<i>De a cuatro</i>	64
<i>De a seis</i>	96
<i>De a ocho</i>	128
<i>De a diez</i>	160
<i>Atolera</i>	192
<i>Bolera</i>	256
<i>Media bolera</i>	384

Figures 11 and 12 show some of the forms of Tzintzuntzan pots. Most of these are the small *chuchería*, with both red and black glaze.

THE KILN

All pottery kilns in Tzintzuntzan follow a standard design. The average kiln is circular, from 100 to 170 cm. in diameter, rises 75 cm. above ground level, and is excavated an equal distance. The firebox below is separated from the chamber above in which pots are placed by a *tapanco* or grate of stones. Access to the firebox is by means of an excavation on one side of the oven which is of approximately the same depth as the firebox itself. An inverted V-shaped door is used for firing and removing ashes. Figure 13 shows a cross-section and a front view of a kiln.

Kiln construction is fairly simple. A circular hole of the desired dimensions is dug, which is enlarged on one side to provide exterior space for firing and ash removal. Walls of this firebox are lined with large adobes stood on end

which rise just to ground level. The triangular firedoor consists of two adobes leaned against each other and capped by a third. In the center of the firebox a post of sandstone 30 to 40 cm. in diameter is sunk to a depth of about 20 cm. so that its top is flush with the ground level. The grate is of pieces of *janamo* stone, a light, porous volcanic stone, the same as used to polish pots. This stone is taken from the earth ovens in which *mezcal* (p. 122) is baked. Stones already "cooked" do not explode when fired, as would unheated rock. These stones, which are smaller than the bridge to be spanned from kiln edge to sandstone post, are wedged in a very flat arch from a 5 cm. lip on the tops of the adobes to the top of the post. After several firings the stones partially fuse, thus producing a stronger grate, but frequently a section will fall

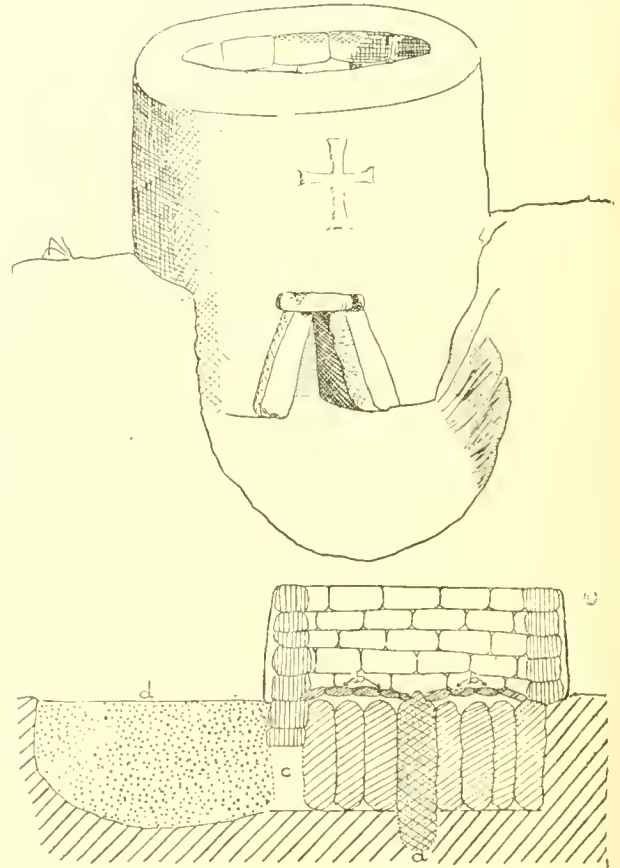


FIGURE 13.—Pottery kiln. Top, outside view showing the firebox door. Bottom, the cross section. a, Sandstone post which supports the grate, b. c. The door which opens to the outside excavation, which allows space for tending the fire.

under the weight of the pottery and have to be replaced.

The kiln wall above the ground, about 25 cm. thick, is built with special wedge-shaped adobes laid horizontally, wider on the outside and narrower on the inside so that a smooth circular construction results. The height above the grate should be identical to the depth of the firebox below. The walls of this upper chamber, known as the *rodete*, project slightly inward so that the absolute diameter of the space at the top may be 8 to 10 cm. less than at grate level. Outside the construction is smeared with a thin coating of adobe and over the firebox door a cross is traced "so that the grate will not fall." Each potter normally builds his own kiln, perhaps assisted by a friend or relative. There are no specialists for this work, although the adobes may be made to order by adobe makers. Nor are there rites or superstitions, other than the placing of the cross, connected with the building.

An average kiln shows the following dimensions:

	Cm.
Interior diameter at top	120
Interior diameter at bottom	130
Thickness of upper wall	27
Depth of kiln proper	75
Thickness of stone grate	10
Depth of firebox	75
Width of door at base	42
Height of door	50

There is no well-defined way to measure the capacities of kilns. A rough idea may be given by telling the number of pots of a given size, usually *de a medio* or *tachas*, which can be accommodated on the grate. Other persons calculate the pesos of pottery which their kilns will hold. Thus, Doña Andrea knows that her kiln holds about 2 pesos arranged as follows: nine *de a medio* pots directly on the grate, eight forming the outside circle and the ninth in the center ($4\frac{1}{2}$ reales). These pots are filled with assorted vessels of the smaller sizes. The second layer consists of 12 *tachas* (3 reales) also filled with smaller vessels. The third layer consists of 24 *de a seis* pots (2 reales) and the last layer of 16 *de a ocho* pots (1 real). In addition to the small vessels put directly inside the larger pots, others are fitted carefully into all spaces between pots, thus accounting for the final $6\frac{1}{2}$ reales to make the total of two.

Vicente Rendón has two kilns, a large one and one of average size. The large one, which has an interior diameter of 158 cm., holds 4 pesos of pottery, including 7 reales (14 *de a medio* pots) on the bottom. This kiln, like other large ones, has a rope around the outside to prevent spreading and cracking of the walls due to the pressure from a full load.

FIRING THE KILN

Kilns may also be judged by the amount of wood needed to fire them. Doña Andrea's requires two "burro" loads of wood for the initial firing, and three for the glazing. Vicente's large kiln requires four and five loads, respectively.

When the family has enough pottery ready to fill its kiln, preparations are made in the afternoon. Sufficient wood, oak, pine, or *madrño*, has been gathered and stacked to dry to see the evening through.

The basic technique consists in placing the largest pots on the bottom, directly over the grate, and filling them about half-full of smaller ware. The second layer consists of slightly smaller pots, also partially filled, while the top layer or layers are made up of still smaller pots, empty. All available cracks and spaces are utilized to slip in small *comales*, *chucherías*, and other tiny dishes so that the kiln is a veritable mass of dried clay. Great care is taken to fit the round bottoms of the large pots into the mouths of the others in the same layer, to utilize fully all the valuable floor space. The final pile of pottery pyramids toward the center, rising from 30 to 60 cm. above the top of the kiln. Broken pieces of pottery, preferably of large *comales* and *ollas*, are used to cover the kiln completely, so that no unfired pots are exposed.

Firing usually is done in the early evening. The potter lights the fire an hour or so before dark, building it up slowly to prevent cracking of the vessels. He can judge the intensity of the heat by the brilliance of the flames seen under the covering postsherds; hence, firing at night is easier than by day. Maximum temperature, reached only after an interval of about 3 hours, is maintained for another hour. When firing is thought nearly complete, a couple of sherds are lifted off with a stick and a small pot is picked

out. If it gives a metallic ring when tapped, the clays are known to have fused and the fire is allowed to die down. If it does not ring, firing is continued until a sample reacts properly.

Socially, the firing of the kiln may be rather important. It is the culminating point of a long process of hard work. Once the fire is started there is nothing to do besides throw on more wood from time to time. Nights in Tzintzuntzan are always cool, often cold. The heat of the fire feels good, and the family gathers around to enjoy its warmth. Often stories will be told, not those of the ancient Tarascans, but those of Europe: Tar Baby, the Twelve Dancing Princesses, or Juan Cantimplata. Or perhaps plans will be discussed for a trading trip to the *tierra caliente*, and a 12-year-old boy may beg his father, for the first time, to take him with him, so that he can know what it is like in other parts of the world. Again the conversation will center around local happenings, an impending fiesta, the need for new clothes, or other pleasant desires which the sale of the pottery will make possible. The children, tired, doze off against the knees of mothers or grandmothers, or slip off alone to bed. After the successful test of a pot the adults, too, content with the results of several days' labor, arise, salute each other with the customary "may you pass a good night," and go off to their petates.

GLAZING

Glazing is, in a sense, the most difficult part of the pottery-making sequence. The glaze proper, or *greta*, is a natural litharge which comes in the form of small, orange rocks. It is purchased in Pátzcuaro, and is said to originate in or near Monterrey. To make the common red glaze, *greta colorada*, this rock must be mixed with a binder, a white chalklike rock known as *tizar* (also called *tizate*) which comes from near Ihuatzio. Black glaze is mixed with a different binder, of similar appearance, known by the Tarascan term *atáshakua*. This is mined at a site called Tirímikua a short distance above Quiroga. To the black glaze is also added a mineral known as *hormiguera* (or *hormigón*) which comes from Taretan, a short distance below Uruapan on the railroad to Apatzingan,

and *upacua*, copper crystals obtained from Santa Clara de los Cobres, a few kilometers south of Pátzcuaro, or from Zimapán, Hidalgo.

Glazing is usually done the day after the first firing of the oven. Potters who make several kinds of ware — and that includes most in the village — will prepare both types of glaze. The red is simpler. Measuring is done with a small beam balance supporting two small wooden trays. In one goes a small round rock which is said to weigh a *libra* ("pound"), and which appears to weigh a little less. A corresponding amount of glaze is balanced in the other tray. Doña Andrea, however, and many of the other potters, like an expert cook, can judge her ingredients instinctively, and does not bother with the balance. Nevertheless, she and they judge the amount of glaze by *libras*, an interesting terminological survival from the days before the metric system was in common use. The glaze is placed on the metate stone, which is an archeological specimen, legless, and of much harder and finer grain than those in use today. It is crushed a bit with the end of the *mano*, a little water is added, and then it is ground in the same manner as corn. The water carries off the powder into a tray at the foot of the metate, into which a little more water is poured. The finest dust, the *flor*, is held in suspension, and carefully poured over the edge of the tray into a large, open-mouth jar made in Morelia, known as a *lebrillo*. The remainder is returned to the metate, reground, again washed, and so on until all has been reduced to the fine powder. This means grinding and regrinding the same batch five or six times, and with the short *mano* which must be grasped with the finger tips, it is exhausting work.

The *tizar* is ground dry, and since it is chalky, is quickly reduced to a fine dust. This is placed in a tray, and water is added to make a mixture of the consistency of soft putty, which is scooped up in double handfuls into rough round balls. Each ball matches a *libra* of glaze in the mixture, and in spite of its larger bulk is said to weigh about the same. To further refine the *tizar* three or four balls are placed in a small cheesecloth sack, water is added, and a hand is inserted to mix thoroughly and slosh the finest powder through the cloth into a tray. When well soaked the sack is "spanked," for-

cing out most of the rest of the chalk. Finally, the sack is compressed in cottage-cheese fashion to squeeze out any remaining dust, thoroughly soaked, of course. By turns the remaining balls are put through the sack, leaving a small residue of grit which would be harmful to the glaze. Actually, a little grit finds its way through the cloth; to eliminate it the water and *tizar* mixture, of the consistency of cream soup, is carefully poured over the edge of one tray into another. The fine powder remains in suspension, and the grit sinks to the bottom of the first tray, to be thrown out. After a thorough hand stirring the *tizar* is mixed with the *lebrillo* of glaze, and the glaze, of the consistency of house paint, and quite orange in color, is ready to be applied. Twelve to fifteen *libras* of glaze mixed with a corresponding number of handfuls of *tizar* are sufficient for 3 pesos of pottery.

Black glaze is made by grinding together and washing the glaze proper, *hormiguera*, and *atá-shakua*, and then grinding and adding a small quantity of copper crystals. Usually the black glaze is thinned by mixing it with red glaze.

Two or three persons have spent a half day preparing enough glaze to apply to the pots that will fill their kiln for the second firing the same evening. While the women were preparing the glaze—and it is almost exclusively their work—the men have unloaded the kiln, wiping each pot with a rag to remove any dust particles which may cling to it. It is now 1 o'clock in the afternoon, and there is a pause for the main meal of the day. Immediately afterward the family gathers in the patio to apply the glaze. The scene is interesting. In the background is the round oven, shaded by its rough shingle roof. To one side are several stacks of firewood. To the fore, spread over an area of perhaps 20 sq. m., is an array of pottery, giving off a warm, red-brown glow in the sun. In the center of this field of pottery are two or three large *lebrillos*, three or four large wooden trays, and often a small herring tin.

The red glaze is used to completely cover the insides of all pots, for water-proofing purposes. It also serves as the base for the black glaze. This latter is applied in small quantities to the lips of most pots, to give a harder, more resistant finish. Especially on *chocolateros*, and on a few pots of each firing it is put on the top

half of the entire outside. In such cases the entire outside of the pot is also covered with red glaze. At the time of the glazing slightly cracked pots are "cured." This may be done by making a paste in a potsherd of the basic mixture of red and white clays, and applying it with a small stick to cracks. Black glaze itself is also used, a thickened mixture being applied with a twig or leaf. Small cracks are thus completely repaired, although the pot, because it is patched, has a lower value.

The sight of a family applying the glaze reveals well-established motor patterns, developed over a period of years, which permit an astonishing amount of work to be done in a short time. Doña Andrea is the dominating person in her household, the master of all steps of the work. She kneels like a proud matron, surrounded by her pots and her offspring, shaded from the sun by a man's battered straw hat. The small *cazuelas*, *chucherías*, and tiny pots come first, because they are the most time consuming. In her right hand she holds the object over a large *lebrillo* filled with red glaze. With her left hand she splashes a little of the creamy mixture inside the pot, turns it upside down to drain off any excess, and lays it to one side. The work is so rapid, and so much splashing is inevitable, that streaks of glaze run down the outsides of all vessels. Gabino stands by, moving new objects within her reach.

A minute behind her on all steps is Faustino, who dips his hand into a pot of black glaze, smears a little around the rim of each object, and splashes a few drops in the bottom of the *cazuelas* for decoration. From time to time she stops to add a little water to the mixture, to pour a little more red glaze into the black, to keep her mixtures at the proper consistency at all times. Next come the largest *ollas* and *cántaros*. Gabino or Faustino picks one up, holds it over the *lebrillo*, and Doña Andrea scoops a herring tin full into the bottom. The boy, with a quick circular motion, swishes the mixture around, turns the pot over and allows any surplus to curl out. This process calls for swift dexterity; since the glaze dries rapidly and tends to cake, patching is difficult. Nevertheless, an occasional small dry spot remains inside the pot, to which a little more glaze is added. For the smaller pots Doña Andrea herself holds

them in her right hand, scoops up enough of the creamy liquid with her left, swirls the pot and pours out the excess. Often Macaria or Otelia will do this work, while Doña Andrea supervises the placing of the black glaze on a few of the large pots and on all of the *chocolateros*. This is critical work: the red glaze must be just dry enough, and not too much so. A few seconds too early, or a few seconds too late, and the black glaze will not adhere. Hence, the most expert potter of the household is the one who does this. After application the red glaze quickly dries to a light cream color; both before and after application the black glaze has a much darker, slightly greenish cast. Only a limited number of objects can have large coverings of black glaze. If two such pots come into contact with each other in the oven they fuse solidly, and when separated the stronger will lift out a perfectly circular piece from the wall of the other. In spite of all precautions, most firings produce a pot or two, perfect except for this small hole.

As soon as the large pots have been covered, Faustino, Wenceslao, and Gabino begin to fill them with smaller pieces, carefully adjusting each one so that even the narrow rims of black glaze will not come into contact with each other. Each large pot is carried to the kiln and again fitted into its precise place. Those with black glaze outside are placed on small sherds sprinkled with granules of red earth; this prevents sticking to the grate of the kiln. Little by little, by a miracle of packing, the hundreds of pottery objects of all sizes disappear into the kiln, the covering sherds are placed, and, about sundown, the fire is started. Since the pots have already been fired, the heat is built up more rapidly than the first time. Any kind of wood is used at this stage. After 2 to 3 hours there is a deep bed of coals in the firebox, and from between the cracks in the covering sherds one sees the dull red glow of the pottery. Now most of the coals are raked out and extinguished with water. More wood, this time pine rich in resin, is thrown in. The resulting fire blazes fiercely, the pots turn from dull to bright red, and then almost white. Blue flames shoot from beneath the sherd covering of the oven, and the heat is so intense that the spectators must move back. The first, longer firing is to heat the pot-

tery thoroughly; the second shorter, intense heat is to fuse the glaze with the clay so that a perfectly homogeneous union occurs. After half an hour Faustino lifts a sherd, with a couple of sticks removes a white hot *cazuelita*, taps it, approves the clear ring, judges the fusing to be done, and allows the fire to die down. The second firing, though of shorter duration than the first, requires more wood because of its intensity, usually an extra burro load. Thus, an average oven needs two loads for the first firing, and three for the second.

In most firings there will be a small number of pots which do not come out perfectly. "Nati," I asked one morning after a firing, "why has this pot turned out to have a yellow-green cast instead of the usual transparent red?" "*Salíó sin redetir*" she replied, metathesizing her *derretir*. "It didn't melt." "And these mottled green *boleras*?" I continued. Sheepishly she replied that her black glaze mixture was not quite perfect, and that the *ojo de perro* ("dog eye") color had resulted. "Sometimes a part of the grate falls, and some of the pots fall in the coals. They also look the same way." She was piqued by her failure in technical perfection, but not worried. "In other towns they think that the green is a secret glaze which we only make occasionally. In the market they will pay \$0.05 more for each green *bolera*." Failure is not often so well rewarded.

Time estimates on the various stages of the work are difficult to make because of varying numbers of individuals working, and because of frequent interruptions due to holidays and festivals. Ideally, each family plans on turning out a kilnful of pots each week. As often as not, this schedule is interrupted, and a walk through town will disclose different families engaged in all activities. The first firing will be done most often on a Wednesday night, and the second the following Thursday. This pottery can then be carried to the Friday Pátzcuaro market, or to the slightly more distant towns with Saturday and Sunday markets. Monday morning will find more men at the mines than any other day. An energetic man with three mules can bring three loads from Cerro Colorado in a long morning, and three more loads from La Capilla or the Panteón in the afternoon. More commonly, potters have burros,

which carry only half as much. Each full "load" is about enough to make one peso of pottery. Hence, the fortunate man with mules can get enough in 1 day for 2 weeks' work; the less fortunate are obliged to come each week, if their womenfolk keep up with them. Estimates based on observations suggest the following times to make one peso of pottery (one person working):

Pulverizing the dried earth with the large boulder	2 hours
Grinding on the metate (somewhat less time if sieve method is used)	4 hours
Measuring and mixing earths	1/2 hour
Kneading the mixture	2 hours
<hr/>	
Total: one long day of very hard work	

Making assorted pots	1 day
Polishing, placing handles	1/2 day
Preparing glaze and putting it on pots ..	1 day
Getting wood for both firings	1-2 days

Thus, if one person did all the work, in 5 to 6 days he could turn out 1 peso of pottery worth about \$24 at current wholesale rates in Tzintzuntzan, resulting in a wage of about \$4 a day, which is double that of hired laborers. Actually, this sequence is never followed to its logical conclusion. Nevertheless, it gives a pretty good idea of what a potter's time is worth.

Expenses are primarily limited to the glaze, which sells in Pátzcuaro at \$1.20 a kilo, the *hormiguera*, at \$1.00 a kilo, and copper at \$3.00 a kilo. Since these supplies will do for several pesos of pottery, glaze is a relatively minor expense, even though one grumbles about the rise in prices.

Normally two or three or more persons will work together, sometimes doing different tasks, stopping to gossip, to prepare a meal, to break the monotony of the work. The potter's art is a dirty profession, but it has its compensations. Best of all is the quietness of the work, the social opportunities to talk with others, and considerable variety in the tasks one does in a week. Compared to petate making, adobe making, or a dozen other professions, it is not as monotonous as might be expected. The principal occupational hazard is "dishpan hands." The constant dipping of the hands in water, the dirt, the glaze, cause chapping which develops into ugly cracks, often forcing the potter to rest for a few days.

It has been stated that each *barrio* in Tzintzuntzan specializes in a special type of pottery (Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, p. 245). This is true only to a limited extent. In the *barrio* of Yahuarro there are four families who make nothing but *comales*, in the three basic large sizes. These are the only families that make *comales* on a commercial scale, although other families may have a few molds and make them occasionally. Three families in Pueblo Nuevo specialize in *cazuelas*, but only up to the *de a cuatro* size. Two families, one in Pueblo Nuevo, and one in El Rincón make *cazuelas* up to the largest size, the *guajoloterías*. The remaining families, far and away the great bulk, make a bit of everything—*ollas* and *cántaros* of all sizes, and small *cazuelas*. This is because it is easiest to sell a variety of wares.

ARTISTIC WARE

Two specialized kinds of pottery are made on a limited scale. The *tinaja* is a slipped and burnished ware which, judging by archeological specimens, is of prehistoric origin. The other, the *loza blanca* or "white pottery," is a recent flowering of tableware, made only by Doña Andrea and her daughter Natividad. It is based on an older *pinipite* ware much favored by the Tarascans, but since it involves glazing it obviously is a post-Conquest technique. The *tinaja* ware is made in the same manner as other pottery, though in a reduced number of shapes, principally *ollas*. To withstand the force of the burnisher the wall is somewhat thicker, and the handles lack the characteristic groove found on glazed pots. Also, there is one firing only. The red slip is known as *charáspikua* (T. "red thing"), and is brought from plentiful deposits near the town of Acuitzio, near Morelia. The Tzintzuntzan potters go with their animals, taking several pots as gifts to the owners of the land, and are allowed in return to gather as much as they can carry. This earth is dried, ground on a metate, mixed with water and splashed with the hands on all of the exterior except the bottom of pots which have been sun-dried. After the slip dries an hour or two, burnishing begins. This is done with a special instrument, a piece of pyrites or a quartz crystal hafted to a short handle of *colorín* wood with

a mixture of turpentine and red pottery earth. The burnishing must be done at precisely the right instant, i. e., as soon as none of the slip flakes. If worked too soon, the pot becomes dull in color. If one delays too long, streaks appear after burnishing. In this case the pot is lost, since it is too heavy to be subsequently glazed for general sale.

The distribution and form of the design is standard in most cases, and allows little opportunity for individual variation. There is a narrow polished rim at the lip of the *olla*, beneath which there is a series of crossed lines circling the pot. A solid area several centimeters high, which passes through the handles, themselves entirely burnished on the outside, goes around the pot. A narrow space beneath this is partially burnished with various designs, and slightly below the middle of the pot another solid band is placed. Some pots have the upper solid band decorated with designs painted in white and black. This, and the design in the open central band, furnish the only real opportunities for the artist to display his imagination.

The *bruñidor*, or burnisher, is gripped like a golf club, with the point at the bases of the palm, away from the thumb. With few exceptions the instrument is drawn toward the body, and not away. This method of holding and working the pot permits maximum stability and control of the design. Two burnishers are needed, one with a rather sharp point, for fine lines, and another with a transverse central ridge with two flat sides, much like a gabled roof in form, for the solid areas. The order of work, illustrated by figure 14, is as follows.

1. *Cruzaditos*, the neck crosses, are placed with alternate slanting lines. When working behind the handles it is necessary to push the instrument away from the body; otherwise it is drawn inward.

2. The lip of the neck is burnished.

3. At approximately the base of the handles, or a little below, a complete circular line is made. The burnisher is held firmly and the pot rolled away from the artist. Two similar lines, 4 and 5, are made lower down, equidistant, to mark out the space for the main design and the lower solid area.

6. The main design is burnished, using one or a combination of standard patterns such as *caracolitos* ("snails") or *flores* ("flowers") and so forth, entirely circling the pot.

7 and 8. If painting is to be done between the handles, this follows. Black paint goes first, often in

the form of a narrow solid horizontal line joining the handles. Black paint may also, though not necessarily, serve as the contrasting base for white. The white paint, in *ramitos* ("little branches") and *palmitas* ("little palms") is then added. Placing of these designs is entirely by eye.

9 and 10. The bottom solid area is filled in, then the top, burnishing over the painted designs.

11. Finally, the handles are burnished. the handles. Black paint may also, though not neces-

The lid, if any, may be painted and burnished solidly, or filled in with a burnished design only.



FIGURE 14.—*Tinaja* design techniques. Numbers indicate the order of application of the design motives.

False lines may be erased by the use of saliva. When fired, the pot loses some of the rich, dark-brown color which it has, and turns more reddish. Patricio Estrada, the master of *tinaja* ware, says that pure burnishing is the older technique, and that white and black painting was introduced at the time of the industrial school during the 1930's. The white paint is a commercial product which comes from Guadalajara and sells for \$7 a kilo. The black is ground-up *hormiguera* mixed with water. Brushes are home-made from the fur of puppies, squirrels, burros, or foxes. *Tinaja* working is said to be hard on the eyes, and the strain of gripping the burnisher often leads to rheumatism. One never wets the hands while doing this work.

Each worker has his favorite designs, though there are no copyrights and any one is free to work as he pleases. Patricio says that the older designs are *floreado* ("flowered"), *palmitas*

("little palms"), *ramitos* ("little branches"), and *cruzaditos* ("little crosses"). New designs are the *culebrilla con hojitas* ("little serpent with little leaves"), and *caracolito* ("little snail"). Patricio picked up the latter from a design card in the Pátzcuaro market. *Floreado*, he thinks, is the prettiest, and also the most difficult to make. *Simplasuche*, the flower of the dead, is a design used in the stonework of some

adapted to the painted decoration between handles. In some of the illustrated designs (fig. 15) the order of application of the strokes is indicated by number.

Patricio Estrada owns two molds for *bottlellones*, the characteristic pottery water jar of Mexico. Since the neck is too small to permit passage of the hand when molding in the usual fashion, the bottom is left open when the two halves are joined so that the inside can be smoothed. Then, inside the base, a narrow rim of clay is fastened about 2 cm. from the bottom. A round clay pancake is made, and pressed against this rim, closing the jar. A second narrow ring is added to seal the weld, the bottom is smoothed, and the new *botellón* is left to dry.

The small *tinaja* bird-shaped water jar (fig. 16, *b*) is especially interesting because it is the only pottery form now made in Tzintzuntzan that is distinctly pre-Conquest in flavor. The painted designs are, of course, modern additions. Patricio has one mold which he inherited from his father; when it is broken, in all probability no more birds will be made.

Prices of *tinaja* ware are about the same as for glazed ware of the same sizes. The extra time spent in burnishing is compensated for by the omission of glazing and the second firing. Eight families make pottery of this type.

Loza blanca, as made by Natividad and her mother Doña Andrea, is from an esthetic standpoint the most satisfying ware made in Tzintzuntzan. Complete table sets consisting of dinner and dessert plates, consommé cups and lids, cups and saucers, soup bowls, soup tureens, platters, vases, fruit bowls, and candlesticks are made. Plates, platters, cups and bowls are formed over a mold of the same type as that used for a *comal*. Soup tureens and vases are made with a two-piece mold. Fruit bowls are ingeniously made by joining the base of a large bowl to that of a smaller one, the smaller inverted bowl serving as stand. The same clay mixtures used for other pottery are necessary, but because the ware is thinner, breakage is more common. The dried dishes are bathed in a slip of white earth, and this wetting of the plates also causes additional breakage. After firing, designs are painted on with a dog's-hair brush, using the standard black glaze mixture as paint. Nati is a

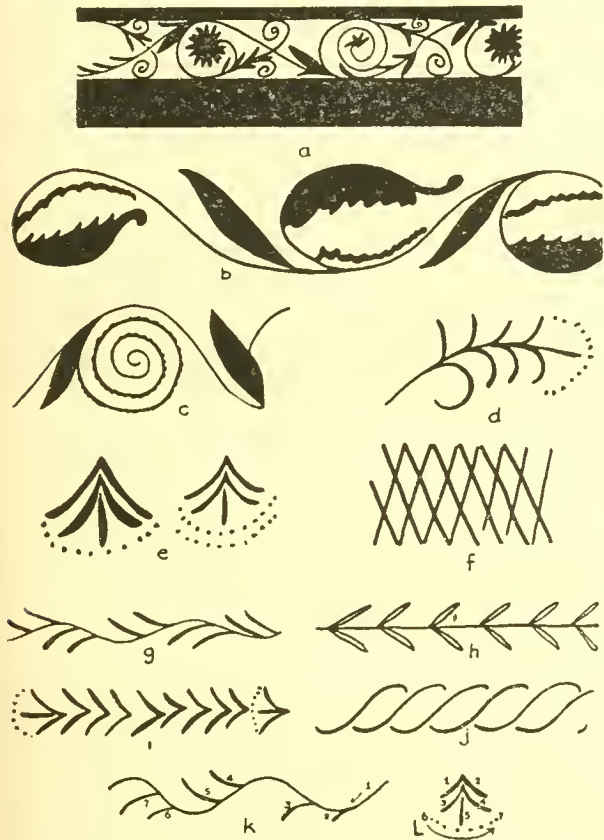


FIGURE 15.—*Tinaja* design elements: *a*, *simplasuche*; *b*, *floreado*; *c*, *caracolito*; *d*, *e*, *ramitos*; *f*, *cruzaditos*; *g*, *culebra con hojitas*; *h*, *i*, *palmitas*; *j*, unnamed. *k*, *l*, Order of application of strokes is indicated by numbers.

Franciscan churches. Patricio picked the idea up from an example in the parish church. Some designs lend themselves particularly well to certain spaces and certain pots. *Culebrilla con hojitas* and *palmitas* can be used only on pots of *de a cuatro* and smaller, since they do not satisfactorily fill larger spaces. The *floreado* and *caracolita* designs are best used in wider areas. *Cruzaditos* are usually limited to the neck area. *Palmitas* and *ramitos* are especially

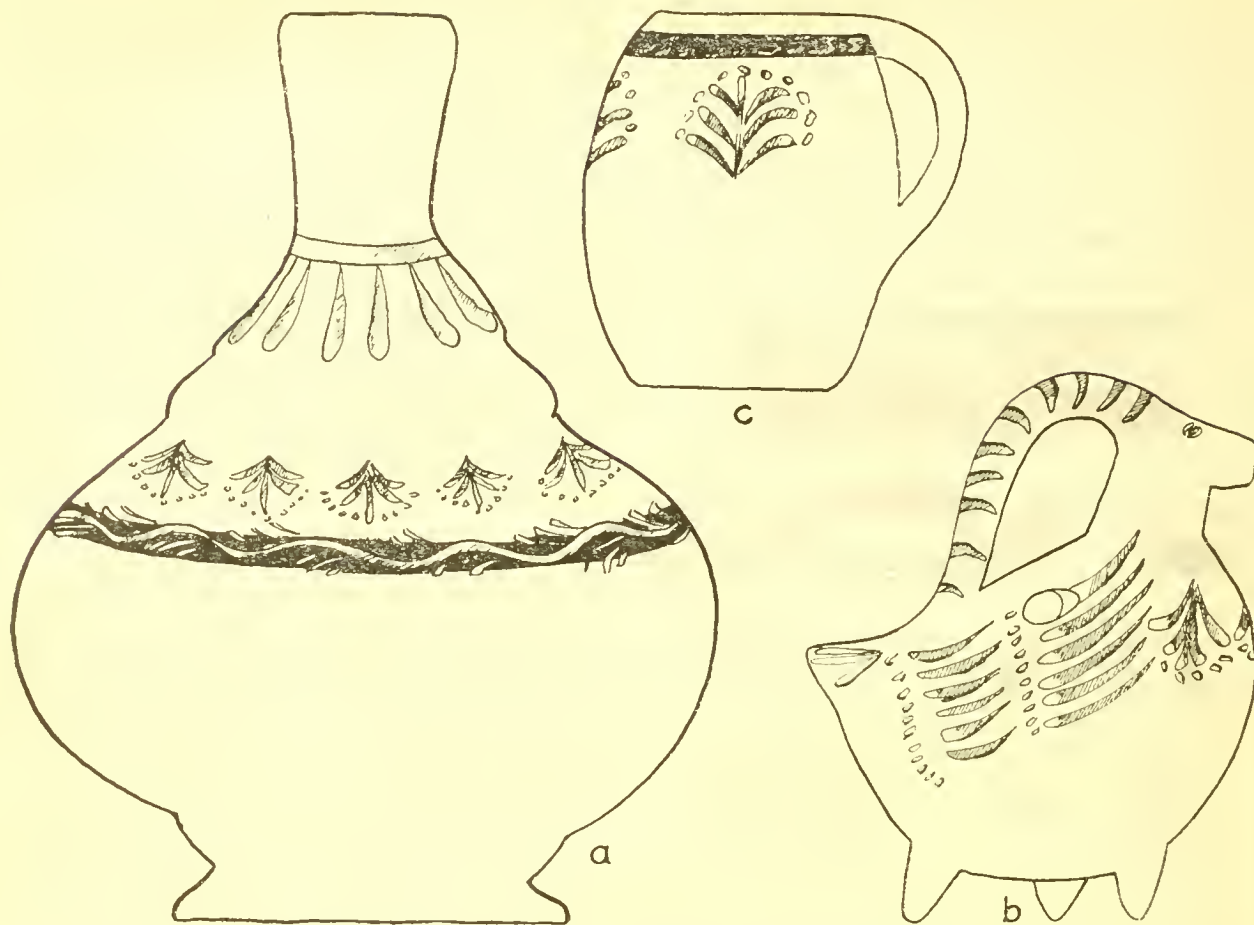


FIGURE 16.—*Tinaja* forms. a, Water jar (*botellón*). b, Bird water jar. c, Beer mug.

true "primitive," as can be seen from her representations of men and women, of fishing scenes in the lake, of mother pigs suckling their young, or of cows, burros, horses, and birds. After a batch has been painted each dish is dipped in the red glaze, actually a cream color in this stage, which obscures the design. After firing, the glaze becomes transparent and the design shows through. Figures 17, 18, and 19 illustrate *loza blanca* designs.

Loza blanca is an ancient technique which has been modernized. When Doña Andrea moved to Tzintzuntzan from Quiroga about 1902 and took up pottery, there was one old woman who made *pinípites*, decorated only with the *palmita* design, for sale to the Tarascans of La Vuelta. Doña Andrea learned this technique, and carried on with the one form and design, teaching it to Natividad when the latter began to make pottery. Natividad, who is far more of

an artist than her mother, began to experiment with designs of birds and animals and flowers, but still with the old basic form.

About 1940 a tourist guide, Manuel Valensuelo, recognized the possibilities of this ware, and asked Natividad to make a large *comal* painted with birds, flowers, and so forth. This turned out so well that he asked for a complete set of plates, and suggested other designs such as fish, people, canoes, and nets, but warned her against the needlepoint design cards sold in all markets, and other artistic dangers of civilization such as cars and trains. Subsequently he suggested the fruit dish and drew a design. Nati saw in it the form of the two bowls of unequal size, and by placing a large one on the base of an upturned smaller one, she solved the technical problem. Valensuelo called the attention of a Mexico City curio dealer to the new ware, and he contracted to buy as much as she



FIGURE 17.—Loza blanca plate designs.



FIGURE 18.—*Loza blanca* pottery designs. Illustrated are platters, bowls, cups, and plates.

could make. In recent years Natividad has experimented with new forms and designs, and has been copied by her mother, though less successfully. Some of this ware has been exported to the United States for sale at fancy prices in New York and San Francisco. Nati also makes men on horseback, some with swords, of *loza blanca*, and occasionally tries freehand modeling of human figures, or Tarascan canoes with their clay fishermen.

The artistry in most Tzintzuntzan pottery lies in its function. It is simple ware, well made, for specific utilitarian purposes to which it is well adapted. The average potter works skillfully, at a steady pace, doing a sound, thorough job, neither skimping nor paying more attention

to an individual piece than is deemed necessary. The standard forms are graceful and esthetically satisfying primarily because they do well the job for which they are intended. Decorations on this utilitarian ware are limited to the occasional notches pressed into the rims of *cazuelas*, a few *bolera* and *media bolera* forms with vertical fluted sides, a rare small *chocolatero* with a human face beneath the spout, and the splotches of black glaze thrown on the bottoms of small *cazuelas*. Some *ollas* with black glaze may show variations in handles, with perhaps an additional ring of clay placed horizontally between them and notched, for purely ornamental purposes.

Except for the ware of Patricio Estrada and

that of Ladislao Alonso, the *tinaja* ware is poorly and clumsily executed, of no artistic merit whatsoever. These two potters are thorough masters of their art, and though their design combinations vary within narrow limits only, their work is sound and attractive. Natividad Peña is, however, the only potter who may properly be called an artist. Entirely on her own she began playing with new designs which had



FIGURE 19.—*Loza blanca* vase. Height, 30 cm.

occurred to no one in her pueblo, and with a little outside encouragement has gone far beyond these original attempts. Each visit to her house reveals a new attempt — a copy of a jar excavated from the *yácatas*, a new dish shape, a new bird or animal painted on her plates, or a different modeling of a human figure, just for the joy of modeling. Her painting is, of course, entirely from memory, and perspective and proportion often play strange tricks. Her designs are simply — even crudely — executed, but at the same time show a strength which unqualifiedly marks her as the primitive artist.

Her artistic and financial successes, the latter very relative, shed an interesting sidelight on the mentality of the community. Several other women, envying the increased monetary reward, have asked to be instructed, and Nati, the soul of hospitality, not only instructed them but sold them the white earth for the slip so that they

would not have to make a long trip to obtain it. For several days they worked with her, and then returned home to do it themselves. Apparently the technique of slipping is so delicate that only the most practiced hand can do it, and on this point the others fell down; so much breakage occurred that, discouraged, they returned to their utilitarian ware. The nature of Nati's work has meant that tourists and other outsiders come to her home more frequently than to other homes, to buy or simply to watch. This is the perfect opening for envious townspeople, who calumniate her for hobnobbing with the outsiders, selling out to them, charging too much for her pottery, and generally bringing shame to the pueblo. Nobody in Tzintzuntzan can stand to see another person successful, and Nati's worst detractors are those whom she tried to teach. Not a single person, either to Nati directly, or to me, has ever expressed pride that the town has a unique potter, who makes things unknown in other towns, so lovely that people come from great distances to see and buy.

Nati herself is far from the stereotype of the artist. Temperamentally she is the most stable of persons, and her home life is exceptional in the mutual understanding and companionship which exist between her and Vicente. Her children are far better cared for than the average, and their politeness and manners are outstanding in a village where most children dart out of doors to hoot after strangers. Nati is pleased that outsiders like her work, and is always delighted to show how she does it. Vicente, who was a *rescatón* and farmer before he married her, has learned the simpler phases of this work, and almost invariably will be found working with her, as pleased as she when the uncovering of the kiln reveals little breakage.

MOLDS

Two potters are specialists in the making of molds: José María Huipe, the old reliable, and Magdaleno A., who provides comic diversion. Magdaleno has a semiannual cycle of living. For 3 months he works constantly, building up a cash reserve. Then he goes on a continual binge which lasts 3 months, spending his money, then selling his clothing and other possessions

down to his last shirt. At this point he sobers up, becomes the model hard worker, and builds up his resources until he can again repeat the process.

Molds are made by covering an *olla* or *cántaro* with clay to a thickness of 1 to 3 cm., depending on its size, in two separate halves, which are temporarily joined with small lumps at the point of union after the *olla* or *cántaro* is taken out. *Cazuela* and *comal* molds are made by covering the inside of a finished product with clay to a sufficient thickness to support the weight and pressure of molding, adding the handle in the center, and drying. Both types of molds are fired along with other pottery. Most families make their own small molds; larger ones are more difficult, and with greater frequency are bought from the specialists. Molds are worth about as much as simple glazed ware of the corresponding size.

Broken molds are sometimes repaired by sticking the pieces together with pitch.

DISTRIBUTION AND SALE

The price of finished pottery depends upon the distance of the market from Tzintzuntzan. For the more common pieces it was possible to establish average prices in Tzintzuntzan itself, in Pátzcuaro, a half day away, with pack animals, and in Taretan, 2 days' distance with animals. In Tzintzuntzan there are both wholesale and retail prices; in other towns, only retail. Many of the *rescatones*, in addition to carrying the pottery made by their wives, fill out with purchases from people who do not want to be bothered with selling or, perhaps, from widows or elderly men who are unable to pack and carry their pottery to market. These purchases, though representing a variety of shapes and sizes, are almost invariably expressed in terms of pesos or reales of pottery. A strong mule can carry about one peso of pottery; a burro half as much. On one trip Wenceslao Peña carried two pesos of pottery made by his wife, and one additional peso purchased from two different individuals:

From seller A	{ 3 reales of <i>de a medio</i> pots—6 pots 1 real of <i>de a cuatro</i> pots—8 pots
From seller B	{ 2 reales of <i>de a seis</i> pots—24 pots 2 reales of <i>de a ocho</i> pots—32 pots
Total:	8 reales, or one peso

The average price of one peso of pottery is \$22 to \$24, which figures out at a unit cost considerably less than that charged retail in Tzintzuntzan. The retail and wholesale unit prices in Tzintzuntzan, and the retail prices in Pátzcuaro and Taretan of the more common sizes are given in the following tabulation:

Prices of Tzintzuntzan pottery in three towns

Pottery	Tzintzuntzan		Pátzcuaro	Taretan
	Wholesale	Retail	Retail	Retail
Olla or cántaro:				
½ Bolera.....	\$ 0.06	\$ 0.075	\$ 0.10	\$ 0.10
Bolera.....	.09	.105	.125	.15
Atolera.....	.125	.125	.155	.25
De a 10.....	.15	.15	.20	.35
De a 8.....	.19	.20	.25	.45
De a 6.....	.25	.35	.40	.75
De a 4.....	.375	.45	.50	1.00
Kuicha.....	.50	.70	.75	1.50
Tacha.....	.75	1.00	1.25	2.00
De a medio.....	1.50	2.25	2.50	3.00
Cazuelas:				
Pajarera (½ bolera)..	....	.025	.05	.075
Turquera (bolera)....	....	.055	.10	.15
Mantequera (atolera)..	....	.15	.20	.30
De a 10.....	....	.20	.25	.40
De a 8.....	....	.25	.30	.50
De a 6.....	....	.40	.60	1.00
De a 4.....	....	.50	.75	1.50
Kuicha.....	....	.65	1.00	2.00
Tacha.....	....	1.50	2.00	3.00
Buñuelera (de a medio)	....	2.00	2.75	4.00
Sopera (de a un real)	....	3.00	4.00	5.00
Guajolotera (de a dos reales).....	....	6.00	8.00	10.00

Comales are much less expensive, ranging up to \$1.00 in Tzintzuntzan for the largest size. A heavy coating of black glaze increases the value of *ollas* from 30 percent to 60 percent, depending upon the amount of glaze used. On the longer trips the large *de a medio* pots appreciate in value only about 100 percent, as against 200 percent to 300 percent for smaller sizes. At first glance it would appear that they would not be worth lugging along. Actually their value lies in their use in packing. Up to four dozen *media boleras* and smaller numbers of larger pots can be packed in such a large pot, with no danger of breakage. Hence, the large pot is an ideal carrying vehicle and would be taken, even if the price were no higher than in Tzintzuntzan. Packing is done in special crates or *huacales*, which consist of strips of *quique* stalk lashed to the outside of half a dozen large

pots placed in line, the bottom of one fitting snugly in the mouth of the next. Breakage is minimized by a liberal use of zacate grass. *Comales*, stacked like plates, and *cazuelas*, like bowls, are packed in the same manner.

During the 4 months of heaviest rains, from June through September, pottery production falls to perhaps half that of the remainder of the year. For one thing, many men are busy in their milpas. Also, it is more difficult to dry pots before firing, and breakage is correspondingly higher. Curiously, prices paid for pottery are lower during this period of reduced production. The demand drops even more sharply than the supply. A majority of the buyers outside of Tzintzuntzan are agricultural people, or depend on the purchases of such persons for their own income. But the rainy period is just that of least income for farmers: they must await the ripening of maize in October to have cash. Usually they try to buy all the pottery they will need during the dry season when money is more plentiful, and then try to coast through the rains. Pottery prices are off about 25 percent during the rains.

TILE

An unimportant aspect of the potter's art is tile making, which is practiced on a small scale by several individuals. A wooden frame consisting of slats 3 cm. wide and 1 cm. thick, of the length and breadth of the desired tile (fig. 20) is used to mold the tortillas. It is placed on a flat stone, and the roll of clay in the center is patted with a flat stone until it completely fills the mold. Any surplus above the level of the wood is trimmed off with a wire. The tortilla is picked up in the frame and dropped over the mold, a tapering log of wood of the same length as the mold, 14 cm. in diameter at the large end, 12 cm. at the small end, with 8 cm. handles. The clay is pushed out of the frame with the hands and smoothed over the mold. A few minutes later the mold is drawn out by the handle at the long end. Tile should dry for 4 days before firing. The earth used is a mixture of Panteón and a red earth known as *colorado barrosa* found a little farther up the slope of Tariaqueri, which is not satisfactory for pots.

If a few tiles only are made they can be fired

in a pottery kiln. Better, they are placed in a special kiln basically like that used for pottery, but square, and of larger cubic dimensions. When the highway was being constructed large kilns were specially built and fired all night. In smaller tile kilns the same relative heat that

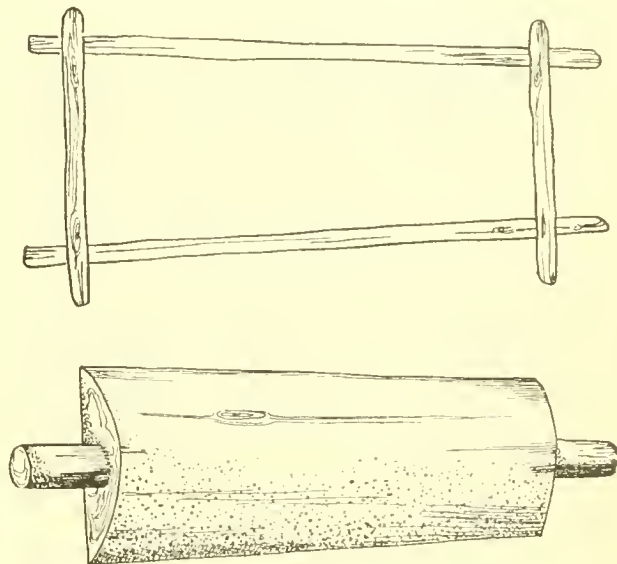


FIGURE 20.—Tile-making equipment. Top, Wooden frame for forming clay; bottom, tapered wooden form to mold the tile.

is needed for glazing is provided. A good worker can mix enough earth for 130 tiles in one day, which he molds the next day. In 1945 local tiles sold for \$115 per 1,000. Allowing time to mine the earth, provide the wood for the firing, and other incidentals, two men working together can be expected to make 1,000 tiles each in three weeks. The rate of return is not far from that of regular pottery making. Tile making is, however, primarily a dry season job because tiles must be left in the sun for a relatively long period. They take up so much space that they cannot be kept indoors, as can pots, before firing. Hence, tilemakers turn to agriculture or straight pottery during the rains.

FISHING

Fishing, with 4 full-time and 15 part-time fishermen, is the third most important industry in Tzintzuntzan. All fishermen are Tarascans, and they maintain close cultural and economic ties with the inhabitants of Ichupio and Ojo de

Agua, where fishing (along with agriculture during the rainy season) is the principal occupation. Tzintzuntzan fishermen usually work with fishermen from these settlements, either hiring them as peons to help or going themselves to work for them as peons.

FISH TAKEN

The principal commercial fishes are included in three genera. Most famous and highly esteemed is the *pescado blanco* ("white fish," *T. churucha*), a fresh water smelt of the genus *Chirostoma*. Several very similar species are found, the most important of which are *estor*, *jordani*, *bartoni*, and *michoacanae*. Members of the same genus are found in a number of other Mexican lakes, including nearby Zirahuén, Chapala, and Xochimilco. The *khurepu* is the young of these species; economically it may be considered a different type since it is taken in a different manner and, unlike the larger ones, preserved by drying. The young *Chirostoma bartoni* is known as *charal* (*T. charari*). The delicately flavored but bony *akúmara* (*Algansea lacustris*) is the favorite of many people for eating. Several small species of minnow-like fish are known collectively as *thiru* (*Allostoca vivipara*, *Neophorus diazi*, *Skiffia lermac*, *Goodea huitpoldii*).

The *trucha* is the large-mouth black bass (*Micropterus salmoides*) and not, as the name indicates, a trout. The date of its introduction in Lake Pátzcuaro is open to question. The Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca (1937, p. 154), states that the black bass was first introduced into Mexico "about" 1910, and into Lake Pátzcuaro in 1929. This date is 1 year earlier than the beginning of the term of governorship of Lázaro Cárdenas, who is popularly credited with the innovation. Checked with corollary information it appears to be about correct. By 1937 the *trucha* had so multiplied as to constitute a serious threat to the young of the indigenous species, and Tarascan fishermen firmly believe that it is responsible for the almost complete disappearance of the *thiru*.

FISHING TECHNIQUES

Net fishing, mostly from canoes, is the only important commercial technique, though occa-

sionally a gig is used for bass, and hooks baited with angleworms formerly were used for the *thiru*. The largest net is the *chinchorro*, a seine which averages from 100 to 150 m. in length and 8 m. in width, with a mesh of about 2 cm. The middle section is of finer mesh than the rest, and in the form of a *bolsa* or pocket, whose position in the water is marked by a gourd float. A stout maguey fiber rope runs along the top and bottom of this net, the top rope piercing 15-cm. long floats of the light *colorín* wood. Sinkers in the form of unworked stones of 4 to 8 kilos are tied to the lower rope when fishing for bass; otherwise sinkers are not used. The seine is used for all kinds of fish, but especially for white fish and bass.

The *cherémekua* is a gill net which is made in two sizes: a very fine mesh of 0.7 to 0.8 cm. for the *khurepu*, and a larger mesh of about 2.8 cm. for white fish. Size of nets, however, is measured by number of meshes, and not by meters. Thus, both have a width of 60 or 80 meshes which, since they are oblique to the horizontal, means a width of 60 or 80 cm. for the small gill net, and three to four times that for the large one. Lengths are in terms of sections of 500 meshes, ranging up to 2,500 or 3,000 as a maximum. Gill nets may be joined together to form huge nets far longer than the seine, with a maximum length of perhaps 250 m.

The only present commercial value of the beautiful *mariposa* ("butterfly") or *cuchara* ("spoon") net (*T. uiripu*), which in the mind of the tourist is the typical net of the lake, is the income derived from posing for pictures. It is a dip net formed from two semicircular pieces of wood hafted to shorter grooved cross bars which in turn are fastened to the handle. The drawing (fig. 21) is that of a model; real nets have a much wider grooved cross bar than that shown in detail, often 2 to 4 m. in diameter. Full-size nets are from 3 to 7 m. in diameter, and perhaps two-thirds as wide.

The fish gig is composed of two barbed iron points from 50 to 100 cm. in length. These are hafted to a wooden shaft so that they are 3 or 4 cm. apart, and the shaft in turn is hafted to a bamboo pole, so that the entire instrument may have a length of 3 m. The gig proper was observed, but no completely assembled instrument was found.

Canoes are made in the sierra and are of two standard types, both dugouts: the *tepari*, or large fishing and traveling canoes, and the smaller *icháruta*, for some types of fishing, duck hunting, and light transportation. Canoe sizes are measured by *varas* of 80 cm. The largest canoe is a *tepari de a 14*, meaning 14 *varas* long (11.2 m.) while the smaller *teparis* may be no more than 8 *varas*. The small *icháru-*

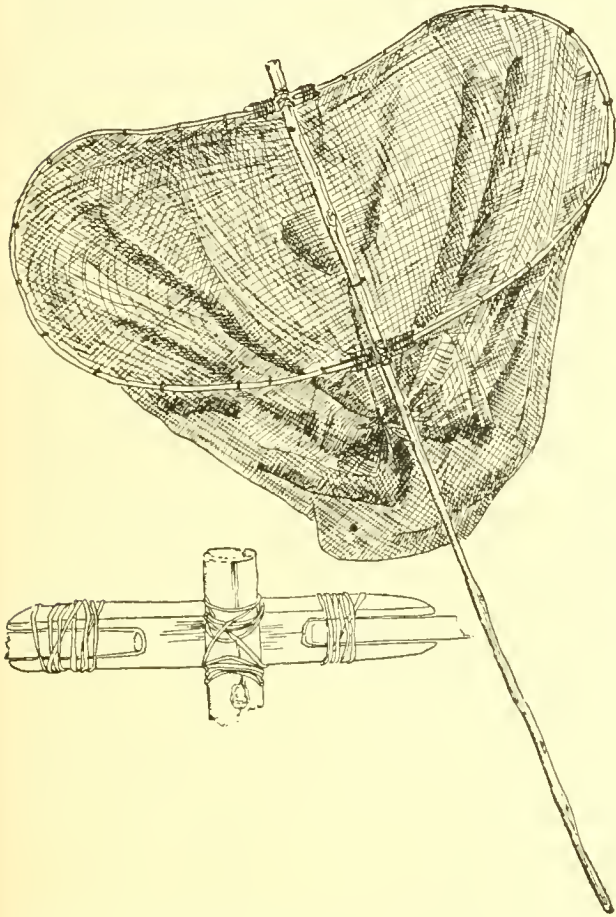


FIGURE 21.—Butterfly fishnet. The inset shows the manner of lashing the net frame to the long pole by means of a rigid wooden section. This drawing is of a model. Large nets have a much longer wooden cross section, up to 2 or more meters.

ta are from 3 to 8 *varas*. The large canoes are both rowed and paddled, the small canoes paddled only.

The standard *chinchorro* fishing party consists of four persons. Usually they are all men, though it is not uncommon to see one or two women helping. Fishing takes place any

time from before dawn until dusk. Most of the work, however, is done in the morning because winds in the afternoon make navigation difficult, and at times dangerous. Fishing is done in shallow water, rarely more than 3 m. deep. Since the lake is very shallow in most parts, and the bottom slopes out very gradually, the canoe may work at a considerable distance from the shore.

To fish for white fish, the seine is placed in the middle of the canoe, tended by two men. One man paddles in the stern and guides the canoe, and another rows at the bow. A place with little seaweed is selected, and the two men start to throw the net, beginning with the right-hand end. One man passes it from the bottom of the canoe to the second, who places it overboard so that a wide bow or semicircle is described. At each end of the net, separated from the meshes by a meter or two, is a wooden spreader of the same diameter as the net itself. Ropes from each end of the spreader converge to a strong cable which may be a hundred meters long and which terminates in the canoe. After placing the net the canoe is moved away until it occupies a position equidistant between the net ends, and from 50 to 100 m. away. If the fishing is near the shore there are probably stout poles permanently stuck in the bottom, to which the canoe is tied with a rope from bow and stern; if further from the shore, a strong pole 6 m. or more long is carried and driven into the soft mud.

To draw in the net a fisherman stands in the bow, loops one of the cables around his waist, protected with heavy cloth padding, and bracing his hands on the gunwales and his feet on the bottom, pulls backward to the stern, at which time his place in the front is taken by a second fisherman who draws the opposite cable. Thus, by alternate pulls the cables are drawn in and the net assumes more and more a horseshoe form (fig. 22). When the spreaders and net ends reach the canoe they are pulled in by hand by all four participants, two taking the top sides and two the bottom sides. As the pocket approaches, marked by the floating gourd, the tempo quickens, until during the last few seconds hands are fairly flashing in the sunlight. Finally the pocket is drawn in and the catch dumped on the canoe floor, to be tossed out of

the way to the bow, accompanied by remarks of satisfaction or disappointment, according to the quantity. Depending on net size and amount of seaweed, the time for placing the *chinchorro* varies from 3 to 5 minutes, and

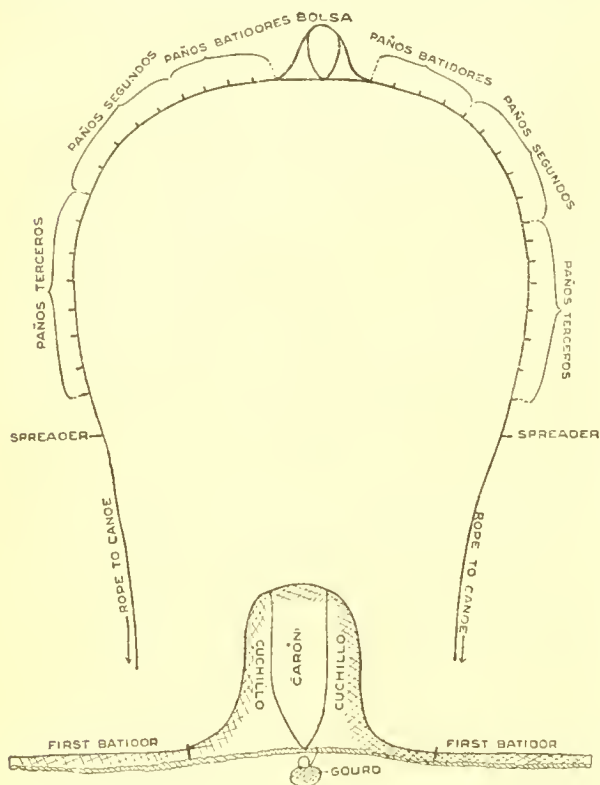


FIGURE 22.—Seine. Top, the form of the seine in the water. Bottom, the form of the *bolsa*, or pocket, in which the fish lodge.

for drawing it in from 10 to 20 minutes. Sinkers normally are not used when fishing for white fish.

Bass fishing follows the same basic technique, but the process is complicated because the net is weighted with sinkers and must be thrown in areas full of seaweed. This greatly increases the effort required to draw in the cables, for the sinkers, tangling with weeds, tend to draw the floats under, opening an avenue of escape over the top of the net. Hence, a second small canoe is towed along, and once the net is laid one fisherman stands in the small canoe, continually pulling himself by means of the top rope to spots where he sees the floats disappear. His continual vigilance maintains a

semblance of order in the form and condition of the net. When the ends reach the canoe the seaweed usually has been pretty well eliminated, and this man goes to the large canoe where he joins the other three to pull in the catch. Up to 2 hours for each complete cycle are necessary for bass fishing.

After fishing, the net is carefully washed clean of weeds, section by section, and then carried to the shore where it is suspended from a series of forked poles 5 m. high. In the evening, after drying, it is carried to the house. The long walls of drying nets in the afternoon sun is one of the strongest visual impressions one has of the fishermen's homes and the lake-shore.

Weeds are often cleared from the lake bottom to facilitate the taking of white fish. This is done with a sickle lashed to a 3 m. pole, worked from a canoe. Often during the process tiny, crystallike transparent roe appear on the instrument. The cutter carefully notes the exact position, because this is a sign that in the future fish will be plentiful in this region.

The *cherémekua* gill net, though used to a considerable extent in other parts of Lake Pátzcuaro, is little used in the vicinity of Tzintzuntzan. The small-sized one is suspended between two poles, usually near the shore, with tiny pebble sinkers carrying it nearly to the bottom. Then the fisherman, either walking in the water and splashing or making noise from a canoe, drives the *khuerepu* and *charal* toward the net, and in trying to pass the fish are caught by the gills. Small boys often begin to fish in this manner, tying their diminutive nets near the shore where the water is only a few centimeters deep.

Fishing with the large gill net is a very different process, and involves one man in a small *icháruta* canoe. Up to a dozen *cherémekuas* are tied together to form one long net. At one end a block of wood known as a *pato* ("duck") is tied as a float, and to it is suspended at a depth of several meters a heavy stone sinker. In the center of each section a *colorín* log float is tied with a rope one and a half *brazadas* ("arm lengths") long, so that the net will sink to this distance beneath the surface. The other end of the net is fastened to the

small canoe. The fisherman goes out in the evening and extends his net in the open water, so that both net and canoe drift with the wind and currents. Then he sleeps until perhaps midnight, when he inspects the net and takes in fish already caught. After this the fisherman can sleep until dawn, when he again empties the net and then returns to shore. White fish and *akúmara* are taken in this fashion.

Fishing with the butterfly dip net is known from description only. The net was submerged perpendicularly with the point of the handle stuck to the bottom, in which position it was left for several minutes. Then, very slowly so as not to disturb the fish, it was raised until horizontal with the surface of the water, the natural curve of the net causing the fish to tumble toward the canoe from the two wings extended on each side of the boat. Then the fisherman moved a few meters away and repeated the process, until either he had a full basket or his luck ran out. Five to 10 *thirus* were considered an average catch. This net was also used as a surface scoop, extended over the forward starboard side of the canoe. The canoe was slowly paddled ahead and at intervals the catch brought in. A string tied to the bottom of the net and extending to the handle served to draw up the net and facilitate removal of the catch. Today there is not a single net of this type in the Tzintzuntzan area. The few that remain are on the island of Janitzio, which is the main point of interest for tourists.

The hand-thrown *atarraya*, known in many parts of Mexico, is not found on Lake Pátzcuaro.

Fishermen pay a federal license of \$1.50 yearly for the right to fish. Theoretically this entitles them to fish anywhere in the lake. In practice, long usage has given title to the shallow waters to the fishermen of the nearby villages. Usually men from other parts of the lake can obtain permission for the asking, though there are villages which do not have this mutual agreement. Fishermen from the ranches near Tzintzuntzan cannot fish across the lake in waters belonging to Santa Fe and Chupicuaro, and the reverse also holds good. On the other hand, fishermen from Janitzio continually come to the waters of Ichupio to fish, since their steep, rocky island has no good

shallow waters. They are always welcome, and sometimes join forces with local fishermen. There are recognized reciprocal rights between the fishermen of the Tzintzuntzan area and those of San Andrés, San Jerónimo, and Ucanástacua.

A fisherman is careful that no salt accidentally falls on any of his equipment; it is believed that should this happen he will henceforth have no luck. "Scarecrows" are sometimes placed in the shallow waters of the lake to frighten away ducks which eat *khuerepu*. These are of a standard form, consisting of a crossed stick with shirt and old hat. The small *irakua* duck pays no attention, though the others do, and if it is regarded as a menace small boys with slings are sent to frighten it away. Fishing is a seasonal occupation, and is done principally from November to May, a period corresponding to the height of the dry season. Federal law prohibits the taking of white fish from July 1 to August 15, and of *charal* from February 1 to June 30. This law has proved difficult to enforce, and in practice, these fish are taken along with the others which have no closed season, whenever the fisherman feels that it is worth his time to ply his trade. Fish in small quantities are offered for sale throughout the rainy season in the Pátzcuaro market.

Most fish are sold fresh, shortly after they are taken from the lake. The *khuerepu*, however, is frequently dried on a reed mat placed in the sun. Pátzcuaro is the principal market, though fishermen and their wives from Ichupio and Ojo de Agua frequently travel to Quiroga and Morelia, and to Erongaricuaró where conditions are favorable for exchange for sierra products. The dried *khuerepu*, naturally, are better for the longer trips since they do not easily spoil. Price is determined in a general way by weight, though most fish are sold on their own merits as unique specimens. Thus, bass are commonly sold as a *sarto*, a pair consisting of a large one and a medium-sized one. *Akúmara* may be sold likewise, or single. *Khuerepu* are sold by the handful on the local market when fresh, and by *quintos*, 5 centavos' worth, at more distant markets. Dried *khuerepus* are usually sold by the kilo. One of the most in-

interesting sights of the Friday Pátzcuaro market is the long line of Tarascan women from many parts of the lake, each squatting with her basket of fish in front of her, shouting out her wares and prices, and cajoling the shopper into buying her particularly fine fish.

Approximate prices on the local market, in Pátzcuaro and in Morelia, are as follows:

	Local	Pátzcuaro	Morelia
White fish, per dozen:			
Large, selected.....	\$10.00	\$11.00	\$12.00
Mixed.....	\$7-8.00	\$10.00	—
Bass, per kilo (Or varying prices per pair, depending on size)	\$0.80-1.10	\$1.25-2.00	\$1.50-2.50
<i>Khuerepu</i> :			
Fresh.....	\$0.60 per kilo; 0.05 handful	4-5 for \$0.05	3 for \$0.05
Dried, per kilo.....	\$2.50	\$3.00	\$3.50
<i>Akúmara</i>	\$0.10-0.20 each	\$0.20-0.30 each	\$0.35-0.50 each

More so than in the case of any of the other industries, fishing is done on the basis of a relatively wealthy man who owns the expensive canoes and nets, hiring helpers who share in the catch. Though this system has prevailed for many years to a limited extent, the introduction of the black bass has increased social and economic stratification. Formerly the single fisherman with his one place canoe and butterfly net, representing a very moderate investment compared to a large *tepari* canoe and the \$1,000 peso seine, was able to make a fair living taking the small *thiru* fish. Subsequent to the introduction of bass the *thiru* have all but disappeared, eaten, say the fishermen, by the newcomers. In view of the well-known carnivorous habits of bass, the Tarascan contention seems not without foundation. As a result of the disappearance of *thiru* the single fisherman with his butterfly net has nothing to take. Unable to afford the more expensive equipment, he has been faced with the choice of either giving up fishing or hiring out as a peon on a "share cropping" basis to a wealthier man, who in turn has his already dominant position further fortified.

DUCK HUNTING

This is a corollary to fishing in that it is

engaged in only by fishermen, and is purely an aquatic activity. Large numbers of ducks begin to arrive in late October, to winter until the following March or April. Most common is the lesser scaup (*Nyroca affinis*), known as the *pato del tiempo*; followed by the ringneck (*Nyroca collaris*), known also as *pato del tiempo*; and the widgeon (*Mareca americana*), known as the

cotorro. Others are the canvasback (*Nyroca valisineria*), known as the *pato de los bosques*; the ruddy duck (*Erismatura jamaicensis*) known as the *pato bola*; the New Mexico duck (*Anas diazi*), called *pato triguero*; the pintail (*Anas acuta*), known as *golondrino*; the cinnamon teal (*Querquedula cyanoptera*) and the green-winged teal (*Nettion carolinense*), both known as the *pato zarceta*; the fulvous tree duck (*Dendrocygna bicolor*), known as the *pato pijifi*; and the shoveller (*Spatula clypeata*), known as the *pato cuchara*. Most common of all wild fowl on the lake is the coot or mudhen (*Fulica americana*), known as the *gallareta*. A small grebe (*Podilymbus podiceps*), called *zambullidor*, is also very common.

All of these varieties are shot with punt guns mounted in the bows of canoes. Of particular interest to ethnologists is the use of the *atlal* or spear thrower (T. *phatamu*) to take all kinds of edible aquatic fowls. This weapon, an earlier development in human culture than the bow, and the most advanced weapon known to the first migrants who arrived in Alaska from Asia, is a cultural survival of limited present distribution. The typical specimen, made of *palo azul* wood, is 65 cm. long, with a 12-cm. handle to be grasped by the thumb and little and ring fingers, and two holes for the index and middle

finger (fig. 23). At the bottom of the tip there is a nonfunctional point, often carved in the form of a duck's head, and along the top as far as the handle a shallow groove to take the spear, whose butt is inserted in a 1-cm. point near the tip. The spear is a stout reed shaft 3 m. long in which is inserted a three-pronged barbed point. The user stands erect in the canoe, the right hand over and back of the shoulder, holding the thrower on which is balanced the shaft, the left hand supporting the shaft in front of the handle. Only sitting ducks are targets.

Although a few ducks begin to appear in the Pátzcuaro market early in October there is little activity until October 31, the day before the eve of *Todos Santos*. On this day most of the

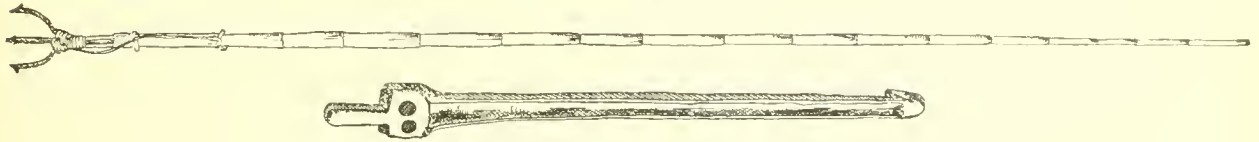


FIGURE 23.—Spear thrower and shaft.

fishermen of the lake gather near Janitzio; up to a thousand canoes, each with several men, participate. Concentric rings are formed, with the largest concentration of ducks in the middle. The first group throws simultaneously, and the surviving ducks, of which there are many, fly a short distance to apparent safety, but what is in fact the space between the inner and outer ring. Here they are closed in upon and again attacked. The aim of skilful men is deadly, and literally thousands of ducks are killed on this day. Subsequent hunts are individual affairs, with one or more canoes participating.

In spite of the presence of many guns among both Tarascans and Mestizos, the *atlatl* has shown a remarkable persistence. This is probably due to two reasons: in a large hunt the ducks are not badly frightened and do not fly far, giving others a chance for a second shot; the *atlatl* is much cheaper and can be made by almost anyone. Nevertheless, some individuals come to be known for special skill in their fabrication, so that standard prices have developed: *atlatl*, \$1.00 to \$1.50, the spear, \$1.00. Curiously, any implement in good condition, new or used, sells for about the same price. Ducks are normally sold in Pátzcuaro and Erongarícuaro, boiled and ready to eat. Prices range

from \$0.60 to \$1.00, depending on season and size.

NET WEAVING

THE NET PROPER

Most fishermen can weave their own nets, though as is usually the case there are a few who are particularly adept and who devote a greater part of their time to this occupation. In ancient times the maguey fibers of the hills were utilized in making nets; today the raw material is bought in Quiroga and Pátzcuaro in the form of shanks of *hilasa*, roughly woven cotton threads which sell at \$4.00 a *libra* ("pound"). The threads are separated and wound on a large

reel, the *chororanskua*, consisting of either 20-cm. wooden disks joined by slats on the outside, or two crosses 70 cm. apart on an axis, turned at a 45-degree angle, and with the ends joined by slats.

The number of threads spun into the net string depends upon the use: six for the body proper of the seine, five for the pocket of this net if intended for bass, four for the pocket if intended for *khuerepu*, and two for the large gill net. The small gill net is woven of ordinary spool thread. Two, four, five, or six threads are taken, depending on the net to be made, and wound into a ball simultaneously on a *corneob*. Subsequently they are spun together on a simple, common spinning wheel (Beals, 1946, fig. 6, p. 36). In Ichupio two old men continue to use the ancient spindle whorl, the *malacate* (T. *uipino*). One specimen observed was of turned wood, presumably from Paracho. Another, larger and heavier, had a baked clay whorl 1 cm. thick and 8 cm. in diameter. Tarerio is a more conservative village in the sense that the spindle has not given way to the spinning wheel.

The newly spun thread is soaked in water and then stretched to dry between trees, or often along the streets between houses, in lengths of a hundred meters or more. Subsequently the

string is rewound on a corn-cob, ready to be placed on the shuttle for weaving. The shuttle (*T. churukua*) is of a common type, usually between 15 and 20 cm. long (fig. 24, *c*). The best are made from a hard yellow wood known as *palo amarillo* (*T. chari-tsipambiti*) which grows near Nocusepu. A second tree called in Tarascan *oremu* makes an inferior but serviceable instrument. Specialists usually make them, to sell for \$0.20 each, though it is no trick for any fisherman to carve one quickly. Each fisherman has at least three or four different sizes, to make nets with different meshes. The net spacer (*T. uanátschua*) is a flat piece of bamboo of the

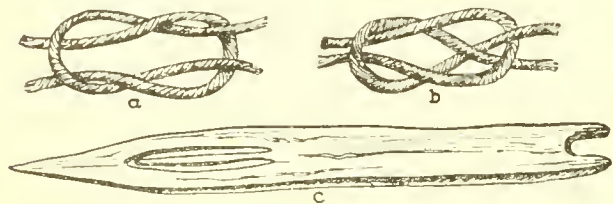


FIGURE 24.—Fishnet knots and shuttle. *a*, Knot for small mesh of seine pocket. *b*, Knot for all other uses. *c*, Shuttle.

exact width of the desired mesh, from 15 cm. to 20 cm. long. A minimum of seven spacers of different sizes are required for the nets commonly used. A set measured showed the following widths, which may be considered as standard: 0.5, 0.7, 0.8, 1.0, 1.2, 1.9, 2.8 cm.

Two knots are commonly used. The finest meshes of the pocket of the seine are made with a square knot. A reverse bowline is used in all other places (fig. 24).

In beginning to weave a new net, or a section of a new net, many fishermen make use of an old piece kept for this purpose, so that the first line of new meshes will have something to tie onto and be properly spaced. Some weavers can anchor the new net to an extended string, but this is more difficult. As soon as several lines of new mesh have been woven, the old net is cut away and guarded for the time when it must serve again. The gill nets, both large and small sizes, are of simpler construction than the seine, since through the entire length the mesh is identical and the net occupies a flat plane. The large net has a mesh a little under 3 cm., and the small one from 0.7 to 0.8 cm.

The *chinchorro*, or seine, is a far more com-

plicated instrument. Basically it consists of the net proper, made up of a number of joined sections called *paños*, and the *bolsa*, or pocket, which comes midway between the ends of the net. The pocket is composed of four pieces, two *carones*, one on the top and the other on the bottom, and two *cuchillos*, one on each side. Each is made up of five or six different-sized meshes, finest at the bottom of the pocket and largest where they join the rest of the net. The *paños* come in three widths, all of the same mesh size: the *batidores*, nearest the pocket, and in contact with the *cuchillos*; the *segundos*, or second *paños*; and the *terceros*, or third *paños*. Figure 22 shows the relationship of all parts of the net. The average *chinchorro* has three or four *batidores*, and four or five *segundos*—always one more *pañó* of the *segundos*. The *terceros* are at least as numerous as the *segundos* and may be much more so. The largest *chinchorro* on Janitzio, and probably the largest on the lake, has 40 *paños* in all, 8 *batidores* (4 on each side), 10 *segundos* (5 on each side), and 22 *terceros* (11 on each side).

Figure 22 also shows a magnified top detail of the pocket. The *paños* are all flat sections, tied top and bottom to a heavy rope. All can be extended horizontally and vertically in a single plane. In basic construction they are like the gill net. The pocket, as the name suggests, is of such form that when extended it covers five out of the total of six possible sides. The tops are anchored to the same two ropes which hold the *paños*, while the sides are of exactly the same width as, and fastened to the inner side of the innermost *batidores*. Determining the exact form of the pocket in relationship to the net is a difficult procedure, since a net can be pulled into almost any shape. After studying the principles of construction, joining paper cut-outs were made of the *bolsa*, resulting in the forms represented by figure 25. The *paños* are shown in true form, the *carones* in approximate true form, and the *cuchillos* in apparent form only. The approximate true form of the *cuchillo*, as nearly as could be determined, is shown in figure 26. The distortion apparent in figure 25 occurs when the sides are pulled out to make contact with the ropes.

Let us imagine we are watching Marcial Rojas making the *cuchillo* of a new *bolsa*. A string

is stretched between two pillars in his patio, and deftly he weaves the first line of tiniest mesh, 0.5 cm. in diameter, 150 meshes wide. (He scorns those who begin a new net by tying to an old one as inferior weavers. Yet, I notice, he has just such a scrap hanging from a nail; apparently when it is not visitor's day he is content to begin the easy way.) This net is extended gradually until it is a rectangle 150 meshes wide and about 40 cm. long. Then he changes his spacer, taking one that is 0.6 cm. wide, and continues as before, 150 meshes wide. Owing to the slightly wider spacer, there is a certain slack in the new weaving which, however, when the net has shrunk and dried and been in use

Marcial will stop, because this will correspond to the exact width of the first *pañó*, the *batidor*, to which the *cuchillo* must be joined.

Thus, in the completed *cuchillo* there are six different meshes, ranging from 0.5 cm. to nearly 2 cm., the latter corresponding to the width of the first *batidores*. At the tiny end the *cuchillo* is 150 0.5-cm. meshes wide, or something over a meter, since the meshes are woven obliquely to the line of measurement. At the other extreme the *cuchillo* is 400 2-cm. meshes wide, or about 11 m. Actually, with shrinkage in the knots and thread the linear measurement will reduce by a third or a fourth. The sixth section of the *cuchillo* on which measurements were

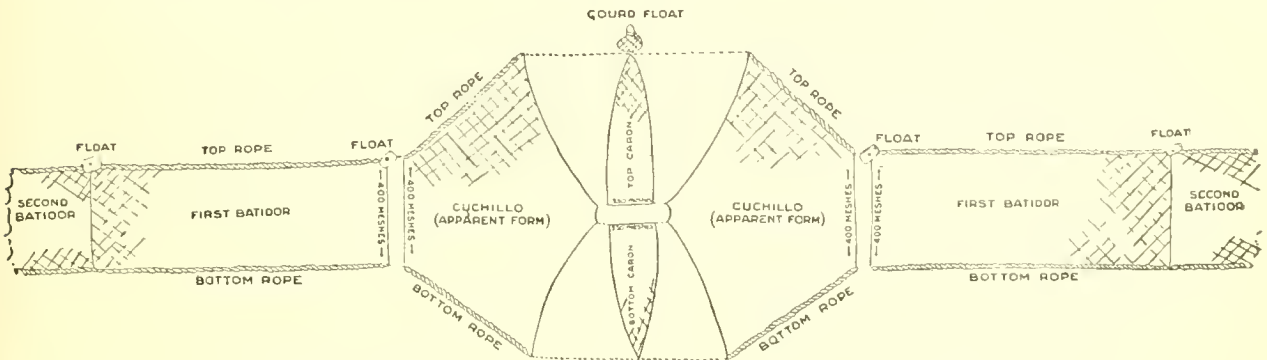


FIGURE 25.—Design of seine. See text pp. 108–110 for explanation.

will adjust itself evenly. Then, four lines after beginning the new mesh, he adds an additional mesh, making a width of 151 meshes. Now, during the next 60 cm. he will continue in this fashion, adding a new mesh of width for each four of length.

Gradually, the completed section begins to take the form of a truncated pyramid. After about 60 cm. Marcial takes still another spacer, between 0.7 and 0.8 inches in width, and continues as before, this time adding an extra mesh to the width for every five lines of length; 70 cm. later a new spacer, this time of 1 cm., is taken, and the rate of widening is reduced to 1 in 10. After about 140 cm. of additional length, a new spacer about 1.2 cm. is substituted, and used for an equal distance of about 140 cm., continuing to widen the net at the rate of 1 to 10. Finally, the last spacer, nearly 2 cm. in diameter, is taken, and the weaving continues, always increasing the width at the rate of 1 to 10. When a width of 400 meshes is reached,

taken was not completed, and it was therefore impossible to measure its length. It was 310 meshes wide where it joined with the fifth, and had to end when 400 wide, widening at the rate of 1 to 10. Theoretically, then, it should be 900 2-cm. meshes long, considering the oblique angle of the meshes, a distance of something over 20 m. Hence, not allowing for contraction and distortion, the finished *cuchillo* should be about 25 m. long.

The top and bottom panels, the *varones*, are 150 meshes wide at the bottom end, corresponding exactly to the *cuchillos*. Then, however, instead of increasing in mesh width they decrease, first to 135 or 140 meshes, then 125 or 130, until in the sixth and final section they are only 80 or 90 meshes wide. When all sections are ready, they are joined with a simple loop stitch, and then the ends of the *cuchillos* are fastened in the same manner to the *batidores*. The *segundos*, the second set of *paños*, have a width of 380 meshes, while the *terceros*, third

paños, have a width of 350 meshes. Each *pañó* is about 9 m. long — 7 *brazadas* (“arm lengths”), and requires 6 pounds of string. The *bolsa* requires 10 to 12 pounds, because of the much finer mesh.

In practice, only very rarely is a complete new net assembled. Old nets are constantly repaired, a new *pañó*, a new *cuchillo*, or a new

is so automatic that no one thinks about it, and a common sight in the entire lake region is that of several Tarascans walking along, chattering gayly, a completed section of net wrapped around their waist and their hands nimbly weaving new meshes. Social gatherings in the evening, after a hard day's work, do not interfere with the ever-busy weaving fingers. Curiously, in spite of the very definite personalities and histories of each net, they are not named, and are known only as the *chinchorro* of such-and-such a person. Since new nets are rarely made, it is difficult to say how much one is worth. Nonetheless, estimates of many fishermen, for what they are worth, averaged 1,000 pesos for a large *chinchorro*. There are about 25 *chinchorros* in the immediate Tzintzuntzan area, 18 of which are in Ichupio.

The weaving of a *cherémekua* gill net is relatively simple work, corresponding to that of the large *paños* of the seine. Dimensions have already been given. Small gill nets are worth from \$8 to \$30, while large ones around Tzintzuntzan are so rare that no informant would even guess at the current value.

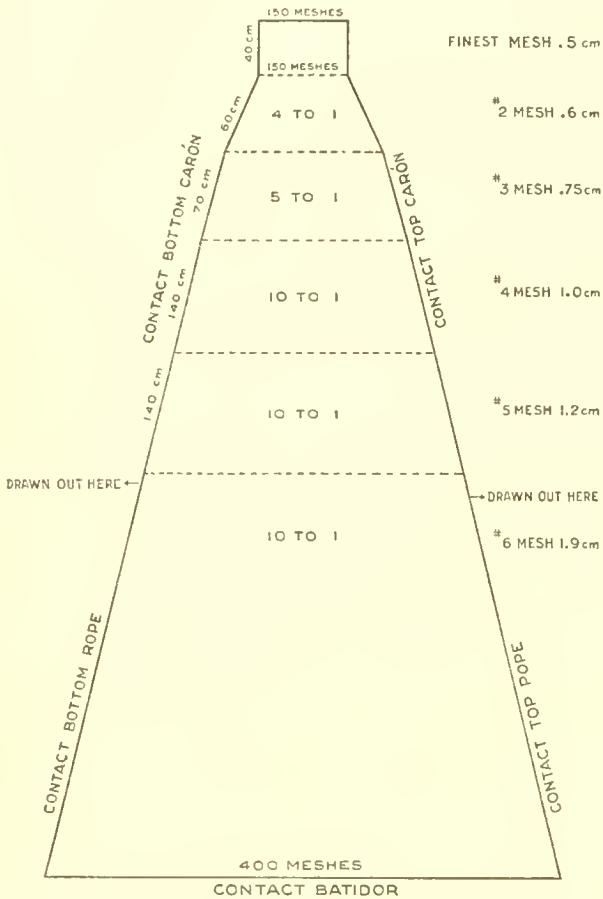


FIGURE 26.—*Cuchillo* section of seine. See text pp. 108-109 for explanation.

carón added when the old threads are past repair. Hence, although a net is being constantly replaced, as a unit it almost never wears out, although after several years none of the original thread may be present. On the average, a *pañó* is said to last about a year and a half, after which time it is thoroughly repaired and eventually replaced. Time required to weave a *pañó* is almost impossible to estimate. Customarily fishermen, wives, and children from 10 years of age weave in their spare time. The technique

ROPES

Sesnes and large gill nets need stout ropes between 1 and 1.5 cm. in diameter to run along the top and bottom of the net, to hold the floats, to give strength, and to prevent hopeless tangling. The seine likewise needs cables by which it can be pulled into the boat. Maguey fiber, from which these ropes are made, is bought in Pátzcuaro in the form of *jarcia*, hanks of loosely woven fiber which come from San Luis Potosí. The fiber is soaked in the lake, then an end tied to a convenient fence post, and the fiber unraveled to make a length of the size desired. Formal rope walks are unknown, and any convenient street is used. The original weaving as purchased is so loose the strands must be tightened. This is done with a blade known as a *taravía*, an oak stick about 30 cm. long, with a notch near one end and a hole just below the notch. Through this is placed the *maneral* (“handle”), of *vara prieta* or *manzanillo*, with a knob on one end so that it does not slip through the hole (fig. 27, a). The end of the strand is tied around the notch in the blade and

the manipulator, holding the handle, spins the blade in a clockwise direction with respect to himself until the strands have reached the desired tightness (fig. 27, *b*). Three other sections of rope are similarly treated. Then the ends of the two resulting pairs are spliced, so that two enormous parallel loops result. One spliced end usually is 40 or 50 cm. longer than the other.

One end of each loop is placed around the blade, and the manipulator spins, this time in a counterclockwise direction. To equalize the winding a second man places two crossed sticks, 8 cm. or so long, between the four strands, grasping them with either hand (fig. 27, *c*). Then he walks backward 10 m. or so while the spinner tightens the new rope as much as possible up to this point. Then the man with the sticks walks backward a similar distance, thus loosening the tension in the rope, and the spinner again takes up the slack. By similar steps the rope is tightened to the other end, where the two loops of uneven length remain. The long loop is slipped through the short one and drawn even (fig. 27, *d*), and the two resulting loops of equal length are slipped over the head of a second *taravía*, spun also in a counterclockwise fashion, and with a few more twists the new rope is completed. In a morning's work, three men made three 60-m. ropes, using 12 hanks in each, and two ropes of half this size, using 6 hanks each. The rope wheel, known in many parts of Mexico, is not used in Tzintzuntzan.

The *colorín* wood floats are oblong blocks 20 cm. long, a third as wide, and 3 cm. thick, with a hole in the center to permit passage of the rope. They are sold, when not made by the fisherman himself, for \$0.05 apiece.

CANOES

Both types of canoe, the large *tepari* and the smaller *icháruta*, are hollowed from a single block of fir or pine. They are cut and shaped in the sierra, in Capácuaro, Cumachuen, and other villages, and dragged to the lakeshore with draft animals. Each new owner, who must order his canoe as a custom-built job, usually finishes his own craft, though this work normally consists only of thinning the walls a little and making any special touches which may strike his fancy. Wall thicknesses vary from

5 cm. on the largest canoes to 2.5 m. on the smallest. Axes and adzes are the principal tools used in the hollowing process. The form of the large *tepari* is given in figure 28, *a*. These boats are from 8 to 14 *varas* of 80 cm. long, and are known accordingly as canoes *de a catorce varas*, *de a doce* or *de a ocho* as the case may be, with all intermediate sizes extant. The cross section is rectangular, with flat bottom and with gunwales sloping slightly inward. The wide square stern, which seats two persons, has a moderate overhang, while the bow, also squarish, but narrower, may extend a meter or more beyond the water line. It provides room for one person only, an oarsman. Both bow and stern often have a square projection of 6 or 8 cm. running

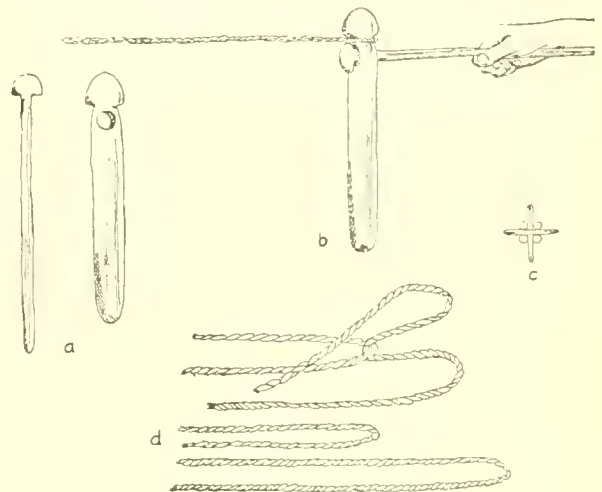


FIGURE 27.—Rope-spinning technique. *a*, Handle and blade. *b*, The assembled *taravía*. *c*, Crossed sticks to maintain equal tension in winding. *d*, Method of equalizing ends of strands.

the width of the canoe, to which are fastened ropes when the boat is anchored to a pole while used in fishing. Two or three blocks of wood, rising 6 cm. to 12 cm. above the floor, are left in the bottom during the hollowing process. They serve the double purpose of seats and structural braces.

Oarlocks, which are inverted triangular pieces of oak, are placed on the left, or port side near the bow, carefully fitted to the edge of the canoe and anchored in place by means of a rope piercing the gunwale (fig. 28, *b*). The oars consist of round blades 30 cm. in diameter with stub handles, 30 cm. long, carved of a

single piece of fir, lashed to a 2-m. handle of oak or *tejocote* (fig. 28, *c*). This handle is passed through a rope loop which passes around the forward branch of the oarlock, and is of a snugness to allow the necessary motion in rowing, but not sufficient to allow the oar easily to slip out into the water (fig. 28, *e, f*). The first oarsman sits on the very prow itself, while the second and third, if provision is made for a third, sit on temporary wood thwarts. Strokes are short and choppy, the oarsman beginning the stroke with the blade in the water about opposite him

of energy to make a very moderate speed. On windy days the Tarascans like to have their sailing over by noon, for in the afternoon high waves which may threaten the boat are common. Nevertheless, drownings are infrequent, since most adult Tarascans can swim, and occur principally when the crew is returning in a drunken state — unfortunately not uncommon — from market in Pátzcuaro or Erongarícuaro.

The small *icháruta* canoe has a length of from 3 to 8 *varas*, and is much narrower with lower freeboard. Bow and stern both overhang, and

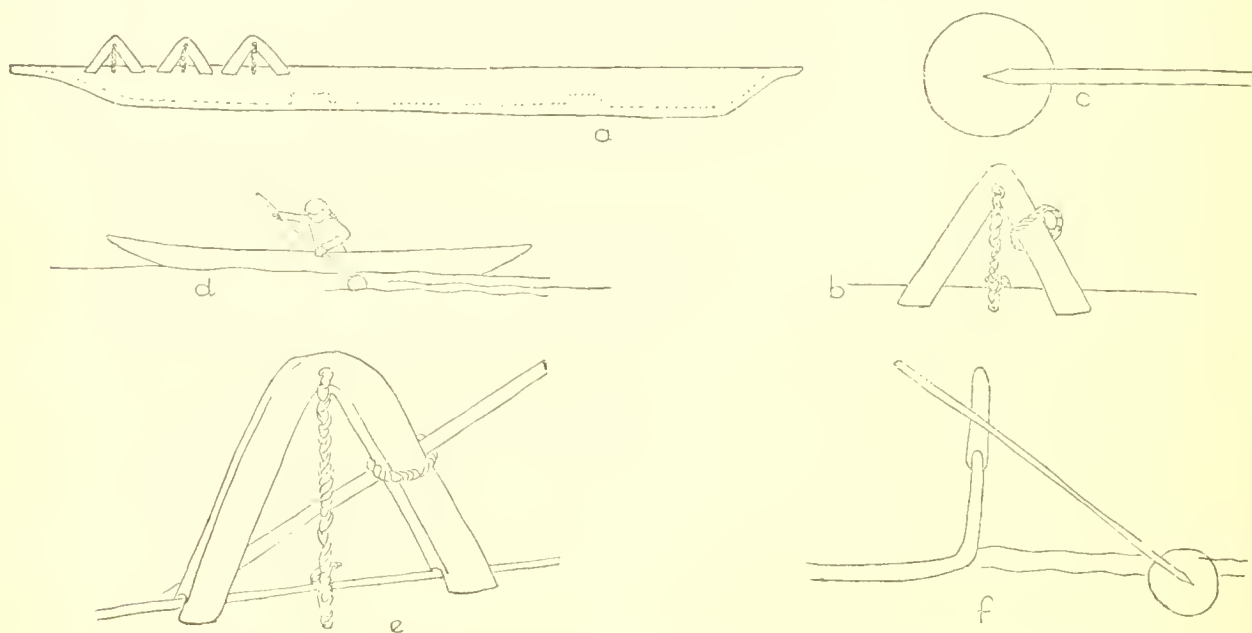


FIGURE 28.—Canoe types and details. *a*, Cross section of *tepari* canoe. *b*, Oarlock detail. *c*, Oar blade. *d*, *Icháruta* canoe. *e, f*, Method of fastening oar to oarlock.

and then drawing back. Normally he does not lean well forward to bring the blade to a position behind him and thus gain a longer, more efficient stroke. The right hand grasps the top of the oar, and the left hand the bottom. Normally only the 14 *varas* canoes, which hold up to 25 persons, carry three oarsmen. Smaller craft make provision for two, or only one. Paddles are of pine, differing from the oars in that the 2-m. handle is carved from the same wood as the blade. At least one paddler is needed at the rear starboard position. Any number up to seven or eight, squatting or sitting in the canoe, may help.

These canoes appear unwieldy and unstable, and would seem to require a tremendous amount

the flat bottom tapers to a point at gunwale level of the former. Being of light weight it can be managed easily by one paddler, man or woman, who sits in the middle and paddles from either side which wind and wave conditions dictate (fig. 28, *d*). Several individuals may also travel at the same time in this boat. It is never equipped with oars.

Data on canoe prices vary considerably; \$100 for the smallest *icháruta* up to \$1,000 for the largest *tepari* seems to be the range. Informants' statements as to canoe life also differ greatly. Some say a maximum of 3 years, which seems a very short period, and others say up to 10 years, which seems more probable. Individual qualities of the wood, use, and care

undoubtedly cause considerable differences in life expectancies. Rot at the bow and stern are the first signs of deterioration, and such weak points are often patched by nailing a board or two over the breach.

PETATE MAKING

There are no men in Tzintzuntzan who devote themselves exclusively to the making of tule reed mats, known universally in Mexico as petates. A few individuals, mostly fishermen, devote themselves to this activity during their spare moments, and in Ichupio and Ojo de Agua the manufacture is relatively much more important. According to the census five women can be considered as petate makers. Since capital equipment is limited to a small, rounded stone which can be grasped in the hand, petate making is a possible occupation for the very poor; since the return for work is not high, there is a definite correlation between poverty and petate making.

Tules are cut in the shallow water at the lake edge and tied into bundles of 700 to 800 reeds known as *manojos*. Bundles are standardized to a certain extent by defining them as having a circumference at the point of tying (with green tule) of three spans, measured with a tule which has been cut to this size. Next the bundles are untied and the contents spread thinly in the sun to dry for a week or so, at the end of which period the raw material is again tied in bundles and stored in the house until it is to be worked. When working, the tules are moistened in the lake or by sprinkling water on them; the ground may also be moistened a little. Each tule is flattened at the point of contact with the next with the stone, and each new element introduced with the pattern of over two and under two, to form a herringbone design. At the edges the warp and woof are doubled back, as in basket making, and cut off.

A number of fairly standard sizes are made, from those 2 m. by 1 m. to tiny mats the size of a dustpan, used precisely for this purpose. The larger mats are used primarily for sleeping, both by Indians and Mestizos alike, either on the ground or on a plank bed. Fire fans of tules are also an important manufacture, since no kitchen in all Mexico is without this important utensil.

No thorough study was made of petate economics, but a few pertinent facts were gathered. Owners of the lakeshore milpas also own the tules which grow beyond the land. Hence, if the petate maker has no land, which is probably the case, he must buy tules for from \$0.50 to \$1.00 a bundle, cutting the material himself. Often he will buy rights to a certain area of water covered with tule, known as a *corte* ("cutting"), which on the average will have 200 bundles. Rights to such an area in 1945 cost about \$50. Four or five years earlier they could be obtained for from \$10 to \$15. Obviously, if the petate maker has capital he saves by buying tules in large quantities. Two mats of the largest size can be made in one day if the individual works steadily, and they will bring him \$3. Each large mat requires half a bundle, representing from \$0.25 to \$0.50, so that the individual, with hard work, can clear from \$2 to \$2.50 in a day, about the prevailing wage rate for long hours. Actually, few individuals work steadily, rather devoting their time after a morning of fishing, or in other spare hours. A "share cropping" system of petate making is also known. The owner of the tules gives them to the worker for half of the finished product. This would seem to work to the disadvantage of the petate maker. More petates are made during the rains than during the dry season, since it is a period of little fishing. Informants make the curious claim that, in spite of greater production during this period, prices are from 15 to 25 percent higher.

The elaborate ornamental tule work done in some parts of Mexico, and particularly the Valley of Toluca, is almost unknown around Lake Pátzcuaro. Petates and fire fans are utilitarian, normally without a vestige of decoration. Plácido Pablo of Tzintzuntzan is the only exception to the rule as far as I know. During the period of the trade school during the 1930's he was shown how to weave different designs in plain petates, how to make human figures, picture frames, and the like. Today, to order he will turn out work that justifiably can be called artistic. Figure 29 shows some of his tule fans. Worth mentioning also are the purely ornamental fire fans made of wheat straw and bound with dyed palm. This is a local manifestation of the widespread Mexican custom of giving

ornamental fire fans as gifts. (Plácido was not listed in the census because he was settled in another village at the time. Subsequently, during the course of the study, he returned

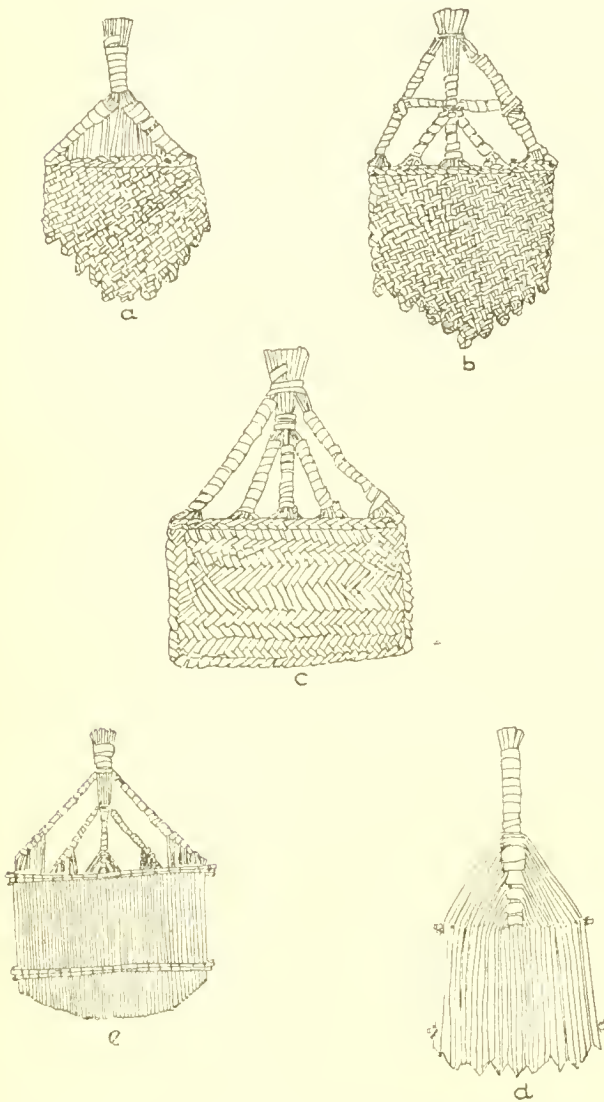


FIGURE 29.—Fire fans. These are ornamental types made by Plácido Pablo, the most skilled weaver in Tzintzuntzan. Type *e* is made of wheat straws; the others are of tules.

to Tzintzuntzan. All occupation lists are as of the day of the census.)

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

The keeping of domestic animals is not an occupation in the same sense as agriculture, pottery making, or fishing. No one devotes all of

his time to the care of animals, and no one derives all, or even the greater part of his income from their possession. Some animals, such as oxen, are primarily an adjunct to agriculture, while others, such as pigs and chickens, are more closely related to domestic economy. The inclusion, then, of domestic animals in the list of occupations is justified by their relative economic importance, taken collectively, and by the fact that they are kept by a majority of the inhabitants of Tzintzuntzan.

CATTLE

Cattle are of the greatest economic importance, and undoubtedly represent the greatest total investment. The census shows that 140 oxen are owned by 67 families, and 239 cows and bulls are owned by 84 families. The total number of families with cattle is less than 100, since most of those with cows and bulls are also included in the list of owners of oxen. The number of animals owned per family is low; 11 is the greatest number owned by a single person.

There is some idea of breeding, and the larger owners keep a bull of superior quality. These bulls are lent free of charge for breeding purposes to owners who lack them by the simple technique of putting their cows in the fields with the bull for periods of 2 or 3 days. October and May are the principal breeding times. Saltpeter is given to cows every 2 months or so in the belief that they are more apt to calve each year instead of every second year. Beef and milk are the principal uses of cattle; milk during the productive years of the animal's life, and meat when it is old or sick and about to die.

Milking is done by persons of either sex, and requires the presence of the calf. The calf is allowed to suckle several times, but just as the milk is about to flow the mouth is each time forced away. Finally, when the milker deems the cow is sufficiently stimulated a noose is slipped over the calf's mouth and it is tied to the horns of the mother, whose hind legs are hobbled and whose tail is lashed down. The milker squats on one side and milks into a clay pot or pail held by an assistant on the other side. Since the calf tries continually to get at the teats both animals jump around a good deal, and both milker and assistant are in

almost continual motion as they follow the animals about the field. A pail or pot under the udder would be smashed or overturned in a very few seconds. Some milk is always left for the calf. Cows are milked once a day, normally in the morning. Cows produce fairly well during the first 3 months after the birth of the calf, and then the production falls off slowly over a period of another 9 months. During the rainy season cows may average 5 or 6 liters a day; during the dry season from October to June this drops to 1 or 2 liters.

Gramma grass and maize fodder are considered to be the best forage during the rainy season. Some owners try to maintain milk production during the dry season by means of a special forage, a mixture of wheat straw, *janamargo* grass, maize stalks, and *camalote*, a weed drawn from the shallow reaches of the lake. Local sale of milk, besides home consumption, is the primary reason for milking. A little white cheese is made for home consumption by a few families, but most cheese consumed in Tzintzuntzan is bought in Pátzcuaro, where it is brought from the *tierra caliente*. Butter is almost never made.

The relatively great use of milk in Tzintzuntzan contrasted to the slight use among the pure Tarascans (Beals, 1946, p. 29) would appear to be a cultural phenomenon reflecting the European origin of the majority of customs and attitudes of the pueblo, as contrasted to the pre-Columbian Indian who did not, of course, practice milking. In Ichupio milking is of slight importance — animals run loose in the hills until they are ready for slaughtering. In Tzintzuntzan cattle are frequently driven to the hills, especially when they are not being milked, but few potential milk cows go unexploited.

Oxen are, obviously, of tremendous economic importance, since without them agriculture would be impossible. They are castrated at the age of 3 years. Primo Calderón, who comes close to being a veterinarian, usually does the job for \$1.00.

All cattle are branded with irons, and each mark is registered in the municipal office in Tzintzuntzan. All animals are named, usually but not always, because of the color. Examples of cattle names are: *Cirueta* (a plum-colored cow), *Mariposa* ("butterfly"), *Naranja* ("or-

ange"), *Guayaba* ("guava"), *Avispa* ("wasp"), *La mosca* ("the fly"). Oxen names are: *El silgero* (a smoky-colored ox), *El mamey* (after the color of the fruit), *Jicote* (a dark animal), *El espejo* ("the mirror"), *El mariachi*, *El billeie* ("the paper bill," a spotted animal), *El panadero* ("the baker"), *Mulato* (a brown animal), *Prieto* (a black animal), *Negro* ("black"), *Mclón* (a tan animal), *Carpintero* ("woodpecker," said to have the black and white markings of this bird), *Calandria* (an animal thought to have the coloring of an oriole).

Old oxen, cows and bulls, and sick animals of any age are slaughtered. One morning Zeferino Villagómez, municipal president, informed me he was going to kill a cow within a few hours. Official duties delayed him until so late that it was impossible to do so. Since the next day was Friday, when there would be little sale, and Saturday and Sunday were also *vigilia* or fast days, he informed me he would wait until Monday. When I appeared at the appointed time Zeferino looked surprised and informed me that since, by a miracle, the cow had recovered he was not going to slaughter it at all. It is impossible to say what percentage of animals are butchered in a race with death, but the figure is high.

The tail of the victim is passed through its rear legs to fell it, the four feet tied together, a knife stuck in the jugular vein, and the blood allowed to run on the ground uncollected, except by the inevitable eager dogs. The head is next skinned, then a length-wise ventral slit made and the skin laid out flat on the ground. Next the stomachs are removed, emptied of their contents, and washed. The two forequarters are separated and carried to the butcher shop, while the hindquarters are left in one piece. Several men, notably Salvador Villagómez, are skilled butchers, and are asked to aid in slaughtering. They receive no fixed sum, though a kilo or so of meat and perhaps \$0.50 in cash are given them. Custom dictates that anyone who aids with the slaughtering must be paid in kind, with the result that the heads of meat-hungry but money-poor families, often to the number of six or eight, arrive, each helping by holding a hoof, emptying a stomach, or offering some other slight service.

An ox of average size brings an income of

from \$170 to \$200 to the butcher. The 70 to 80 kilos of meat sell for \$2 each, the head for \$5, the hide for from \$20 to \$25, and the penis, from which a riding quirt is made, for \$6. If the animal is a bull, the scrotum is dried and made into a small bag, similar to those of Africa.

Even before the red flag goes up in front of the butcher shop announcing fresh meat for sale, the word has spread, and women with their enamel plates patiently wait until the butcher can attend them. He cuts a piece of lean, a chunk of fat, and a bit of tripe, liver, or heart while it lasts, and with a deft thrust spits them on an eyed skewer. A length of green palm frond is threaded through the eye and pulled through the meat, lacing it together in a handy packet to carry home.

Cattle slaughtering requires about 2 hours, and is considered less work than pig slaughtering, since there is no need to heat water and scrape bristles.

RIDING AND PACK ANIMALS

According to the census there are 166 burros owned by 100 individuals, 65 mules owned by 32 individuals, and 48 horses owned by 36 individuals. None of these animals is ever used in agriculture. Mules, particularly, are valued by muleteers who carry pottery to distant towns, because they carry far greater loads than burros. Curiously, they are rarely ridden; out of the total number only one is known as a good mount. As in all Mexico they are carefully distinguished as to sex: *macho*, the male, and *mula*, the female. Eighteen men have riding animals, about equally divided between *yeguas*, mares, and *caballos*, stallions. As in Cherán, there is relatively little use for riding animals, and their presence must be explained as a whim in which the relatively wealthy can indulge. Rarely, during fiestas, horses are raced. Actual use would never pay costs of purchase and upkeep.

Burros, as contrasted to their larger relatives, are within the financial reach of most individuals, and every potter tries to have at least one, and preferably two or three, to carry earth and firewood, and to transport the finished product to the Pátzcuaro market. All of these animals are kept in the patio, frequently under a rough

shed thrown against the side of the house. Burros are often turned loose in the streets during the rainy season, and all grazing animals, except milking cows, may be allowed to wander through the hills in search of forage. During the dry season, however, all must be stall-fed, and this implies considerable work on the part of the owner in cutting forage or purchasing fodder. During the first part of the rainy season, until August, the wild grasses are "very weak," i.e., without much food value, so stall feeding, principally wheat straw, is the rule. A sack of 2 *arrobos*, 23 kilos, costs \$0.60 and lasts a mule 2 to 3 days, a burro 5 to 6 days.

Burros are always named; horses and mules are often, but not always, named. Skin color or other characteristics are used to determine names. Sample burro names are *Rolámpero* ("lightning," the burro in question is noted for slowness), *Chango* ("monkey"), *Mulato* (a brown animal), *Silguero* (a burro of smoky color), *Seucillo* ("simple"), *El borrego* ("the sheep," animal of whitish color), and *La Chamba* (meaning unknown). Horse names are: *Torongo* (after the coloring of the tohee bird of this name), *Canario* ("canary"), and *Picochulo* ("pretty nose," the horse has a gray nose considered handsome). Mule names are: *Cuervo* ("crow," a black animal), *Gatado* (from *gato*, "cat," since hoofs are said to be slightly striped like some cats), *Colmena* ("beehive," animal said to be honey-colored), *Mariposa* ("butterfly," for a spotted animal), and *Mulato*.

Burros, horses, and mules are branded with the same mark the owner uses for cattle.

PIGS

Far fewer pigs are kept in Tzintzuntzan than in most Mexican villages. A total of 132 animals, large and small, are kept by 66 families. The largest number owned as a unit is 12. Pigs are kept in patios, often in small houses of adobe with tile or shingle roofs, and are fed scraps from the table, the water used to wash the metate, and bits of maize. Characteristically they are thin razorbacks with few bristles. Males are often castrated, since it is said that the lard from such animals has a sweeter flavor than that of boars. The operation is done when the animal is nearly full grown; fatalities are not

rare, and the owner wants to have a worth-while carcass in case of this contingency. Any small knife is used to make the incision, and lime is afterward rubbed on the wound. Pigs, unlike most other domestic animals, are not named.

Not enough pigs are raised in Tzintzuntzan to satisfy the meat demands of the town. Part of the deficiency is made up by meat purchased in Pátzcuaro and Quiroga, and part by bringing in outside animals to be slaughtered. Pigs are killed by stabbing them in the heart, and the blood is caught in a casserole dish as it spurts out. Then the animal is placed on a table or plank, and water previously heated in an oil can or kettle, in which lime has been dissolved, is poured over the carcass. The water must be hot, but not boiling, or the skin will harden and the bristles refuse to come out. These are scraped out with knives, fingernails, the hands, but especially with the rough, coarse, volcanic stone, the *janamo*. This undoubtedly is a transfer in technique from pottery making. This stone is the traditional polisher, whatever the object. When the first pigs were introduced and the slaughtering technique acquired, doubtless the stone seemed like the ideal instrument for polishing the animal. Finally, when nearly clean, the carcass is washed with soap and warm water, and with sharp knives the remaining bristles are cut. The legs are tied together and on a carrying pole the entire animal is transported to the chopping block of the butcher shop—in most cases a cleared space on the store counter.

Pork, like beef, theoretically sells for \$2 a kilo. In practice, \$0.20 to \$0.50 is the average purchase, and the butcher trims a little loin, rib, or other part which he gives the buyer.

SHEEP

Sheep are of relatively little importance; only 27 animals owned by 12 families are listed in the census. The largest number owned by one person is 6. Sheep are not slaughtered commercially, and are kept principally because of the value of their wool. Occasionally for a fiesta one will be killed to be roasted or stewed whole. The animal is beheaded with a sharp knife, often the curved *tranchete* carried by most men as a weapon of defense. Then a hoof is removed, a slight incision under the outer skin

made, and by blowing at this place it is possible to separate the skin and wool from the flesh over a large part of the carcass. With a knife the remaining skinning is done, the animal is hung by the hind legs, and the intestines are removed. Skins are worth from \$3 to \$5 in Pátzcuaro, where they are used for the wool. Some families, rather than sell the wool, pay weavers in Pátzcuaro to work it into blankets.

Goats are essentially nonexistent; one milk goat is listed in the census.

CHICKENS AND TURKEYS

The census shows that 146 cocks and 757 hens, including chicks, are owned by 171 families. Chickens often have a crude henhouse, and sometimes roost in trees or on trellises. Young chicks are fed *masa*, the ground-corn dough, while larger birds are fed whole maize grains. Chickens are valued for eggs and meat. Most are raised for home consumption, though there are always persons willing to sell birds when they are low on money. Turkeys are less common, though 61 birds owned by 19 families are listed. Their care is much like that of chickens; almost invariably they roost in trees. Eggs are used principally for hatching. Chickens are killed by wringing necks; turkeys are held on the ground and the head lopped off with a machete.

DOGS AND CATS

A surprising number of homes are without dogs; 207 are owned by 139 families, about half the total number of households. A few large animals are useful to the few individuals who occasionally hunt, but mostly they are kept for pets and to guard the house. Few are large enough to be dangerous, but by barking they warn the family of possible intruders, and particularly of animals prowling after chickens. In Tzintzuntzan, as in all other Mexican villages, there is rarely a moment when dogs are not barking: the strongest auditory impression from a stroll around town is the constant din of barking dogs. Most are well fed on tortillas and other scraps, and do not show the abuse and starvation characteristic of most Mexican towns. In the naming of dogs the humor of the Tzintzuntzeños comes to the fore. Names noted are: *Jazmín* ("jasmine"), *Mejoral* (a brand of aspirin), *Ri-*

cherina (another analgesic), *La Cubana* ("the Cuban"), *El Sultán* ("the sultan"), *El Almirante* ("the admiral"), *El Capulín* (after the tree of the same name), *La Duquesa* ("the duchess"), *Tengondir* (from "*tenga a donde ir*", a dog that wanders all around the countryside, never at home), and *Túmbalo* ("he knocks it down," a dog who developed the trick of throwing burros). Puppies are often given to friends; Vicente Rendón purchased a pup for \$0.05, about the lowest price possible for any animal.

Ninety-nine cats, quartered in 84 homes, are listed in the census. They are much less popular than dogs, and are valued for killing rats, mice, and lizards. Most people, however, find strychnine simpler and more effective for keeping down the rodent population. Cats are not often named. Tortilla scraps are thrown to them after meals.

BEEKEEPING

Beekeeping on a small scale is practiced by 15 persons, with a total of 42 hives. The indigenous stingless bee is not known; the common European bee is most usual, but the Italian, which stings much more, is preferred for the quantity and quality of honey. Hives are simply old soap boxes placed on a shelf of poles supported on notched sticks about a meter off the ground. Small notches at the bottom of the end walls, which can be removed, allow passage for the bees. A few shingles held in place with stones or a tile or two are often placed on top to keep out the rain. No attempt is made to plant flowers around the hives though the usual potted plants in most patios would seem to make good hunting for the small bee population.

Honey is removed twice a year, in November at the end of the rainy season, when the quantity is great, and in May, at the end of the dry season, when the quantity is relatively low. No nets are used. Hives are opened customarily at daybreak, not because of any magical reasons, but simply because in the cool morning air the bees are more sluggish and less apt to sting. Live coals are placed in a clay dish on which corncobs, which smoke freely but do not easily burst into flames, are placed. The hive is smudged a few minutes, the end removed, and smoke blown inside. Then with a knife the combs

which form in vertical walls from roof to floor are cut loose and removed, the stunned bees being brushed off with a leafy branch. New swarms can be spotted by the peculiar manner in which the cells are covered over. These are left unmolested. From time to time during the operation water is sprayed from the mouth over the inside of the hive and on the bees so that they will not stick to the liquid honey. Honey is extracted alternately from each end of the hives; the combs build out to fill the place that has been emptied, so that once a year there is a complete change of combs. The honey is placed in dishes and runs by gravity from the wax comb. It is used for medicinal purposes and for sweetening in cooking. The wax is used locally in the making of candles. Bees swarm in August. A small bell is rung to cause them to alight in a tree, a new box is prepared, rubbed inside and out with an herb, *mirto*, and held under their position in the tree. Usually they enter of their own accord, but when they are high up they are swept down with a leafy branch or stick.

ANIMAL VALUES

The inflation of recent years in Mexico is reflected in spiraling values of domestic animals in Tzintzuntzan. Table 16 shows comparative prices of important animals during the years 1941—45, and 1931, the year following the founding of the *municipio*.

ANIMAL ILLS

Sickness of animals continually plagues owners of livestock. Although no thorough study was made, a number of types of illnesses and curing practices came to light. Lice are the principal problem with chickens, and there is no known remedy. A sick chick, as in most parts of Mexico, is placed under a wooden tray which is tapped with a small stick or corncob. This is believed to revive it. *El clavo* is a swelling which develops in the hoofs of cattle, causing them to sicken and usually to die. Cattle midwifery is practiced by several men. Apparently failure of the placenta to appear is the main difficulty. Some men grind up four maguey leaves, mix with water, and give to the animal. Primo Calderón uses more direct measures. Two liters of soapy, salty water, in which a little of

the herb *ruda* has been mixed, is given orally. Then he washes his hands with alcohol, beats the cow on the rump, greases his hands with lard, and reaches inside the vagina to loosen the placenta and cord. Finally the irritated parts are covered with a commercial medicated oil, and the animal is restricted to the soapy, salty water diet for 3 days. In the case observed the cow recovered.

A number of burro ills are recognized. These include *mal de pico*, diagnosed when the animal hangs its head and is listless, and *mal de brinco*, an intestinal disorder which causes the belly to swell. Eating of very young zacate also causes stomach disorders. All of these symptoms are

direct exploitation of the earth for immediate profit, while others are, in a sense, manufactures, differing from pottery making only in that fewer individuals are so engaged, and in that this work is almost always secondary to the main occupation of the individual. For example, a number of women are seamstresses and contribute in a substantial way to the family maintenance. Nevertheless, in terms of numbers they are few, and in terms of function, are first of all housewives. In this section the purely "exploitive" activities are first discussed, and then these minor occupations. Store-keeping, because of its special nature, is left to a discussion of trade and commerce.

TABLE 16.—Comparative prices of domestic animals in recent years

Animal	Price					
	1945	1944	1943	1942	1941	1931
Horses.....	\$ 150-300	\$ 100-200	\$ 80-150	\$ 75-125	\$ 60-100	20-50
Mules.....	400-500	300-450	200-300	150-250	100-150	50-70
Cattle ¹	400-500	300-450	200-300	150-250	100-150	70-100
Burros.....	75-150	60-125	40-90	30-70	30-50	10-20
Pigs.....	50-150	(2)	....	....	....	....
Sheep, young.....	20-30	(2)	....	....	....	....
Chickens.....	3-8	3-8	2.50-6	2-5	1.50-2.50	0.60-1.00
Turkeys.....	15-20	(2)	....	....	....	....

¹ Good oxen and milk cows near the top of this range. Best bulls for slaughtering are worth somewhat less.

² No data available.

treated with salt, which is said to clean out the stomach of the animal. *Mal de tieso* and *mal de redicnge* are hoof ailments. Bleeding is standard treatment. A rope is tied tightly around the animal's neck causing the veins to stand out. These are lanced with a knife and a liter or two of blood is allowed to run out.

The *roncha* is an insect which burrows into the neck and causes sore spots. Pack animals that go to the hot country are particularly afflicted. The sore spot may be cauterized with a hot iron, but if the animal dies, no attempt is made to salvage the skin, since the disease is said to be very contagious. Vampire bats are also said to be a danger of the hot country. Saddle sores are sometimes treated with lard or commercial unguents.

SECONDARY OCCUPATIONS

Of the occupations which I have called "secondary," some are those concerned with the

GATHERING

VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Tzintzuntzan has progressed to the point where gathering is no longer a significant economic activity. Firewood is the principal material needed by all. It is gathered a load or two at a time by most home owners on the slopes of Yahuaro and Tariaqueri. A few individuals bring more than they need for sale to others, sometimes bartering it for bread or other foodstuffs, and sometimes selling it to storekeepers for resale. A burro "load," consisting of 40 pairs of small sticks, is sold for \$1.25: firewood usually can be obtained in the bakery. Since a hard worker can get three loads in a half day, this would seem to be a profitable field of endeavor; relatively slight demand is probably the reason it is not a systematic industry. Oak and pine are favored woods, but many others are used, including *madroño*, walnut, cedar, and ash.

Charcoal making formerly was practiced on a small scale, but in recent years more stringent forestry laws have put a stop to it. It was done under contract by regular companies engaged in this work, with imported workers; hence, it was never an industry of the town. A little charcoal is regularly sold, at \$8 to \$9 for a burro load of two jute sacks. It is used only to heat flat irons, and not in cooking. Most of it comes from within the *municipio*, near Coenembo, where the scrub oak of the old *malpais* or lava flow is used.

Building lumber formerly was cut from nearby hills, but the supply has been nearly exhausted. The closest source within the *municipio* is a hill known as Tupátiro near the village of Corrales. Pine and fir are the favored woods, and beams and planks are brought in, cut to contract as the demand may be. *Tejamaniles* ("shingles") sell for about \$15 for a load of 200. Though occasionally used for roofing of minor structures their main use is to make the floor of the attic in which maize and other crops are stored.

Ocotote, splinters of pitch pine, was the customary means of lighting before the Conquest, and most families still keep a little on hand for emergencies, and for lighting for fiestas, when more illumination than that afforded by candles or oil lamps is desirable. Most is cut in the mountains to the west of the lake and brought to Pátzcuaro for resale. A *raja*, a small piece about 50 cm. long, sells for \$0.10 in Pátzcuaro and \$0.15 in Tzintzuntzan. Pottery merchants who go to Erongarícuaro often purchase *ocote* there.

Since these pine splinters burn immediately when touched with a match, they are particularly useful when starting a fire in the pottery kiln or the kitchen.

Oak and *changungo* wood are used for plows, and ash for the occasional wooden tray which may be carved out, for ox yokes, and for ox-cart-wheel hubs. The *colorín* tree, which has a brilliant red spring blossom when no leaves have appeared, is planted to form fences; its light, soft wood is ideal for fishnet floats, and occasionally as the handle for *tinaja* pot burnishers. *Quiote*, the dry stalk of the *mezcal* cactus, is highly valued as a light, strong pole to

use as a trellis for growing chayote vines and in making the *sarsu*, the pottery-packing crate.

Several soap substitutes are known, although their use is dying out. *Cóngora* (*Phytolacca octandra*) produces a small tassel which is mashed and used to wash woolen garments, or, to save soap, the first washing of very dirty garments is done with it. *Amole*, an unidentified tuberous plant (called *chalankote* in the sierra, or by its Tarascan name *apupen*), grows in ravines in the hills. It is mashed with rocks and ground on a metate for washing woolen garments. *Jaboncillo*, an unidentified vine which grows along the lake shore, has leaves which when mashed make a soap substitute.

MINERAL PRODUCTS

The extraction of clay for pottery making, the principal form of mineral exploitation, has already been discussed. Quarries, either for clay or other substances, are commonly referred to as *minas* ("mines"). The most important of the nonclay mines is that known as Shushwátiro, an hour distant on the slopes of Tariaqueri hill. Sand for building purposes is taken out with crowbars, shovels, or even the hands, put in jute bags, and carried home on burros or mules. Zeferino Villagómez, municipal president in 1945, is the owner, and allows the citizens to exploit it freely. A black volcanic sandstone is cut out of the hillside and from inside a cave near the La Capilla clay mine. It is fashioned into columns 30 cm. in diameter and 1 m. tall, to be used as the supporting shaft for pottery kiln grates. Access to this privately owned land is free to all Tzintzuntzeños. Building rock for house foundations is taken out of the gullies which cut through several parts of town. In the past the *yácatas* have been exploited for building stone. Earth for adobe bricks is simply taken out of the patio of the house builder at the time of construction.

HUNTING

Hunting might more properly come under the heading of "sports," since it is engaged in principally as a pastime and does not contribute significantly to the alimentation of the villagers. Duck hunting is, of course, an exception to this

generalization. Guns and traps are the principal hunting techniques, and dogs are often used to flush and run down the quarry.

Deer are hunted in August, after the fawns have been born. They are lured with a *gamitadera*, an artificial auditory lure which sounds like a fawn calling, or they may be taken at night by a hunter who fastens a flashlight to his forehead and shoots at the reflection of the eyes of the curious deer that comes to investigate. On the rare occasions when venison is sold, the price is \$2 a kilo, the same as for beef and pork. Rabbits and squirrels are flushed by pursuing the lips and making a shrill sound somewhat like that of the deer caller; the same method may be used to attract deer if the hunter lacks a *gamitadera*. The squirrel call is shorter and sharper than that for a rabbit. Both animals are killed with guns, and are valued for their flesh. Rabbits are said to be most easily taken during the rainy season.

Foxes and coyotes are shot during the summer for their skins, which are worth about \$15 and \$10 respectively. Opossums, the meat of which is a great delicacy, are run down on foot, grasped by the tail, and clubbed; this is a dangerous sport since the animals sometimes bite. Skunk meat is believed to be good "to clear up the blood." Badgers (*tejón*) are said to be bad pests during the season when maize is ripening. They are sometimes taken by a device not seen, a type of dead-fall. One end of a string is fastened to a large stone which is precariously balanced on two others, and on the other end a fish is tied. When the badger tugs at the fish the stone falls and crushes him.

Birds are hunted both for their flesh and to reduce the menace to ripening crops. Doves (*huilotas*) are taken with a noose trap or shotgun. Towhees (*tarengos*) eat the stalks of young maize plants, cutting under the earth with their beaks to the roots. They are taken with slings and shotguns. Pigeons (*torcasitas*) are taken with rubber slingshots (*resorte*) or shotguns. Blackbirds (*tordos*), a great menace to ripening maize, are killed with guns. Crows, which unlike the foregoing birds are never eaten, are frightened though rarely killed with guns. If by luck one falls it is nailed to a post in the milpa as a scarecrow, and is said to be very effective.

The two most common traps are shown in figure 30.

Dove trap.—A 1-m. long stick of *istafiate* (*Artemisia filifolia*) is stuck in the ground. A 70-cm. cord consisting of eight horsehairs roll-

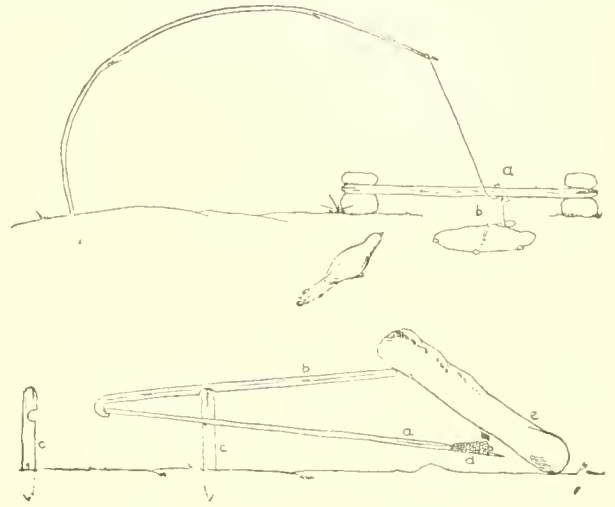


FIGURE 30.—Traps. Top, dove trap. Bottom, squirrel trap.

ed together is tied to one end and set so that the stick is bent sharply. The noose is held on the ground by means of small pebbles, and cocked by means of a tiny stick *a* held in place by trigger *b*. Seeds of the *chicalote* are used as bait. When the trigger is disturbed the small stick *a* is pulled out from under the cross bar, the bent stick straightens, and the noose tightens.

Squirrel trap.—Stone *e*, the size of an adobe or larger, is balanced on notched stick *b* which is supported on post *c* driven into the ground. The trigger *a* caught in the hook at the end of *b* is delicately balanced in a side notch on *c*. It is baited with an ear of corn *d*. When the squirrel nibbles the corn, *a* is pushed out of the notch of *c*, causing the stone to fall and crush the animal.

MEZCAL MANUFACTURE

In Tzintzuntzan the term *mezcal* refers, not to the distilled liquor of this name, but to the pit-roasted hearts of the *mezcal* cactus. This cactus, a type of maguey, grows wild on the slopes of Tariaqueri. The plants are carefully watched in late spring, and when the *quite*, or

stalk, is about to flower it is cut off about 2 m. above the ground so that the sap remains in the plant. Cactuses so treated are not exploited until the following season, which is from January to May. At this time the *penças*, or leaves of the plant, are cut off flush with the central part, known as the *piña*. This heart is then removed and trimmed round and smooth across the top and sides and flat across the bottom. The trimming is done just at the point where the leaves begin to separate and the green outer covering to appear. When trimmed, each heart, from 30 to 80 cm. in diameter and almost as high, looks much like an Eskimo igloo.

A number of tender *quiotes* are cleaned to be roasted, some still left attached to the heart. Because they are less fibrous, they are considered better eating than the leaf butts of which the heart is composed. The largest hearts are cut into halves so that they will roast more thoroughly. Since several men work together in building and loading an oven, but separately in cutting and trimming the *mezcal* plants, brands are required to distinguish the property of each individual. One mark noted is a notch or groove along the base in the center of the stock; a second is a round hole in the same place; a third is a notch at the top of the heart at the point where the stock emerges, while the mark of the fourth is the very absence of any identifying sign.

Mezcal is prepared in weekly cycles. Firewood is gathered on Monday, and on Tuesday the plants are cut and trimmed. At dawn on Wednesday, the oven—a hole in the ground about 1.75 m. deep and about 3 m. wide at the top—is fired with oak wood. After there is a good bed of coals, a covering of small stones is added, filling the oven to within about 35 cm. of ground level. These rocks heat until all except those on the very top are red hot. Meanwhile the men bring in the hearts, left at their place of cutting the day before, and the identifying marks are placed. Between 200 and 300 leaves from the same plants are also brought to be used for covering the oven. By about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the fire has died down and the process of placing the hearts, butt end down, begins. When the oven is fully loaded, the *mezcal* projects well over a meter above the earth level. Finally, the stocks, from 25 to 50 cm. long, are placed on top. The leaves used in

covering are placed, butt ends down, between the lowest layer of hearts and the earth, and are held in place by sticking their own sharp points into the *mezcal* itself. Then follows a second shingling in this fashion, and finally there is a crisscross of leaves laid across the top. The work is done neatly and thoroughly and the pile that results looks almost like a little hovel or house. Finally, the mass is covered to a depth of 15 cm. with earth scraped up from around the base. This is said to extinguish the fire almost immediately, and in the steam which results from the contact of the watery hearts with hot rocks, the *mezcal* cooks until Saturday morning.

Usually, the men who make *mezcal* sleep by the oven all Friday night to be able to open it before dawn. By 9 o'clock, the contents will have been removed and much of it carried to the village below. The *mezcal* leaves are a rich-brown color, and because of the steaming have opened apart so that they can be torn out without the use of a knife. Perhaps 25 percent or more are charred where they came into contact with red-hot rocks. This reduces the value of the damaged parts, but does not ruin the heart itself.

Much of the *mezcal* is sold in Tzintzuntzan itself for \$0.10 a piece. When the season is well under way, merchants come from Morelia, Zacapu, and other equally distant places to carry the product to their own towns. Some goes to the Sunday market in Pátzcuaro.

A number of superstitions are connected with *mezcal*. The *mezcaleros* should not wash themselves or their clothing or put on clean clothes the day they fire the oven; if so, the cooked *mezcal* does not take on the rich-brown color, but remains whitish. They must not comb their hair on this day; otherwise a poor texture results. Chile is likewise taboo this day, for if it is eaten, the *mezcal* bites the tongue. One must not delouse oneself while *mezcal* is in the oven, for fear the cooked product will have tiny spots resembling lice eggs. While *mezcal* is in the oven, the makers must not drink pulque, otherwise the cooked product will have the undesirable color of pulque; nor must they stack *ocote*, which would cause the *mezcal* to be bitter. Formerly the man in charge of the oven danced around it while it was being covered, eating *piloncillo* (crude brown sugar) to ensure a sweet

flavor for the *mezcal*. There is still half a belief that eating lots of sweet foods, candies, and *piloncillo* helps to ensure a high percentage of sweet, and hence desirable, *mezcal*. In the words of one *mezcal* maker, "*es muy delicado el mezcal*" ("*mezcal* making is tricky business").

In Tzintzuntzan, there are several teams of four or five men who regularly make *mezcal* throughout the season. Rights to exploit the hillside land on which the cactus grows are obtained from individual owners. One *mezcal* maker says that he and his associates paid a total of \$55 to various owners for the rights to sufficient land for the entire season. Usually contracts are renewed year after year, since the plants must be selected and cut when they begin to flower the spring preceding the cooking. Usually the price includes, in addition to money, a couple of small hearts from each batch. The communal lands of the *Comunidad Indígena* are also exploited. In practice, the president of this organization simply sells the rights as if it were his own land; legally, the money should go into the treasury of the *Comunidad*.

Mezcal is either eaten as a between-meal snack or, preferably, with *atole*. In the latter case, the technique is to take a bite of *mezcal*, chew it a little to extract the liquid, and then take a drink of *atole*, swallowing all together except the fibers, which are spat out. *Mezcal* eating at best is messy; the strong dark-brown liquid streams over the hands and dribbles down the chin, until one looks like an inveterate tobacco chewer. *Mezcal*, taken with hot water, is said to be a purge.

The distilled tequilalike drink known as *mezcal*, made from this cactus, formerly was made in Tzintzuntzan. License fees became so high that the industry was taxed out of business.

HOUSE BUILDING

The census lists one full-time mason, and eight who devote a part of their time to this trade. Four individuals are part-time carpenters. Though not listed in the census, there are several individuals, mostly from the nearby Tarascan villages, who make adobes during the dry season. Since the bulk of the work in building is in the making and laying of adobes and stones, it is understandable that there should be fewer carpenters than masons and adobe makers. Also,

much of the carpentry work, such as doors and window frames, is done in Pátzcuaro or Quiroga, and the finished product brought to Tzintzuntzan. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that many individuals with other professions are capable of helping in these also, for the average Tzintzunteño is a jack-of-all-trades. Since barns and storage houses are lacking, the construction of a home is the only building worthy of mention. Stores are built in exactly the same manner as houses, and in most cases simply consist of an ordinary room with one or two doors opening directly onto the street.

Whether a house is large or small, elegant or simple, the construction is much the same. All are built with a view to long life, and many are still in good condition after 100 or more years. José Villagómez recently tore down a house to make room for another. His father had purchased it 50 years earlier, at which time it was an old house. Who knows, perhaps the house was 200 years old. And some of the adobe walls were still so sound that he incorporated them in the new structure.

A master mason is almost inevitably put in charge of new construction. After the room plan has been decided upon, a ditch 50 cm. deep is dug for the foundation, and rock, hauled from any nearby gully, is cracked with sledges and laid in a mud mortar, each layer carefully alined with twine. This rock foundation is carried from 20 to 60 cm. above the ground, with 50 cm. as an average. Thus, rain and running water in the streets will not affect the adobe which follows above. The standard building adobe in Tzintzuntzan is 50 by 30 by 10 cm. Some larger ones 60 by 30 by 15 cm. are occasionally used, and in massive constructions, especially in former times, an enormous block 100 by 30 by 25 cm. was known. A hole is excavated in the yard of the builder and the same earth put back with water and straw. The earth and water are mixed with the straw in the afternoon and allowed to stand and thicken until the next morning. The mixture is placed in wooden molds of the desired size, the top smoothed off even with a stick, the mold removed, the inside wiped with a wet rag, and the next adobe begun. Adobes are dried from 4 to 7 days flat, and then 4 or 5 more days on edge before being used. If not thoroughly dry, walls will crack. Often they are stacked on edge when dry, under

an improvised tile roof to protect them until building begins.

The adobe makers, a separate group apart from the masons, have straw furnished to them by the builder — if they were responsible they would skimp. One afternoon I found the patio of Faustino Peña full of *huinimo* (T. "pine needles") which he said were to be used in adobes to repair an old room. Pine needles are better, he says, but it is hard to get adobe makers — the needles prick their feet when mixing the mud.

Walls rise, carefully plumbed and alined, either to an even level from which a four-shed roof will rise, or gabled on the ends for a two-shed cover. Locally made tiles are used in almost all houses. On a good house outer walls are laid with adobes crosswise, while interior walls, carrying less weight, are laid lengthwise. Occasionally outbuildings or small additions will have shingles in the style of the sierra, or even a cover of maguey leaves. The better homes are whitewashed inside and out. Very fine sand is passed through a sieve and mixed with powdered horse dung or the dust swept from the street and then mixed with water and applied with a mason's trowel. The water paint, not necessarily white, is applied to this. A few homes have painted flowered walls. A stencil is cut in paper which is waxed to make it stiff, and used time after time until the wall is covered. José Villagómez' brother was the best painter the town had known. He wandered over Mexico, studying designs in many churches, and then came home to make his own stencils. José proudly tells me that he painted the interior of La Soledad, which, he thinks, is the finest example of the house painter's art in the region.

Most houses have a dirt floor. Around the plaza and along the highway, and occasionally in other parts of town, homes will be found with concrete or tile floors which are, needless to say, much cleaner and more pleasant. Except for the poorest houses all have a few windows. Many of the better houses have a pleasant open porch which runs the length of the patio side of the building. Frequently the kitchen is a separate building, of the same general construction, which is placed to the rear of the living quarters. When a new house is completed there is sometimes a small house-warming fiesta, with food,

music, and dancing, and often the priest is asked to come to bless the new home.

House costs are difficult to estimate, both because of the great differences in size and comfort, and because skyrocketing building prices make last year's data worthless this year. Wood, adobes, tile, and labor are the principal elements. Estimates of straw needed for adobe vary from 10 *arrobas* (115 kilos) to 20 *arrobas* (230 kilos) for 1,000 standard building adobes. In 1945 adobe makers received from \$50 to \$60 for 1,000 adobes. At \$0.30 an *arroba*, straw adds from \$3 to \$6 per 1,000. Adobe makers average from 50 to 100 adobes a day, including puddling, so that they earn from a bit less than \$3 to nearly \$6, considerably above the prevailing daily wage for work. In this work a man may be helped by his wife and children, so the rate of return is not so high as appears at first glance. Curiously, none of the adobe makers are potters. Apparently there is no conceptual similarity in mixing mud for pots and for adobes.

For small jobs masons are paid \$3 a day, a surprisingly low wage for specialized work. Usually, however, in house building payment is for the job. The mason sets his own speed and often hires a peon to aid him. In this case his wage is appreciably higher. Aided by a peon to carry water and mud mortar, a good mason can lay 200 adobes in a day. The following house costs are based on (a) Vicente Rendon's estimate of what his \$900 house, built in 1942, would cost in 1945; (b) actual cost to Vicente of a new kitchen built in 1945; (c) estimate of Ignacio Estrada, one of the best masons, of a hypothetical first-class two-room house built in 1945.

(a) Vicente's house consists of two rooms about 5 by 6 m., outside dimension, a wide porch along the back patio side, and a good four-shed tile roof.

2,000 adobes at \$50 a thousand.....	\$ 100
2,500 tiles at \$100 a thousand.....	250
16 <i>morillos</i> (roof beams) at \$35	
a dozen	47
25 smaller beams.	73
4 lintels at \$20 each	80
4 porch pillars at \$10 each.....	40
1 ridge pole.	20
6 dozen planks at \$3 each.....	216

[Tabulation continued on page 125]

[Tabulation continued from page 124]

1 large double door (<i>zaguán</i>) . . .	150
2 windows at \$25 each	50
2 small doors at \$50 each	100
Cracked rock for foundation	30
Nails	40
Hinges and locks	25
Mason's charge	250

Total \$ 1,521

2 windows at \$50 each	100
20 kilos nails	60
Hinges and locks	55
Carpenter	150
Mason, aided by peon, 6 weeks, work . . .	300
4,000 floor tiles	400
Mason to place tiles	75
Mud coating, outside and in, including labor	56

Total \$3,900

This is as built, without floor and without the *aplado de lodo*, the outside and inside plastering which a good house should have.

(b) The kitchen is 5 m. square, outside dimension, with a door but no window. Old lumber was used, so there was no cost for this. Vicente broke the rock for the foundation himself, taking it from a nearby wall. It was laid less deep than for a house. Adobes also, since roof weight is moderate, were laid lengthwise, not crosswise. Vicente also built the crude wooden door. Actual costs out of pocket:

500 adobes	\$ 27.50
500 tiles	50.00
Mason's charge	72.00
Mud daub on inside wall	7.00
Erection of the stove	5.00

Total \$ 161.50

Shelves and adobe benches on the inside were arranged by Vicente himself. This is a far less substantial structure than his house, and has a dirt floor only. As kitchens go, it is well built and should last with a minimum of repairs for many years.

(c) This is a hypothetical house of two rooms, 5 by 6 m., of the very best possible construction.

4,000 adobes at \$60 a thousand	\$ 240
3,000 tiles at \$125 a thousand	375
Cracked rock for foundation	120
6 carved stone bases for porch pillars . . .	150
6 pillars at \$15 each	90
6 <i>zapatas</i> (carved pillar tops) at \$10 each	60
1 ridge pole of 12 m.	30
Lintels	50
7 <i>plantillas</i> at \$7 each	49
72 12-inch by 6-inch beams at \$85 a dozen	510
48 roof beams at \$50 a dozen	200
12 dozen <i>fajillas</i> (cross sticks on roof beams to support tiles) at \$10 a dozen	120
1,000 small boards 1-inch by 2-inch for attic	360
(or 20 <i>cargas</i> of 200 <i>tejamaniles</i> , laid double and covered with thin layer of mud)	(240)
Large double door	150
4 small doors at \$50 each	200

This appears to be a very high figure and probably represents Ignacio's "dream" house. Apparently, depending on finish and exact size, a good two-room house in 1945 would cost between \$1,500 and \$3,000. Probably the poorest house, built by the owner himself, could be constructed with a cash expenditure of \$100 or a bit more.

CANDLE MAKING

Two or three individuals make candles as a part-time profession. The beeswax used is the local product of Tzintzuntzan beekeepers. After taking the comb from the hive it is placed in a basket and crushed with the hand to loosen the honey which runs out of the wax, through the bottom of the basket and into a *cazuela*. Hot water is then poured over the comb to remove the rest of the honey. The resulting sweetened water may be used to cook squash or other candied dishes. The wax itself is melted and poured into small *cazuelas* or tin molds in the bottom of which is placed a little water. The wax floats on top and when hard the mold is turned over; the water at the bottom of the mold causes the solid block to fall out.

The first step in making candles is to bleach the wax. It is placed in a large *cazuela*, water is added in equal proportions, and the whole thing placed on a fire so that the wax will melt. With an *hojeador*, a wooden disk 30 em. in diameter with a handle 12 em. long (fig. 31, b) the worker dips into the wax and lifts, so that a thin sheet of wax adheres to the bottom of the disk. This is immediately placed in another *cazuela* filled with soapy water, which hardens the wax and dislodges it from the disk. This process is continued until all of the wax has been removed, leaving only hot water. Next the thin sheets of wax are spread in the sun to bleach, preferably on grass so that they will not melt.

A full day of hot sun will bleach them almost completely; during the rainy season, fleeting hours of sunshine must be profited by when they appear. In Mexico, some communities prefer white candles while others prefer the unbleached color. In Tzintzuntzan, the white candle is preferred, while the nearby Tarascans prefer the unbleached form.

The very best candles are made of pure beeswax, which gives less smoke and which burns longer, but since such candles are very expensive, most are part paraffin. A common combination, said to represent a good balance between economy and performance, is two parts of

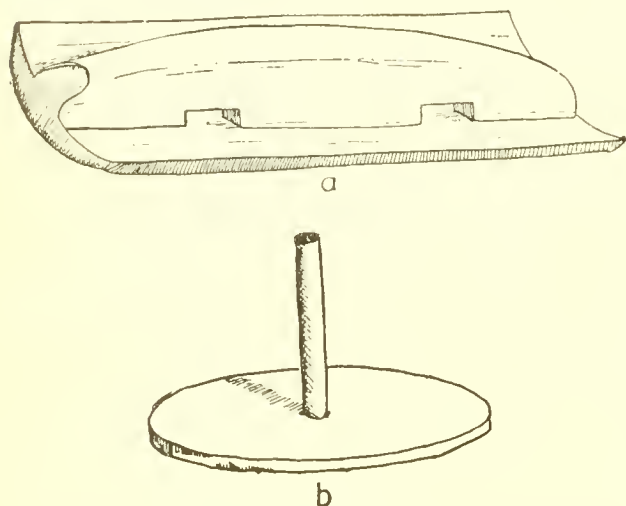


FIGURE 31.—Candle-making equipment. *a*, The *planeador* used to roll the finished candles smooth. *b*, The *hojeador* used in bleaching wax.

paraffin to three of wax. Both ingredients are melted in a large *cazuela* along with a little water which suspends the oils at the top. The wick, which comes in a ball, is of four-strand cotton string. This is cut to a length twice that desired for the candle and doubled to form a wick of eight strands. The loose ends are tied, washed in soapy water, and hung on nails driven in a hoop a meter in diameter. A hoop of this size, which may have up to 75 nails, is suspended from a rafter so that it may easily be revolved. The worker places the *cazuela* with melted wax just beneath the hoop with enough fire to keep the wax liquid. Then, with a tin dipper, he pours hot wax in turn on all wicks, twirling them so that the wax runs evenly all around. The soapy water prevents the wax

from sticking to the wick where it is hung from the nail. Thus the round of the hoop is made so that by the time the candlemaker returns to the first wick, it is cool and ready for the next bath. The wax cools as it runs down the candle, so that it tends to build up at the bottom. To solve this problem, when the candle is half-done it is removed from the hoop and enough wax is cut off at the bottom to expose the end of the wick. Then this end is hung from the hoop and the remaining coats of wax are added, so that the candle is symmetrical throughout its length. From 10 to 15 baths of wax are necessary, depending on the thickness of the candle. If the candlemaker is conscientious, he weighs his candles when they are about done, to make sure they meet standard weight requirements.

The final step is to place the candles, while still warm, on the table and with a *planeador* (fig. 31,*a*), a sort of rolling pin made of the cimarronwalnut, roll them back and forth to smooth and remove irregularities. The bottoms are then cut off square and the product is ready for sale.

Candles are made in recognized sizes based on *libras*, or pounds. The largest standard size is that called *de a dos libras*, which has a wick 1 m. long and which should weigh 2 pounds. Twelve of these are placed on the main altar for major fiestas. These are followed by the *de a una libra*, with an 80-cm. wick. This is the standard size for the main altar. The *de a media libra* has a wick 70 cm. long, and is used on smaller altars and to burn in front of the image of a saint or the Virgin. The *de a cuatro en libra* candles weigh a quarter of a pound each and have a 60-cm. wick. These, and the *de a ocho en libra* with a 50-cm. wick, are used in religious processions and to burn in front of altars. The small *de a doce en libra* 50-cm. candle is for home use. In addition, there is an outsize *cirio pascual* weighing 5 pounds, 1.20 m. long and 8 or 10 cm. in diameter. These are used only on Maundy Thursday, some on the main altar, and four others, one at each corner of the Santo Entierro as it lies in state in its glass coffin.

Beekeepers give part of their wax to the Church, and in the course of the year the priest receives several hundred kilos which he sends to candlemakers, paying them \$1 a kilo to have it worked. Jesús Peña, a former sacristan, esti-

mates that the priest sends 50 kilos to be worked for each of the "three Thursdays" of the year (p. 214). The resulting candles are sold by him at prices about 50 percent higher than those current in stores. Presumably they have greater spiritual value than the ordinary commercial variety.

Apparently about a day and a half are required to work 5 kilos of candles, not counting the time the wax is bleaching in the sun. A half day is spent melting the wax and making the leaves for bleaching, and a full day is necessary to make the candles. Large candles are easier, since they build faster and require less pouring. Approximate costs are as follows:

3 kilos wax at \$7	\$ 21
2 kilos paraffin at \$3	6
Wick	1
	\$ 28

If the worker is paid \$1 a kilo by the priest, his salary amounts to a little over \$3 daily, somewhat above the prevailing wage for common labor.

MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS

Nearly all women's clothing is made in Tzintzuntzan, and except for pants and overalls, most men's clothing. Work is done on sewing machines, mostly by women, though there are a few men who sew in their spare time. Eight women do enough sewing to be considered seamstresses. Most families have a few small tablecloths, scarcely larger than large napkins, for the tiny tables brought out for guests. These are embroidered with cross-stitching, usually red and blue, sometimes showing humans and animals, sometimes with simple geometrical designs. Unfortunately most of the designs are now taken from the needlepoint design books sold in all Mexican markets, and the taste is correspondingly bad.

A dozen women, mostly elderly widows, do odd jobs, the most important of which are clothes washing and tortilla making. When a potter is busy she often dislikes to take time off for these domestic chores, preferring to pay some one else to do the work. Clothes are washed, when in large quantities, at the spring in Ojo

de Agua. Average rates are: shirts, dresses, and aprons, \$0.10; *pantalones*, \$0.20; children's garments, half price. Clothing is returned unironed unless extra payment is made, and the sender must furnish soap. The standard rate for making tortillas, with the dough furnished, is \$0.40 for a *cuarterón* of 4 liters. Carmen Peña guesses the time at 2 hours, which is probably low. Four or five families have hired maids who live with them and help with all household work, receiving about \$10 a month plus room and board. Usually they are widows, middle-aged women without other means of support. Such work is considered distinctly menial.

Natividad took on a young girl 2 years ago who came to her, in her own pungent phrasing, "without any underclothing." Nati remedied her most urgent need and paid her \$9 a month for a short period. Hired men are as rare as hired women. Primo Calderón, who is one of the town's wealthy men, has a 16-year-old orphan who helps with all the chores around the house, with the plowing, planting and harvesting — whatever the work may be — and in return receives room, board, clothing, and a few pesos a month. Three young boys of 11 or 12, one an orphan, live with families to help the little they can, principally watching the cattle in the hills, receiving an occasional peso or so, but not enjoying a fixed salary.

Three men are part-time shoemakers. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say "repairers," since most of their work consists of patching up the old huaraches of the townsmen. They receive from \$0.20 to \$0.75 for an average repair job.

WAGE LABOR

Working for wages has, apparently, for many years been a part of the labor picture in Tzintzuntzan. Aside from the small jobs just mentioned, this principally took the form of field work on the part of individuals who had little or no land themselves, or who were unacquainted with other callings. Altogether, however, it seems probable that the supply of labor was relatively limited, since most individuals preferred to share crop or farm on some other basis. With the pushing through of the high-

way late in the 1930's a new pattern emerged. Men worked a regular day on an hourly basis for a fixed wage. They reported at the job on the minute, their lunch time was strictly cut out for them, and when the whistle blew, figuratively speaking, they were free to go home. Although wages on the road were not high the work attracted a great many men, apparently due to the novelty of the new work and the desire for change.

In subsequent years, during a part of the spring, work on a large scale has been available in the archeological reconstruction of the *yácatas*, and again in 1945 a lengthy road repair job gave employment for from 50 to 70 men over a period of many months. Hence, since the late 1930's during at least a part of each year labor has been available to a considerable number of Tzintzuntzeños without leaving their homes. Data are not available for earlier years, but during 1945 men received \$2 for an 8-hour day, and had the option of working another 4 hours for an additional peso. Thus, working a 72-hour week they could earn \$36, which is considerably less than a good potter should earn with less work, though he would be aided, of course, by his wife. In addition to variety the lack of responsibility seems to be another reason for the popularity of the work. One has only to show up in the morning, go through the fewest motions possible for 8 or 12 hours, and collect the money at the end of the week. No planning of production and no worrying about the lack of rain or the inroads of birds at harvest time can bother the laborers. And, for the ones to whom this lack of responsibility appeals, it is probable that they would earn no more — if as much — working on their own in other occupations. The tendency has been to develop a new class of individuals who are hired laborers, pure and simple. Thus, in the list of father's occupations we find only eight day laborers without other occupations, while today the number has nearly doubled to 14, still a low figure, but showing nonetheless a distinct trend. The outside competition of highway building and archeology causes endless complaints on the part of farmers who claim that they cannot meet the wage rates. But it is doubtful if production has suffered because of this.

The efficiency in much work in Tzintzuntzan is very low. Potters deftly manipulate their clays with little lost time, and many farmers are hard workers. Nevertheless, considering the town as a whole one finds the tendency to get by on the least possible effort. Individuals doing their accustomed tasks show considerable skill and dexterity; when they are put to something that requires a little thought, the results are disappointing. There is little idea of doing a job well for the sake of doing it well; and there is little idea of doing it well to avoid future work and effort. One afternoon, for example, I observed a number of men assembling an ox cart to carry stone for the repair of the church. The main problem was to place an old chassis on new wheels, themselves fastened to an old axle. No adequate provision was made to fasten the chassis. At first it was simply laid on the axle and, of course, when the oxen started, it slipped off. Finally, after much discussion and much search, a strand of barbed wire was produced, and one side of the chassis was fastened to the axle. When the oxen started, the axle turned around and slipped off on the other side, and there was more work to push it back in place. Since more wire was lacking all passers-by were hailed and urged to climb on, the weight holding the axle in place. At the rock quarry — really the ruined buildings of a part of the convent — the axle slipped again, and the wire was removed and fastened in a different manner. At the last moment a boy arrived with another piece of wire to fasten the still loose side. The whole operation was sloppy and careless, with no apparent idea of doing the job right in the first place to save time and energy. The guiding principle was the least work that would get by, and in the long run it meant more work for everybody.

The peons who have worked on the *yácatas* are said by the supervisors of the National Institute of Anthropology to be the least satisfactory of any they have used in all parts of Mexico. They are more prone to loaf, must be watched more sharply, and turn in less work for a given number of hours. Admittedly, salaries are low. Ospina, while superintending the construction of a stone wall, determined the number of centimeters that were finished in a day. Then,

as an experiment, he offered the workers a day's salary for that number of centimeters, regardless of the time required. The work went eight times as fast. Clearly, more money was a stimulus to greater effort. The problem is much the same in all parts of Mexico, and it is difficult to say whether the hen or the egg is first. Salaries are low, and production per man is equally low. The man's work is worth no more than his salary, low as it is. With salary doubled, would he work twice as hard? That is a difficult question, which cannot be answered here. Some light is shed by the attitudes of those who have gone to the United States to work, either as *braceros* during the war or at earlier periods. All are delighted at the high wages. On the other hand, the idea of working 8 or 10 hours a day at the same rate of speed, with a meager half hour for lunch, is shocking and terrifying. Most feel that this can be done for 6 months or a year, to build up a backlog of money which enables one to buy land or other desirable things. But, as a pattern for life, year after year, it holds little attraction. In Tzintzuntzan, most men would prefer to work less and have less. Norberto Estrada probably speaks for most when he says, "Here we work hard for 3 or 4 hours. Then we rest."

Generally there is a feeling that work in Tzintzuntzan is very dirty, that that is its greatest drawback. Norberto undoubtedly speaks for the majority when he unhesitatingly rates agriculture as the most desirable form of work. With a good harvest, one doesn't have to buy maize, and to the Tzintzuntzeño, nothing is more painful than having to spend money. Next? Pottery is second choice. One can also earn a fair living in this way, though it is dirty. And making *mezcal*, in which Norberto is at the moment engaged? Yes, a good profit, but the work is so terribly dirty. "When we come out here we put on our oldest rags. One would start out with new clothes like yours, and on coming back, they would be old."

Vicente likewise shows his hate of the dirt. At first he is reluctant to have his picture taken in working clothes. His clothes are dirty, and pottery is such a humble profession. People in the United States should not see him thus. Returning men from the United States have brought fantastic tales of that country, contributing considerably to work-consciousness among those

who stayed at home, and strengthening ideas of high and low class work.

In general it can be said that the great incentive to work in Tzintzuntzan is to have food, clothing, shelter, and enough to fulfill certain minimal religious obligations. What is sufficient in each of these categories depends upon the family in question, and examination of family budgets will show great differences. Nonetheless, one works to live, whatever one's definition of living may be and whatever one's economic demands may be. Religious demands are probably more important than in most primitive communities, and the expenses occasioned by some of the *mayordomos* are sufficient to drive one into bankruptcy. Probably in most cases the money spent on the Church means a reduced living standard.

Nevertheless, the responsibility of being a *mayordomo*, or *carguero*, as they are here called, has interesting ramifications. The case of old Jesús Molinero is interesting. Several years ago he was very sick, and his family promised that he would be a *carguero* of San Francisco, with all attendant expense, if he were spared. When the time came to begin his duties, he didn't see how it would be possible to do it, since he was one of the poorest men in town. In fact, had it not been for what people would say, he would have begged off on the grounds of poverty, risking divine wrath for failure to comply with his vow. In desperation he began to work, harder than he had ever worked before. More shoes were mended, and more pots came out of the kiln. To his surprise, he began to accumulate money, so much so that he was not only able to meet demands of the Church, but to feed and clothe his family better than they had ever been taken care of before. In short, for the first time in his life he was enjoying a decent standard of living. The following year, though he no longer had Church obligations, from sheer habit he continued to work at the same feverish pitch, with consequent high standard of living. Such things could not last, however, and little by little he slipped back to his old habits of little work, and today his family is on little more than a subsistence level. This case is probably unusual; being a *carguero* in most cases means a great financial sacrifice. Nevertheless it shows how Church obligations may be a stim-

ulus toward greater effort and efficiency on the part of an individual.

The story also brings out another important point. He would not give up his *cargueroship* "because of what people would say." Maintaining face in Tzintzuntzan—in Mexico too, as far as that goes—is as important as in the Orient. This means that recognized and well-known standards must be met. A guest must have a tablecloth, and his tortillas must be smaller than those made for the family. A new dress must appear before "the function," the fiesta of Rescate. A woman must have shoes, at least for Sunday. Persons who place flowers in the church must have at least as many as those who went before. In short, to save face certain minimum standards of excellence must be maintained, and the only way to do it is through enough hard work to produce an economic surplus beyond that needed for bare existence.

Satisfaction from a job well done is not an

important part of work. Nati enjoys experimenting with new designs, and undoubtedly gets a real artist's thrill from a new creation. Patricio Estrada works hard and carefully on his burnished and painted pots, because he likes to do a good job. He notes a fresco on the old convent and successfully copies a design on his pots. And Micaela Hinojosa, at least when making clothes for a visiting ethnologist, wants to feel that they are the best she can do. These cases, however, are exceptions, and for most people a job is a job, without frills or flourishes. At best, a job is done to traditional standards of quality, and no more. At worst, we have the case of the ox cart. This is not to say that the capital equipment which a person uses for his normal tasks is not generally well suited to the problem, or that regular work is always shoddy and ill done. Rather, it is the apparent failure on the part of most individuals to do a job well and thoroughly, just for the satisfaction of knowing that it is well done.

COMMERCE AND FINANCE

TRADE

Tzintzuntzan is one unit in a large area in which free and unrestricted interchange of local products has been a basic feature of the economy for many centuries. Most of Mexico has since pre-Conquest times been characterized by a large proportion of non-self-sufficient villages and areas. The Tarascan area is no exception to the rule. Some of the villages around Lake Pátzcuaro could, in an emergency, be self-sustaining. Tzintzuntzan is one of this group. Others, such as the island villages, with neither agricultural lands nor wood, could not exist without well-developed trade mechanisms. And all villages, whether potentially self-sufficient or not, have found that through specialization and trade it is possible to enjoy more of the good things in life. Hence, metates from San Nicolás Obispo, wood trays and chairs from Quiroga, hats from Sahuayo, serapes from Nahuatzen, *ad infinitum*.

A number of mechanisms developed to make possible this trade. In pre-Conquest days, the human back and boats on the lakes were the only means. Even in the 20th century, surprising

amounts of merchandise still move in this way. With the advent of the Spaniards, the horse, mule, and above all, the burro made possible a quickening of the pulse of trade, and a more efficient means of transport. This probably also crystalized and reinforced the aboriginal patterns of specialization. Don Vasco de Quiroga is popularly credited with the establishment of the system of specialization which today exists. He told the Tzintzuntzeños and those of Santa Fe to be potters, those in Huatzio to make reed mats, those in Santa Clara to work copper, and so on through the entire list. Tata Vasco, in his wisdom, realized that specialization would make possible a higher standard of living for all.

There is a good deal more folklore than fact in this belief. Certainly new trades, such as metal working, were established after the arrival of the Spaniards, and improvements in others, such as pottery, were made. But the pattern of village specialization is so deeply engrained in central Mexico that attributing it to any one man is a denial of the simplest evidence. The States of México, Morelos, Puebla, Oaxaca, Jalisco, and Guanajuato, to mention a few of the most important areas, all have iden-

tical patterns to that of Michoacán, and Tata Vasco's influence was never felt in them. It must be assumed, then, that today's regional specialization is merely a logical and natural outgrowth of a pattern which has existed for hundreds of years, and which has its origin, not in the wisdom of one man, but in a developmental process which independently has characterized various parts of the world, and which represents an inevitable step in the direction of civilization.

The advent of the railway in the last years of the 19th century and of highways in the second quarter of the 20th century have been of tremendous importance in this development of trade, but from the long-term view they represent changes in degree and not in kind. And even today the *huacalero* with his crate on his back and the laden animal offer stiff competition. Eventually these older forms of transport will be reduced to a level of little importance, and the new means of moving goods and people will contribute substantially to a higher standard of living for all. At present, these effects are just beginning to be felt.

The public market at fixed intervals is not an inevitable solution to the problem of exchange of goods of different regions, but it is a very logical one. In Mexico there are two major patterns: the weekly market, often combined with minor markets on other days, and the permanent market. The latter is characteristic of southern Mexico, from Tehuantepec east. The other form is found in most parts of central Mexico. Often the two are combined. A town of considerable size will have a permanent market place, with some merchants who operate stands during the entire week. One day a week is, however, *the* market day, with vendors from outlying villages coming not only to sell but also to stock up for the week. On such a day the exchange of goods will equal if not surpass that of all the rest of the week. Mexico City, with a number of permanent public markets, is in a class by itself, and in a sense is more closely allied with the southern Mexican pattern. Smaller surrounding towns, such as Toluca, Morelia, Cuernavaca, Taxco, Tulancingo, and Ciudad Hidalgo are characteristic of the combination market day and permanent market.

Around Lake Pátzcuaro, the area of most importance to Tzintzuntzan, the aboriginal form

of the single market day remains little changed. Three markets are noteworthy: Erongarícuaro, where on Sundays exchange between the lake pueblos and the sierra takes place; Quiroga, which has a rather animated though somewhat local market, on Sundays also; and Pátzcuaro, which is the really important commercial center of the region. Here, on Fridays, the main plaza fills to overflowing with buyers and sellers from many kilometers around, and to a lesser extent on Sundays and Tuesdays. True, Pátzcuaro also has its permanent market, where basic essentials can be purchased, and where one can eat. But it is in a different location, and commercially and psychologically has little connection with the *día de la plaza*. Vendors in the permanent market are all Mestizos, as compared to the many Tarascans who come on Friday, and do not transfer their wares to the open sidewalk.

Tzintzuntzan, too, at one time, had its weekly market. Up until the first years of the 20th century, Saturday was characterized by the assembly of traders from all parts of the lake, coming to barter their wares for what is considered to be the best utilitarian pottery of the region. The steamboat which made regular trips around the lake at that time made Tzintzuntzan a regular call on this day, and in the minds of old people it was a gay and exciting affair. An area near the lakeshore, somewhat west of the highway and pier, was set aside for business. Today it is just another milpa, without a trace of its former use. The cause of the decline of this trade is uncertain. In all probability the disturbances caused by the Revolution, followed by better means of transport to other towns, made it impossible for Tzintzuntzan to compete with the larger centers.

Today, the Friday Pátzcuaro market and the Sunday Quiroga market are most important to the Tzintzuntzēños. On Fridays from early morning crowds stand patiently by the bus stop in the plaza, trying to force their way into the already overcrowded busses, or hoping that a passing truck will stop to pick up passengers. Persons with large amounts of pottery invariably go on foot, driving animals, a trip accomplished in about 4 hours. *Naturalitos*, the Tarascans from La Vuelta, loaded with baskets of fish wrapped in carrying cloths, mingle with the Mestizos, all hoping for transportation. Those with only a little pottery will try to get on the

bus, and the amount of freight thus carried is almost equal to that of passengers. Always, some persons are disappointed; the demand for transportation cannot be met by established lines.

THE PATZCUARO MARKET

Although not exhaustively studied, the Pátzcuaro market was observed on a number of different days to determine the number of vendors and buyers, the products exchanged, and the seasonal rhythm throughout the year. Figure 32 shows the physical layout of the market. As can be seen, most of the commerce is carried on in the main plaza. On the sidewalks of the plaza itself one finds the hundreds of small vendors who have come in for the day with a few fish, a little fruit, maize, *ocote*, and other items sold in small quantities. Flanking the plaza on all sides are the graceful *portales* or arches which roof the outside sidewalks. Some trading is carried on here, particularly by merchants who have permanent stores and who place a part of their stuffs outside for better display. On the north side of the plaza there are a few permanent stands which sell fruit, baskets, cold drinks, ice cream, and carved wooden canoes, nets, plows, and toys brought from the Tarascan islands.

Leading north from the main plaza is a narrow street, crowded with displays of clothing, cooked foods, lime, and that curious assortment of dried sea urchins, alligator heads, earths and herbs which make up the open-air apothecary shops of Mexico. This street opens into the smaller Bocanegra Plaza, along the east side of which one finds potato sellers and potters with their wares. The permanent market, a collection of small stands in an old building, is off the northwest side of this plaza.

From early in the morning there are stirrings which mark the day as one of unusual activity. The permanent merchants are out on the sidewalks with their merchandise by the time the Tarascans and Mestizo sellers begin to arrive, and policemen walk about collecting the nominal plaza tax. If one goes to the lakeshore 3 km. north of the town proper, one is well rewarded by the sight of the canoes, pulling into mooring canals, piled high with cargo and humans. Boats are carefully tied to the shore, and the paddles carried to a nearby home of a friend where they

will be safe for the day. Formerly a little horse-drawn ear ran from the lake-level railway station to the center of town. Today it has been replaced by autobusses which struggle over the rough cobblestones, loaded to overflowing with passengers and produce. Many prefer to walk, and all morning there is a long line of people, bent forward under their heavy loads, ascending to the plaza.

Selling begins about 8 o'clock in the morning, but the hours between 11 and 1 are most animated. By 5 o'clock there is little evidence, beyond great piles of refuse, of the excitement of the day. Most vendors—perhaps 90 per cent—are women, although there are exceptions. Owners of permanent stores have their own male clerks to help, and the large stands of potatoes, dried chiles, and bulk fruits on the east side of the plaza are in the hands of men. Lime, hats from Jarácuaro, much clothing, and some petates are also sold by men.

The percentage of Tarascans as compared to Mestizos is difficult to estimate. On Fridays they come from Ihuatzio, Janitzio, Cucuchucho, La Pacanda, and La Vuelta in great numbers, and in smaller numbers from other lake villages bringing fish, ducks, vegetables, fruit, and petates. Always there are Tarascan women from the sierra, especially Nahuatzen, with sashes and serapes. Probably not over 35 per cent of all sellers are Tarascans. Because of their picturesque and the prominent place they occupy in the plaza, the percentage seems higher. Also, a good many persons who appear to be Indian to an untrained eye are in reality Mestizos.

Selling is lively and animated, accompanied by a continual babble of voices. The women squat hip to hip in long, solid lines which make passage out from the sidewalk an impossibility. The buyers walk down between the two parallel lines of sellers, examining the goods offered, and haggling over prices. Each new face among the shoppers is greeted with a standard phrase, "*Que va a llevar, marchante*" ("What are you going to take with you, buyer?"), followed by remarks about the high quality of the fruit, the size of the fish, or the tenderness of the ducks offered. Although prices for most objects have values which are pretty well recognized by everyone, vendors always start with an asking price considerably higher, to be countered with

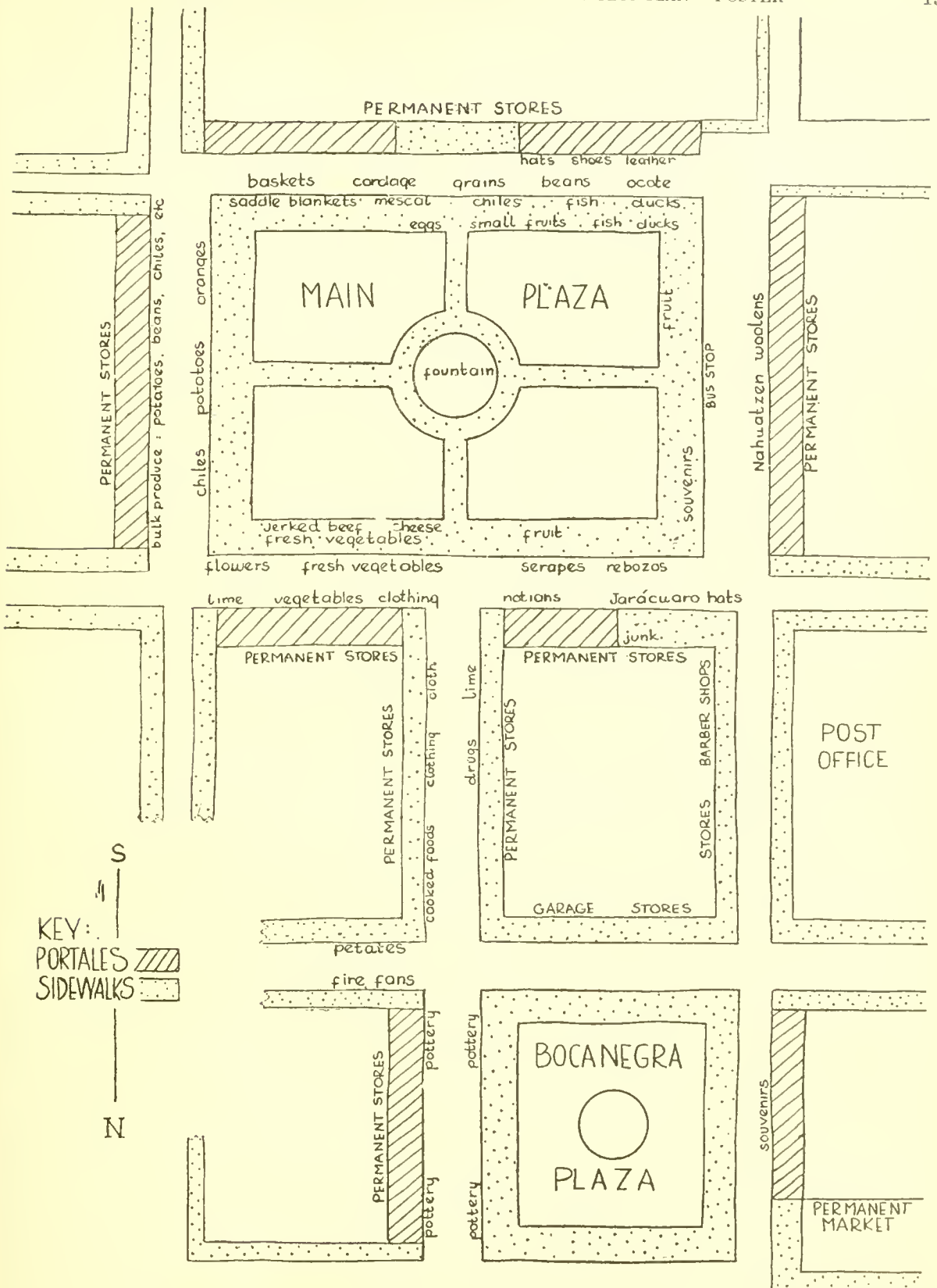


FIGURE 32.—The Pátzcuaro market. See text pp. 132-137 for description.

an offer lower than the final sale price. Eventually, through much haggling, a price is agreed upon, usually lower than the seller thinks is fair, and higher than the buyer had hoped to go. Very little direct barter takes place; Pátzcuaro operates on the basis of a money economy whose function is well understood by all.

The importance of the market varies throughout the year. During the dry season there is much more activity than during other times; this is the season for fish and ducks, the period of major pottery production, and the time of year when people have most money. During the rainy season, from July through November, activity drops off with the average market day showing perhaps from half to two-thirds as many buyers and sellers. On January 12, February 9, and May 18, 1945, and on July 5, 1946, counts were made of the number of vendors and lists drawn up of the products offered. On many other occasions over a period of 18 months the market was visited to note what new products appeared from time to time, and which were not in season.

Table 17 shows the numbers of vendors on these four Fridays, grouped according to major categories of merchandise offered and location in the plaza. The July 5 market was an exception to the general rule of fewer rainy-season sellers. Table 18 indicates the seasonal presence or absence of the principal articles which appear in the Pátzcuaro market.

Determining the number of sellers is difficult, since some individuals depart and others take their places, and any precise count undoubtedly shows a figure far less than reality. For example, one day 20 hat sellers from Jarácuaro were counted. One of the students, at the time working on the island, told me that two or three times as many had actually come. In all probability, then, the counts given in table 17 are much below the actual number of persons who sold on the days in question. Correcting our data as well as possible, it seems likely that from 1,000 to 1,500 vendors come to the average dry-season market. Total sales in some cases are a peso or less; this is particularly true of many Indians and Mestizos who take advantage of market day to shop, and who take along no more produce than that which they can easily carry. In other cases, particularly the large stands, sales amount to several hundred

TABLE 17.—Number of vendors in Pátzcuaro market

Product and location of vendor	1945			1946
	Jan. 12	Feb. 9	May 18	July 5
Main Plaza:				
East side:				
Chiles, dried..	46	64	73	17
Mixed fruits..				13
Mixed vegetables.....				30
Potatoes.....				12
Miscellaneous (jerked beef, garlic, chickpeas, lime, etc.).....				13
South side:				
Baskets, rope, etc.....	383	8	9	4
Beans, dried..		23	16	7
Capotes.....		0	1	5
Cooked foods..		32	12	9
Firewood.....		15	5	11
Fish, ducks....		121	60	33
Fruit.....		3	5	206
Maize, shelled.		36	22	20
Mezcal.....		10	7	0
Mixed vegetables.....		13	33	83
Ocote.....		10	18	42
Tunas.....		2	3	8
Miscellaneous (eggs, mushrooms, matates, maize husks, chickens).....		14	97	13
West side:				
Avocados.....	47	49	4	25
Candles.....				2
Capotes.....				0
Capulines.....				20
Coconuts.....				2
Nahuatzen serapes.....				4
Pátzcuaro serapes.....				2
Peanuts.....				5
Pineapple.....				2
Zapote blanco.				16
Miscellaneous..	23			
North side:				
Beans.....	4	3	5	47
Capulines.....	0	0	29	11
Cheese.....	5	4	0	1
Clothing.....	21	26	14	7
Flowers.....	7	9	13	6
Fruit.....	35	49	20	24
Hats.....	18	23	20	30
Jerked beef (cecina).....	4	8	6	4
Mercería.....	7	5	4	11
Mixed vegetables.....	88	91	140	118
Rebozos.....	3	4	4	5
Serapes.....	2	2	2	2
Sugarcane.....	7	5	0	0
Miscellaneous..	20	3	7	31

TABLE 17.—Number of vendors in Pátzcuaro market—Continued

Product and location of vendor	1945			1946
	Jan. 12	Feb. 9	May 18	July 5
North Street:				
Capotes.....	0	0	1	1
Clothing and cloth.....	15	26	10	14
Cooked food...	21	48	12	16
Lime.....	14	15	17	10
Pharmacopoeia.	3	2	4	1
Wooden objects	1	1	2	5
Miscellaneous..	0	0	0	23
Bocanegra Plaza:				
Petates, fire fans.....	12	8	9	10
Pottery, Tzintzuntzan.....	20	18	27	24
Pottery, Santa Fe.....				14
Pottery, Capula				7
Pottery, Dolores Hidalgo, Gto.....				1
Miscellaneous..	5	3	2	1
Total.....	793	753	810	1,012

pesos. The number of buyers again poses a difficult problem. A conservative guess would be that five or six thousand persons buy at sometime during the day; the figure could be much greater.

It would be very difficult to formulate a complete list of places from which come products sold in the Pátzcuaro market. It would be even more difficult to determine in which cases sellers have come from these towns, and in which cases the products have been brought by means of middlemen. On a number of different market days sellers were asked the source of their products. The combined data give the following list. Items mentioned in table 18 not listed here are for the most part from the "local" area, i.e., the south shore of Lake Pátzcuaro and other neighboring hamlets and ranches. Apples, Pichátaro; bananas, La Huacana, Tacámbaro; baskets of willow, San Juan del Río, Qro.; bread, Pátzcuaro, San Bartolo; brown sugar (*piloncillo*), Nuevo Urecho, Tacámbaro; cantaloup, Corralco; cooked pork (*carnitas*), Quiroga; charcoal and firewood, Casas Blancas, Santa Juana, Opopco; cheese, Río Grande (near Ario), La Huacana, San Pedro Jorullo; chile *güero*, Erongarícuaro; chile *verde*, Nuevo Urecho, Tacámbaro; coconuts, La Huacana; copper vessels, Santa Clara; fish and ducks, Tarascan

lake villages; glaze, Monterrey; grapes, Guadalajara, guavas, Tacámbaro; hats, Jarácuaro, Sahuayo, Turícuaro, San Francisco, Gto.; hides, San Pedro Jorullo; huaraches, Pátzcuaro, Tacámbaro; *huicumo* (fruit), Tareta; jerked beef (*cecina*), *tierra caliente*; *jícama* (tuber), State of Guanajuato; limes, Apatzingan, La Huacana; lime, Itúcuaro; mangoes, Tareta, La Huacana, Nuevo Urecho, Tacámbaro; metates, Cuanajo, Patambicho, San Luis Obispo; mushrooms, Pátzcuaro; *nanche* (fruit), Tareta; *ocote*, Erongarícuaro; palm raincoats (*capotes*), Piumo, Acuitzio, Turícuaro, Pátzcuaro; palm rope (*pimo*), La Huacana, La Playa; papayas, La Huacana; petates and fire fans, Tarascan lake villages; pineapple, State of Veracruz; plums, San Juan Tumbia; pottery, Tzintzuntzan, Santa Fe, Capula, Dolores Hidalgo, Gto.; rebozos, Paracho, Pátzcuaro, Capácuaro, Tenancingo. Méx.; rice, Lombardía, Tareta, Nuevo Urecho; root brushes, Pátzcuaro; salt, Colima, Col.; serapes, Pátzcuaro, Nahuatzen, Silao, Gto.; sugar, Hacienda de Cabulote, Hacienda Pedernales; tamarind, La Huacana, Nuevo Urecho; water melon, La Huacana, San Pedro Jorullo; wooden objects (spoons, chocolate beaters, tops, chests, and so forth), Paracho, Cuanajo, Zirahuén; wooden trays, Turícuaro, Quiroga, Tacámbaro; wool cloth, Tulancingo, Hdo.; *zapote prieto* (fruit), Nuevo Urecho.

Important seasonal changes were noted throughout 1945 and part of 1946. The first pineapple appeared May 18, when two freight-car loads from Veracruz were piled high in the streets. Mangoes first appeared in April, and white *zapotes* in May. *Capulines* and blackberries were new at the May 18 market, and peanuts, plentiful all through the spring, had about disappeared, as had jerked beef, mameys, and cherimoyas. The market of June 18, 1945, was noteworthy for the great quantities of fine mangoes, the first plums, and the first prized *prisco* peaches. Great quantities of cantaloups and honeydew melons appeared for a short season, and cucumbers were very much in evidence. They are a great delicacy, sliced, salted, and sold as a between-meals snack. By this date most pineapples, alligator pears, and *capulines* were gone. Ducks had entirely disappeared, and very few fish were to be found.

In August great quantities of green corn, new squash, and other garden vegetables appeared,

TABLE 18.—*Products offered for sale at the Pátzcuaro market*

Product	1945			1946
	Jan. 12	Feb. 9	May 18	July 5
Beef, jerked (cecina).....	×	×	×	×
Bread, many types.....	×	×	×	×
Brown sugar (panela).....	×	×	×	×
Cheese.....	×	×	—	×
Chickens and turkeys.....	×	×	×	×
Ducks, cooked and raw.....	×	×	—	—
Eggs.....	×	×	×	×
Fish.....	×	×	×	×
Peanuts.....	×	×	×	—
Beans, dried.....	×	×	×	×
String beans.....	—	×	×	×
Beets.....	×	×	—	×
Cabbage.....	×	×	×	×
Yam (camote).....	×	×	—	×
Carrots.....	×	×	×	×
Cauliflower.....	×	×	—	×
Chayote.....	×	×	—	—
Chiles, many types.....	×	×	×	×
Chickpeas.....	—	×	—	×
Broadbeans (habas).....	×	×	×	×
Jicama.....	×	×	—	—
Lentils.....	—	—	×	×
Lettuce.....	×	×	×	×
Maize, shelled.....	×	×	×	×
Onions.....	×	×	×	×
Peas.....	—	—	×	×
Potatoes.....	×	×	×	×
Radishes.....	—	—	×	×
Squash.....	×	×	×	×
Tomatoes.....	×	×	×	×
Turnips.....	×	×	×	×
Garlic.....	×	×	×	×
Silantro.....	—	×	×	×
Avocado.....	—	—	×	×
Banana.....	×	×	×	×
Blackberries.....	×	—	×	×
Citrón.....	—	×	×	×
Capulín berries.....	—	—	×	×
Apricots.....	—	—	×	—
Cherimoya.....	×	×	—	—
Coconuts.....	—	—	×	×
Granada china.....	×	×	—	×
Guava.....	×	×	—	×
Lemons (limas).....	—	—	×	×
Limes (limones).....	×	×	×	×
Mamey.....	×	×	—	×
Mangoes.....	—	—	×	×
Cantaloup.....	—	—	×	×
Naranja lima.....	×	—	—	×
Oranges.....	×	×	×	×
Papaya.....	×	×	×	×
Peaches.....	—	—	×	×
Pears.....	—	—	×	×
Pineapple.....	—	—	×	×
Plums.....	—	—	×	×
Sugarcane.....	×	×	—	—
Tejocote.....	—	×	×	×
Timbiricbi fruit.....	×	×	—	—
Prickly pear cactus fruit.....	×	×	×	×
Watermelons.....	—	—	×	×
Zapote, black.....	×	×	—	—
Zapote, white.....	—	—	×	×
Atole, various flavors.....	×	×	×	×
Chayote, cooked.....	×	—	—	—
Chayote, root, cooked.....	×	×	—	—

TABLE 18.—*Products offered for sale at the Pátzcuaro market—Continued*

Product	1945			1946
	Jan. 12	Feb. 9	May 18	July 5
Chilacayote, cooked.....	×	×	×	×
Candies.....	×	×	×	×
Gordas of maize.....	×	×	×	×
Broadbeans, roasted.....	—	×	×	×
Mezcal.....	×	×	×	—
Nopal leaves, cooked.....	—	×	×	×
Paletas.....	×	×	×	×
Pulque.....	—	×	×	—
Roasting ears.....	—	×	×	×
Soda pop.....	×	×	×	×
Squash, cooked.....	×	×	×	×
Tamales, various types.....	×	×	×	×
Tortillas, maize.....	×	×	×	×
Tortillas, wheat.....	×	×	×	×
Maize husks.....	—	—	×	×
Huaraches.....	×	×	×	×
Pants.....	×	×	×	×
Rebozos.....	×	×	×	×
Sashes, men's and women's.....	×	×	×	×
Serapes.....	×	×	×	×
Shirts, men's and women's.....	×	×	×	×
Shoes.....	×	×	×	×
Straw hats.....	×	×	×	×
Baskets, reed.....	×	×	×	×
Baskets for tortillas (tascales, chiquihuites).....	×	×	×	×
Bird cages, reed.....	×	×	×	×
Brooms, palm.....	×	×	×	×
Brooms, root.....	×	×	×	×
Candles, wax.....	×	×	×	×
Carrying nets (ayate).....	×	×	×	×
Copal.....	×	×	×	×
Cowhides.....	×	—	—	—
Gunny sacks (costales).....	×	×	×	×
Hoes.....	×	×	×	×
Jarcieria.....	×	×	×	×
Lazos.....	×	×	×	×
Lime (cal).....	×	×	×	×
Merceria.....	×	×	×	×
Metates.....	—	×	—	×
Petates.....	×	×	×	×
Fire fans.....	×	×	×	×
Raincoats of palm (capotes).....	—	—	×	×
Religious literature.....	×	×	×	×
Pottery.....	×	×	×	×
Saddle blankets.....	×	×	×	×
Sieves, metal.....	—	×	×	×
Sieves, wood and cloth.....	×	×	×	×
Tree gourds (sirianes).....	—	×	—	×
Turpentine balls.....	—	×	—	×
Wooden balances.....	—	—	×	×
Wooden chocolate beaters.....	×	×	×	×
Wooden chairs, painted.....	×	×	×	×
Wooden beds.....	×	×	×	×
Wooden tables.....	—	—	×	×
Wooden spoons.....	×	×	×	×
Wooden trays, painted.....	×	×	×	×

TABLE 18.—*Products offered for sale at the Pátzeuaro market—Continued*

Product	1945			1946
	Jan. 12	Feb. 9	May 18	July 5
Wooden trays, unpainted.....	×	×	×	×
Wooden masks, unpainted.....	×	×	×	×
Toy fish nets.....	×	×	×	×
Tin work.....	×	×	×	×
Toy canoes.....	×	×	×	×
Firewood.....	×	×	×	×
Ocote.....	×	×	×	×
Charcoal.....	×	×	×	×
Flowers, artificial..	×	×	×	×
Flowers, cut.....	×	×	×	×
Flowers, potted....	—	×	×	×
Salt wort (acelgas)	—	×	×	×
Rings.....	×	×	×	×
Agua fresca.....	×	×	×	×
Raíz de San Pedro	×	×	—	—
Medicinal herbs...	×	×	×	×
Number of vendors.....	793	753	810	1,012

while September saw the first round, white cheeses from the *tierra caliente*, as well as dried tamarinds, yams, guavas, chayotes, cherimoyas, *jicamas*, papaya, *nispero* and prickly pear cactus fruits. Friday, November 2, 1945, was the smallest market of the entire year, doubtless because it coincided with the Day of the Dead. Not over 300 vendors showed up, and trade was very slack. This market saw the first sugarcane, and the first few ducks, priced at \$0.90 each, appeared a week earlier. The November 2 market followed the first communal duck hunt, and so great numbers were offered, at \$0.50 each. Fish became plentiful the following week when, as if to make up for the poor showing of November 2, great crowds of vendors turned out with every imaginable product offered for sale. Oranges, sugarcane, and peanuts, always great favorites, were particularly welcomed back. By December the market had stabilized for a period of several months.

THE ERONGARICUARO MARKET

The Sunday market in Erongarícuaro, though visited by very few people from Tzintzuntzan, is of interest because of its great importance in the lake economy. It is the principal point of exchange between the Tarascans of the lake and those of the sierra. The basic exchange is firewood for fish, and all other trade may be considered secondary. The islands are almost completely lacking in firewood, and the sierra peo-

ple like fish, so the basis for exchange is predetermined. Standing on the dock of Erongarícuaro early in the morning, to the east one sees the lake dotted with dozens and dozens of canoes — perhaps up to 100. When the first canoes arrive, the firewood, which has been brought down before light, has been stacked in the street which leads from the plaza to the shore. The fishermen come up the street with wooden trays or cloths filled with fish and ducks, both cooked and uncooked, show them to the woodsellers, and begin to haggle. Here, unlike Pátzeuaro, a great deal of the exchange is by barter, although there is a tendency to estimate the value of both products in terms of pesos to determine the rate of exchange. Three or four pieces of wood are worth \$0.05, and fishermen usually, for no apparent reason, exchange a little fish with a number of men, carrying away 20 or 25 pieces from each, which they carefully stack in the street, leaving a child to guard while the parents continue shopping. When the week's supply of wood has been assembled, usually by 11 o'clock, it is carried down to the lake and loaded in the boats. The woodsellers, for their part, resell the fish in the sierra towns where they live. Meanwhile, sale in the plaza of dried beans, peas, maize, chiles, *mezcal*, and other foods has begun, and the fishermen, their prime necessity attended to, begin to make purchases of food, sometimes for cash, sometimes bartered. *Ocote* for lighting and fruit from the sierra are important items of exchange. Little pottery is sold, since the sierra has its own manufacturing towns. By 1 o'clock trading has pretty well died down, and the lake is again dotted with returning canoes. Because of frequent winds and rough water in the afternoon the fishermen like to return with their precious cargo as early as possible. In Erongarícuaro Tarascan is the predominant market language; many of the sellers speak little or no Spanish. Perhaps 1,000 people come from the lake, often entire families, averaging 10 to a canoe, and a much smaller number from the sierra. Two hundred to three hundred persons are engaged in the exchange on an average day. Though the market is far smaller than that of Pátzeuaro, for the lake Tarascans it is equally important. From the former they obtain cash for needy purchases; from the latter, the raw materials for lighting and cooking.

The Quiroga market, relatively of much more importance to Tzintzuntzan, has been omitted because of the thorough study which will appear in the monograph of Donald Brand.

LOCAL TRANSACTIONS

In addition to markets, the trade economy of Tzintzuntzan is based on its local stores. Few are the housewives who do not make at least one trip a day to a store to purchase a variety of items. Purchases are usually for tiny amounts, just enough to last through the day. Often, miscalculating, the housewife will again have to return before the evening meal to restock. This system of many minute purchases is undoubtedly related to the fact that many families have insufficient capital to permit stocking up for longer periods. At the same time, one of the outstanding characteristics of the large Mexican market is reflected on a local scale in this pattern. The housewife likes to be sociable. The daily purchases and the trip to the *nixtamal* mill are her excuse to get out of the house, to exchange gossip, and to watch the world go by. Even had she more money, it is doubtful that she would change her buying habits in the interest of greater efficiency, as well as possible savings. In fine homes in large Mexican cities, the daily trip to the market is a part of the privilege of the cook; were she deprived of this, she would not stay, even at a high salary. Consequently, the lack of a well-stocked larder in the homes of Tzintzuntzan is reflected to an astonishing degree in the homes of the wealthy in large cities.

The number of stores in Tzintzuntzan fluctuates around a dozen. Eleven were listed at the taking of the census in February; another count in July showed 14. A man goes to the States to work as a *bracero* and closes his store, or work in the fields requires his urgent presence, so the store closes. Or, another man, finding himself in possession of a little spare money, decides to try his luck and builds a counter in a room opening onto the street.

With one exception, all storekeepers are local men, both Tarascans and Mestizos. Large stores pay an annual tax of \$5.80, while bars and small stores pay \$3.50. Inventories of six of the larger stores were made, with results which appear in table 19. Obviously, if not in one

store one can buy daily requirements in another. Inventories fluctuate, and for the most part one large store duplicates the others in its offerings. Almost without exception stocks are replenished from wholesalers in Pátzcuaro, though some maize, wheat, and beans may be local produce.

Capital invested in stock varies considerably. In March 1945, Jesús Rangel, baker, decided to branch out into general merchandise. He estimated his initial investment at \$2,000, including some minor building alterations. Other estimates of capital investment by store owners are \$1,500, \$1,200, \$1,000, and \$400 respectively. If an individual is fortunate in owning an adequate house centrally located, he can go into business for himself with a much lower investment than farming requires, though far above that necessary for pottery making. Competition is sufficiently stiff, however, so that storekeepers, though well off, usually do not become rich.

A rather curious relationship exists between storekeepers and their clients. All Tzintzuntzanos claim that local merchants charge prices far above those of Pátzcuaro, a claim with little apparent validity. Nevertheless, they are dependent upon them for their daily purchases, and would feel deprived of an important social outing if they could make all of their purchases on Friday in Pátzcuaro. In spite of this, there is the constant feeling that the storekeepers are trying to cheat, and that it is unfortunate one has to buy at home instead of in Pátzcuaro. The storekeeper, on the other hand, is caught between two fires: that of having to buy at higher prices than the large merchants of Pátzcuaro (and Quiroga) and sell at prices sufficiently low so that the trade will not go to these towns. Furthermore, in order to keep his clients he must extend credit, a risky business at best in Tzintzuntzan. The relationship of credit to cash sales for five stores is shown in table 20. As in the Pátzcuaro market, sales drop appreciably during the rainy season.

Thus, on the average about one-fifth of all sales are for credit, so that a large proportion of the buyers owe money to the storekeeper. Unfortunately for him, there is no way to force collection of these debts. It is felt that this is one of the inevitable risks which confront the *entrepreneur*, and the sums are so small that court procedures are not worth while. Debts are

TABLE 19.—Prices of articles in Tzintzuntzan stores

Commodity and quantity usually sold	Price of commodity in stores ¹						Commodity and quantity usually sold	Price of commodity in stores ¹					
	A	B	C	D	E	F		A	B	C	D	E	F
Maize, cuarterón 4 liters.....			\$0.90	\$0.85		\$0.90	Orégano spice:						
Beans, liter.....			.35	.30	\$0.35	.30	Kilo.....	\$0.60					
Habas, liter.....			.20				Pinch.....	.01					
Rice:							Garlic, head.....					\$0.07	
Kilo.....	\$0.80	\$1.10		1.00	.90	.90	Cacao husks, kilo..	\$0.15					
50 gm.....				.05			Cinnamon, stick...	.10			\$0.10		
60 gm.....			.05				Ginger, kilo.....		1.00				
Bran, kilo.....				.25	.25		Hot sauces, bottle..	.90	.60				
Oatmeal:							Sago, 30 gm.....			\$0.05		.05	
Package Quaker.....		1.20					Aspirin, pill:						
Package "3 in 1".....		1.20					Mejoral.....	.05			.05	.05	\$0.05
Cornstarch, small package.....	.10	.12	.12	.15	.10	.15	Cafiaspirina.....	.05				.05	.05
Spaghetti:							Tecolote.....	.05			.05	.05	.05
Kilo.....		1.20			1.20	1.00	Cafión.....	.05			.05	.05	
40 gm.....	.10			.10	.05		Ruberina.....				.05		
Macaroni, 50 gm....	.10		.10				Efetina.....					.05	
Dried meat, 25 gm..				.10			Guadalupana.....					.05	
Salmon, can.....	1.00; 1.40		1.10	1.20; 1.40	2.00		Bicarbonate, 30 gm.					.05	.05
Sardines, can.....		1.20-1.80		2.40	1.00	.60-2.50	Mentholatum, tin..	.05					
Shrimp, can.....					2.00		Raicilla (root herb), handf..		.35				
Bread:							Tonic "Fortaleza," bottle.....						2.00
Small piece.....	.05	.05		.05	.05	.05	Sal de Uvas, laxative.....	.15			.15	.15	.15
Medium piece.....	.10	.10		.10	.10	.10	Band-aids, each.....					.05	
Large piece.....					.20		Cotton, tiny package					.05	
Cracker:							Razor blades, each..			.20		.15	
Package salted... ..	.60						Toilet paper, roll..	.60					
Package "Tapatio".....	.45						Combs, each.....	.30; .50					
Each, small.....	.01	.01		.01	.01	.01	Earrings, pair.....	.15					
Each, large.....	.05						Face powder, tiny box.....	.05					
Lard:							Bobby pins, per 3... .	.05		.05	.05		
Kilo.....					3.80		Hairpins, each.....	.05	.01				
25 gm.....			.10	.10	.10		Safety pins, each... .	.05	.10; .15		.05		
15 gm.....	.05						Candy, mixed:						
Sesame oil, kilo....		1.50					Kilo.....	1.20					
Brown sugar (piloncillo):							Piece.....	.05		.01	.01	.05	.01
Kilo.....				1.00	.90	1.00	Chewing gum, per 2	.01		.01	.01	.01	.01
50 gm.....			.05		.05		Cigarettes, pack:						
Refined sugar:							Tigres.....	.10; .10	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10
Kilo.....	1.00			1.00	1.00	1.00	Carmencita.....			.10	.10	.10	.10
50 gm.....			.05		.05		Luchadores.....	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10
Lime:							Quintos.....			.10	.10	.10	.10
Kilo.....		.22				.60	Casinos.....	.20				.25	
Handful.....			.05				Alas.....	.20	.20	.20	.20	.20	.20
Chocolate; tablet..	.05; .07				.10; .20	.06; .12	Rialtos.....	.20	.20	.20	.20	.20	
Coffee:							Elegantes.....	.20	.20				
Kilo.....					1.60		Cumbres.....	.20	.20	.20	.20	.20	.20
25 gm.....		.05			.05		Gratos.....	.25		.25	.25	.25	.25
Chiles:							Bohemios.....	.25				.30	
In vinegar, per 2... .		.01	.25	.25	.25		Monte Carlo.....	.35	.25		.30	.30	.30
Serranos, each....	.05	.20					Faros.....	.10					
Pasilla, each.....				.05		.05	Delicados.....					.35	
Chipotle.....				.07	.25		Matches, box.....	.05	.03- .10	.03- .05	.05; .10	.03- .10	
Colorados, each..					.05		Alcoholic drinks, per "shot":						
Majillos, each....					.05		Aguardiente.....				.05	.10; .20	
Jalapeños, each... .						.05	Amargo.....				.15		
Gajillo, per 6....						.05	Anise.....				.15	.10; .20	
Olives, kilo.....		1.25					Charanda.....	.15					.10
Salt:							Jerez.....		.15				.10; .20
Kilo.....	.20	.20		.30	.28	.30							
150 gm.....			.05		.05								
Pepper, kilo.....		2.50											

¹ Stores: A = Salvador Reyes; B = Juan Villacaña; C = Vicente Barriga; D = José Calvo; E = Jesús Rangel; F = José Villagómez.

TABLE 19.—Prices of articles in Tzintzuntzan stores—Continued

Commodity and quantity usually sold	Price of commodity in stores ¹					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Yarn, hank.....	\$0.85
Shirt buttons, each.....	\$0.04	....
Shoelaces, pair.....	\$0.08	\$0.05	.15;	.05
Shoe polish, tin....	\$0.20	....	.20	.20	.20
Dyes, aniline, per 100 gm.....	3.50	....	....	....	....
Copal incense, 25 gm.....05	....
Wooden images of Christ, each.....	2.50	....	....	....	....
Veladoras "Divino Rostro" (religious candles), each....	\$0.15	....	.15	.15	.15	.15

¹ Stores: A = Salvador Reyes; B = Juan Villacaña; C = Vicente Barriga; D = José Calvo; E = Jesús Rangel; F = José Villagómez.

paid, a little at a time, but never in full. In order to keep one's customers one must continue to extend credit; if credit is stopped, they simply switch their patronage to another store and the entire amount on the books is irrevocably lost. On the other hand, the debtor knows that if he doesn't pay a little on account from time to time, he can no longer buy, and his bad reputation will spread to the other stores. So a delicate game ensues; the buyer tries to get as much as possible on credit, and to pay as little on account as possible, while the storekeeper tries to determine how far he can push his customer without losing him entirely, what is the minimum credit he must continue to extend to keep him.

Periodically storekeepers try to stop credit entirely, which results in a falling off of sales to a point where they must either go out of business or again extend it. Jesús Rangel, in the first 4 months of the life of his store, extended credit to the sum of \$182 in the hope of building a reputation as a man easy to do business with. Now he regrets it. In many cases the buyer does need the credit, and will pay later. All too often the philosophy is "Why pay today when I won't have to pay until later," whether money is in the pocket or not.

In addition to markets and stores, a fair amount of merchandise changes hands in simple home transactions. Almost every day in 1945 a *paletero*, a vendor of sweetened ices on sticks, came from Pátzcuaro, and with his iced pail

made the rounds of the town, selling \$0.10 here or \$0.20 there, until his \$5 supply was exhausted.

Charcoal vendors from Corrales come periodically to sell or exchange for pottery. Ambulant vendors of religious pictures are apt to be found almost any day, particularly near the time of fiestas. Bread likewise is sold informally, both by outside vendors who come with a few pesos' worth, and by Margarita Farías, who, with her husband Alejandro, bakes plain bread (as contrasted to the fancy sugared breads made by the two bakeries) to sell to a few neighbors. During the *mezcal* season this delicacy is peddled on Saturdays. Frequently the Indians from La Vuelta drop in to exchange fish for pots, or to buy outright. Always there is haggling about prices, which is a part of the game enjoyed by everybody.

One morning while I was sitting in the patio of Vicente and Natividad, an elderly Indian couple from La Pacanda dropped by, looking for several pots for their fiesta the following week. First the man looked at an *olla de a medio*, a large pot. Vicente stated his price as \$3.00, at which the Indian looked aghast and conversed with his wife in Tarascan. Then he countered with an offer of \$1.50. Now it was Vicente's turn to look amazed, and to justify his price he talked about the high cost of glaze and other items. "Why, I sell these to Alejandro Urbano who carries them away to sell for much higher prices. As a special favor I will give them to you at the same price — \$2.80. The Indian still shook his head, "We are thinking of taking two. What price will you make on that basis?" "That will be \$3.00 each," replied Vicente. "At \$2.80 I lose money, and I can't afford to do it on more than one pot." More talk, and more discussion of the high cost of living. Finally Vicente said, "Well, so that you can't say I have taken advantage of you I'll let you have the two at \$5.00 — \$2.50 each." Now that the Indian had beaten the price down to this low figure he expressed interest in a smaller size, a *tacha*. "I'll let it go for \$1.15; no, as a special favor to you, \$1.05 but that is absolutely the lowest price." The Indian offered \$0.75, and Vicente shook his head, laughed, jested about how he would lose so much money, but finally agreed to let the larger *de a medio* and the *tacha* go for \$3.25.

The money was paid, and just as the Indians were about to walk out, they expressed interest in a *cántaro*, also a *tacha*. "Here we are used to letting them go for \$1.15" said Vicente, "but since I made a special price of \$1.05 on the pot for you, I must do the same with this." The Tarascan countered with \$0.75, and announced that he was resolved not to pay more.

tery on mules and burros. Eleven men are full-time *rescatones*, while 32 more, many of them also potters, dedicate a part of their time to this profession.

Rescatones may be divided into two major categories: those who go no farther than a day's trip to sell, and those who make longer trips, up to 2 weeks. Those in the first class can get

TABLE 20.—*Relationship of cash to credit sales in five stores*

Store	Daily sales				Credit extended			
	Cash		Credit		Store total	Largest account	Smallest account	Number of debtors
	Dry season	Rainy season	Dry season	Rainy season				
A....	\$12	\$ 5	\$8-10	(1)	\$100	(1)	(1)	(1)
B....	20-40	15-30	8-10	\$3-5	400	(1)	(1)	(1)
C....	15-30	5-15	(1)	(1)	99	\$11.30	\$0.03	47
D....	35-40	20-25	6-10	4-5	125	12.11	.05	87
E....	8-15	(1)	4-6	3-5	182	43.35	.35	25

¹ No data.

Vicente came down to \$1.00 even, his lowest price, absolutely. Still the Indian refused to budge, so the extra lowest price dropped to \$0.90. Vicente argued that in any other house they would have to pay at least \$1.00 for a jar of the same quality. The Indian refused to pay more, and started to walk out, saying he would come back if he couldn't do better. Then Vicente played his trump card. "Very well, just as you like, but this is a special price, just for now. If you come back the price will be \$1.00, not 1 centavo less." Still the Tarascan refused; he and his wife walked out into the patio from the pot shed and started to leave. They stopped, conferred in Tarascan, and came back to take the jar at Vicente's price. The entire transaction, for \$4.15, had taken about 15 minutes, and everybody seemed satisfied.

THE RESCATON

Still another means by which Tzintzuntzan sells its wares and acquires others is that of the *rescatón*,¹ or muleteer. Only small amounts of pottery, the one big export commodity, can be disposed of at home and in neighboring villages, and in Quiroga and Pátzcuaro the market has definite limits, particularly because of competition from Santa Fe and Capula. Hence, a wider market is essential. This is found in more distant towns, to which *rescatones* transport pot-

as far as Santa Clara in 1 day, remain a day to sell, and come home on the third day. Most *rescatones* have a fixed destination, and plan to arrive there on the eve of market day, returning home the day after market. Although a few men make, or have made long trips of a month or so into Guerrero, most *rescatones* travel only a relatively short distance. Outside of Pátzcuaro, a 1-day round trip, the two most common destinations are Tacámbaro and Ario de Rosales, both "mouths" of the *tierra caliente* where highland produce is exchanged for products of the lowlands. Both places have Sunday markets, necessitating a Friday departure. About 10 *rescatones* usually go to the former market, and about five to the latter.

José Medina, primarily a potter, sometimes goes to Huachirán in the *tierra caliente*. To take advantage of the Sunday market he leaves Tzintzuntzan Thursday morning, passing the first night at Santa Clara and the second at Ario, arriving at Huachirán Saturday evening. Sometimes he sells in the plaza himself, and other times he sells in bulk to local merchants. The product is worth about double its Tzintzuntzan value.

Wenceslao and Faustino Peña make a couple of trips a month to Tareta, below Uruapan on the railroad to Apatzingan. Leaving early Friday morning they sleep in Ajuno, and reach their destination Saturday night for the Sunday market. Relative proximity to the sierra makes

¹ *Rescatón*, from *rescatar*, "to exchange," "to barter."

competition stiff in this town, so other *rescatones* do not find it worth while. In a typical load Wenceslao's three mules will carry the following:

Mule No. 1: 12 *ollas tachas*, filled with *boleras*, *media boleras*, *atoleras*, and *cazuelitas*, and four empty *tachas*.

Mule No. 2: 6 dozen *ollas de a seis*.

Mule No. 3: 6 *ollas de a medio*, filled with smaller ware, and 8 *ollas de a cuatro*.

Each load represents a quantity of 1 "peso," worth about \$22 to \$24 at wholesale prices. Part is that which his wife has made, and part is that which he has purchased to complete his load. Each "peso" is sold for about \$34, making a total profit of \$30 to \$36 for the 5-day trip. Faustino drives three burros, which carry about half as much load. On the return trip the men bring sugarcane, oranges, or mangoes, depending on the season, some to be sold and some to be eaten by members of their families.

In most towns there are "inns" for animals and men. The former are charged \$0.05 each, plus fodder consumed, and the latter receive a petate on which to sleep.

Considering the investment in animals, the rate of return in this profession is not high. Love of the open road rather than a desire to make money is the reason one becomes a *rescatón*. All men so employed said they enjoyed their work; no other occupation in Tzintzuntzan is considered more than a necessary evil.

Longer trips are those of Ignacio Estrada, who with his brother Odelón makes a trip once a month to Nueva Italia, in the heart of the *tierra caliente*. The route, with night stopping places, is Ajuno, Zirakuarétiro, Uruapan, La Gallina or Los Jazmines (ranches), and on the fifth night, Nueva Italia. Like Wenceslao and Faustino, their families make a part of the pottery, and they buy the remainder. Rice is the important return load from here. Occasionally *rescatones* go as far as the Río Balsas, more, it seems, with the desire to see the country than with the hope of extra profits. One route is to Santa Clara, Ario, La Huacana, San Pedro Jorullo (hacienda), Poturo (hacienda), Chorumuco, and finally the river, where there are just a few huts. On the outward journey one sells a little pottery in each place. On the return trip, at the Río Balsas and Chorumuco one picks up

ascalote seeds, to sell in Ario. From La Huacana, Poturo, and Jorullo come fruit — bananas, mangoes, tamarind, and cacao. The longest trip is that of Sacramento Marín and Genaro Estrada, who once or twice a year make the month's trip to Petatlán, Guerrero, near the Pacific coast.

Some potters make short trips around the south side of the lake to various towns, often making pottery on order and delivering over the weekend, thus combining business with a pleasant outing. Many of these transactions are by barter, principally maize for pottery. Vicente and Natividad, for example, make a trip about once a month to Huecorio where they have *compadres*, and where their pottery enjoys such a reputation that many people make special requests, not only for common ware, but also for incense burners and other pieces.

CREDIT FACILITIES AND PRICE STRUCTURE

The general forms of production and the mechanics of the exchange of goods have now been discussed. Certain additional data are necessary to further explain the basic nature of the economic system of Tzintzuntzan. First of all, it is apparent that the economy of Tzintzuntzan is based on the use of money. Barter exists on a larger scale than in our own society, but in terms of all goods and services produced or rendered, it is a question of a very small percentage. Among the purely Tarascan villages of the lake, barter is considerably more important, as evidenced by the Erongarícuaro market, but even here it is entirely secondary. Perhaps the truest test of the importance of barter in an economic system is whether or not goods are evaluated in money before making the trade. This, we have seen, is generally the case in the entire area. Barter ratios fluctuate as the monetary values of the items in question fluctuate. Hence, the phenomenon is much closer to the international barter of certain modern countries than to a truly primitive system of exchange. Practically speaking, people in the entire area produce, exchange, and consume on the basis of a money economy. Even the common Mexican Indian practice of cooperative work exchange is almost unknown. The individual knows in terms of money what his work is worth, what it will produce, and how much it will cost him to live.

LOANS

From time to time most individuals find themselves in need of money or credit facilities beyond their immediate resources. The form of credit extended in local stores has already been mentioned. Loans for a fixed rate of interest are almost unknown, and nobody in his right mind, storekeepers excepted, loans money, even in small sums, without ample security. Local psychology is that anyone foolish enough to loan money without security deserves to lose it. Hence, except under special circumstances, unsecured money loaned is money given away. If a lender tries to collect such a debt, the debtor drives his dogs at him and generally makes a disagreeable scene. Natividad, in a burst of generosity, loaned a sewing machine to a neighbor, and spent the following 6 months in a vain endeavor to get it back. Subsequently she refused to loan a toy stereoscope which I had given to Gaudencio to her own sister, Carmen. Carmen — I get the story from her — says her sister is stingy; Nati — I get the story from her — doesn't want to lose the instrument. Several years ago a merchant from Morelia opened a store in Tzintzuntzan and extended credit to everyone on a scale hitherto unknown. After a while he realized that it was a losing game. First he went from house to house, dunning his debtors, with few results. Then he typed a list of debtors' names, with the amount owed, and posted it in conspicuous places around town, with the footnote that he would be glad to settle for \$0.50 on the peso. The debtors, in righteous indignation, drove their dogs on him whenever he appeared, and heaped insults upon him. Finally, in desperation, he closed up the store and returned to Morelia, a sadder but wiser man.

The only common exception to the rule of unsecured loans is that involving *compadres*. For example, a child dies and money is needed for the funeral. The godfather loans the amount needed, and the bereaved family, its honor at stake, usually will return the loan if it is at all possible. No interest is ever charged for such a transaction.

Normally, then, when an individual needs money, be it a single peso or 200, the *empeño*, or secured loan, is the only recourse open. This involves giving property — land, animals, or

household goods — in return for the money, the lender to enjoy the use of the security during the time of the contract. For larger sums of money, land, oxen, or pack animals are the most common forms of security. A formal contract is drawn up to which are affixed the fiscal stamps, and the terms of the agreement are outlined in minute form. A common contract is that in which money will be loaned on a milpa, with the stipulated right to plant and harvest one crop of wheat and one crop of maize, for a minimum period of about 15 months. The owner continues to pay taxes, and should he be unable to return the money at the end of the period, the lender continues to use the land as his own. Occasionally, when the debtor is unable to repay the money and finds himself in need of more, he will sell the land to the creditor. Should he die before repayment, his heirs inherit all of his responsibilities. Should he find himself in possession of the money before the expiration of the term, he may, if the creditor is willing, pay a penalty to terminate the contract. In case of agricultural lands this may take the form of an agreement whereby the real owner works the land and gives the creditor a half of the harvest. When animals are given as security, the creditor has the right to use them for normal amounts of work, feeding them and otherwise paying their upkeep. Should they die owing to reasons beyond his control, he is not responsible. Sewing machines are good for from \$10 to \$25, and are much desired because of their utility. Occasionally a house is given as security, though if the owner must continue to live in it the utility to the creditor is limited to fruit trees and plants in the patio.

Very small items, such as flatirons, may also be given as security. One day Mariana Vázquez came to Carmen with a flatiron; she needed \$1.00 to buy medicine for her sick husband and no one would loan her the money on her word alone. Carmen took the iron, for which she had no need. Later Mariana came asking for \$1.00 more on the same security, which was worth perhaps \$5. Carmen told her she had no money, a half-truth. In practice, even between friends, the *empeño* is a harsh affair, and it is a rare person who will loan additional money on the same security, once the agreement is made.

When an individual is about to ask for a large loan, the proceedings follow a rather ster-

eotyped form. The supplicant comes with a bottle of *caballito*, pure alcohol in flavored soda water, and drinks are had all around. Conversation revolves about general subjects, and when everybody appears to be in a good humor, the supplicant broaches the proposition, in the hope that the liquor will promote lenient terms. If all goes well the terms will be agreed upon and the contract drawn up.

Visiting ethnologists were immediately recognized as easy touches. One night Carmen, between trips from the kitchen, tipped us off that María F. had come with the bottle and was going to ask me for a loan, secured if necessary, to help pay the expenses of son Isaac's wedding. When we had finished eating, in came both María and Isaac. The bottle was not in evidence. Both expressed great pleasure at seeing us, which they did almost every day, and we talked about their recent trip to Mexico City and other things. Finally María came to the point. She had two favors to ask us. First, she hoped that we would be able to attend the Church wedding, an impossibility for me since I had planned a trip to Mexico City. I expressed great sorrow at not being able to remain, but explained that my plans had already been made, and that Gabriel would attend and tell me all about it. This unforeseen development somewhat upset María; accepting her invitation would have placed me, even though only slightly, in her debt. However, she forced the words out and asked as her second favor if I could loan her \$50 to help with the wedding. I explained that one of the reasons I was returning to Mexico City was that the members of the field party were about out of money, and that we had very little beyond that for our immediate needs.

However, I agreed to loan \$25, recognizing, of course, that it would be a complete loss. This wasn't as much as she had really expected, but it was a help, particularly since I asked for no security. Isaac slipped out for a moment and presently returned with the bottle of *caballito*; it was worth \$1.50, and cautious María was not going to expend it until sure the return on the investment would be worth while. Having tried *caballito* before and not liking it, I tried to make a magnanimous gesture and suggested that I leave it with Gabriel to deliver on the day of the wedding to help fulfill obligations to the guests. María, however, said that it would spoil,

the fizz water would be flat, so there was nothing to do but pour drinks all around. This little episode differed from customary practice in that the bottle was produced after and not before the request was made.

A case history dealing with Vicente and Nati's attempt to buy their own home sheds additional light on the nature of credit dealings in Tzintzuntzan. They started married life with little beyond a small milpa. For several years they rented a house, and then to save money moved in with Doña Andrea. A year later one of Vicente's brothers offered him free use of a house on the land which he now owns; the brother had taken it as security on a loan, and had no immediate need for it himself. After a year the owner came to Vicente and told him he would either have to buy or move out. Vicente agreed that his asking price of \$250 was fair, but explained that he didn't have that much money. "Well, pay in installments, then," suggested the owner, to which Vicente agreed. A formal document was drawn up which stipulated that Vicente would pay \$100 in May 1939 (it was a month before this time), and \$50 more at the end of each succeeding 6-month period until the total was paid. Several months before the final payment was due the owner approached Vicente for a part payment, to which Vicente reacted by saying that the time had not yet come. "All right, give me \$15 now and you can delay the balance for an additional year," offered the seller. Vicente grabbed the opportunity. The owner, it seems, had purchased an ox on the installment plan, and in the contract it was stated that if payments were not made on the stipulated dates the seller would repossess the ox and the buyer would be out any previous payments made. Thus, to avoid a big loss the house seller was glad to make a smaller concession. Buying property on the installment plan is fairly common in Tzintzuntzan, but beyond the fact that the terms are carefully stated in a legal contract, little information was obtained on this subject.

PRICE DETERMINANTS

Prices of most things of common use have already been listed. Of theoretical interest are the factors which determine prices. In general, it may be stated that the price structure of Tzintzuntzan is thoroughly integrated with that of

Mexico, and except for some local products, prices rise and fall as they do in the rest of the Republic. In 1945 the fact of most importance was that Tzintzuntzan had suffered the same disastrous inflation found in all other parts of the country. Speaking not only of Tzintzuntzan, but of all other rural sections of Mexico, it is interesting and terrifying to see how the greedy finger of inflation reaches into the most remote, out-of-the-way places, upsetting price structures which have endured with little change for many years. There are few if any places in Mexico where the state of the national economy is not reflected. Fortunately for Tzintzuntzan—and countless other similar rural pueblos—the effects of this inflation have been much less disastrous than in larger population centers where many people work for fixed wages, which do not advance at the same rate as costs.

As we have seen, the relatively well-to-do man, aside from a bit of hoarded silver, has very little cash on hand subject to inflation. His money is in land, and it appreciates as the value of currency goes down. And the Tzintzuntzan producer, be he farmer, potter, or fisherman, finds that the price of his products has risen about in proportion to the price of clothing, food, and other items he needs. He pays more for his purchases, but he receives more for his sales, and, in the long run, he maintains about the same standard of living with the same amount of work. The constantly shifting prices are a bit confusing, but to the producer in Tzintzuntzan, inflation has not been a disastrous thing.

Probably in few places in the world is the exchange situation closer to the economist's ideal of a "free market," at least as far as the locally made products are concerned. Each fisherman is free to fish as much as he likes, and to sell his product when and where he wishes, to the highest bidder. The same is true for each potter. He can make little or much, sell or not sell, as he sees fit. There are no monopolies in any of the local industries; knowledge of the skill, plus a greater or lesser amount of capital, are the only prerequisites to work. No one dictates hours of labor and hours of rest, says who shall and who shall not work, buys all of the output of a given commodity, corners the market, or sets prices. In a large percentage of all sales the manufacturer deals directly with the consumer.

Prices, then, are set almost entirely by

supply and demand. In October the first ducks appear, and after six duckless months, many mouths are watering. The supply is limited, the demand great. A duck brings \$0.90. A month later ducks are in abundance, the edge has been taken off the appetite of the Pátzcuareño, and the same duck sells for \$0.50. Sale of pots also is determined by the relationship between the quantity offered by the sellers and the ability of the buyers to pay. Approximate prices of given sizes are known by both parties, but each pot sold is an individual transaction, and the qualities of each pot enter into the final decision. The supply of pots drops markedly during the rainy season, but the demand drops still more sharply. Hence, the level of prices is lower during this period, but it is still the relationship between the supply and demand which determines at precisely what price sales shall be made. The market is always able to absorb all the pots that are offered. If a local seller at the Pátzcuaro market has a few left at the end of the day, these are sold at reduced rates to one of the permanent merchants, to be sold to the occasional purchaser during the remainder of the week.

Sales of agricultural produce work very much like those of fish, ducks, and pottery. Maize is sold in small quantities, often by the grower to the consumer, and prices respond quickly to any changes in either supply or demand. During the year maize prices in Tzintzuntzan fluctuate rather widely. In December 1944, right after the harvest, the price was \$0.70 a *cuarterón* of 4 liters. This gradually rose to \$1.20 in October of 1945, just before the next harvest. Some local merchants hold as much of their stocks as they can until this time to take advantage of the higher price. Nevertheless, there is a limit: if all did this, the supply would cause the price to fail to rise. The priest also exerts a steadying force. The maize given him as tithes, not an inconsiderable quantity, is held until prices begin to soar, and is then sold at something below the prevailing rates in stores, although much higher than the value when given to him at harvest time. In 1945 he sold very little until fall, at which time the price was set at \$1.00. This automatically forced the local merchants to sell at the same price. As soon as the priest's supply was gone the merchants raised their price to \$1.20.

Bean price structure follows very closely the pattern for maize. Individual growers sell in small lots to consumers, or to local stores. Prices are lowest at harvest time, highest a short time before. Theoretically the grower of wheat, since he must sell to a mill, is more apt to be victimized. In practice, milling is in the hands of a good many small millers, and competition between them is sufficiently intense that cartel arrangements are not feasible.

Perhaps Tzintzuntzan is one of the last frontiers of free enterprise. No one who is willing and able to work need go hungry, and he who works with extra energy and intelligence profits accordingly. Some families are poor, at times because leisure or loafing are more highly valued than an extra meal. Some families are relatively well off, primarily because they combine hard work with good judgment. No one feels that he is bucking an unfair economic system, a victim of forces greater than he can control.

TRAVEL

A large percentage of Mexicans are inveterate travelers. Many, like the *rescatones* of Tzintzuntzan, do so for commercial reasons. Many more make as their excuse the desire to go on pilgrimages to famous shrines. Underlying all reasons is, in most cases, the sheer pleasure of going from one place to another, of seeing new faces and sights. Tzintzuntzeños are no exception to the general rule. Almost all have been out of their own local area, and a number have been as far as diverse points in the United States. Were it not that in Tzintzuntzan pilgrimages are of relative unimportance, still more people than is the case would have traveled widely. The famous shrine of Chalma, for example, is unknown to the Tzintzuntzeños. Only three religious pilgrimages, none of them lengthy, are observed in Tzintzuntzan. The first is to Morelia for the fiesta of the Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, in June. Formerly people went on foot, a 2-day trip each way; now they ride in a bus in an hour. The second is the great fiesta of the Immaculate Conception in Pátzcuaro on December 8. Since many people go there every Friday, the trip can hardly be compared to the lengthy travels characteristic of other parts of Mexico.

The longest pergrination was that to the

former town of San Juan Parangaricutiro, commonly known as San Juan de las Colchas, where on September 14, a great fiesta in honor of the Christ of Miracles was held. Gerónimo Monroy was for many years in charge of the group which went from Tzintzuntzan. He guarded the small chest, to which those who contemplated the trip brought alms to be delivered to the priest of San Juan. The night of September 10 the travelers went by canoe to Erongaricuaró, paddling all night, and walking all the next day to Turicuaró in the sierra, where they passed the night. On September 12 they walked to San Lorenzo, and on the 13th arrived at San Juan. Upon entering each town along the route the travelers sang and prayed. The return trip was made by the same route, without formalities. Others, with less time to spare, went by train from Pátzcuaro to Uruapan, and by foot from there. This routine was upset in 1943 with the eruption of the volcano Parícutin. In spite of the ashes the fiesta was held in this year, but by 1944 the town was nearly buried by lava, and the inhabitants moved to a new settlement called San Juan de los Conejos, near Uruapan. The image of Christ was moved with great solemnity to the new town, and the fiesta has been continued, though on a smaller scale, and the mass pergrination has not been repeated from Tzintzuntzan.

A number of persons have been to the United States, lured by higher wages and the desire to see new country. These immigrants may be divided into two categories: those who went before World War II, traveling on their own, and moving freely about the country; and the *braceros*, or contracted laborers, who went during the War under the terms of an agreement between the governments of Mexico and the United States. Unlike the former group, the latter went for a stipulated period of time, usually 6 months or a year, and much closer tab was kept on their movements and work by the American government, for the purpose of avoiding any exploitation. It is gratifying to find an almost universally favorable reaction to the United States among members of this group.

This is rather at variance with the common impression received from the daily press to the effect that Mexicans, especially in the south of the United States, are discriminated against. The answer appears to be simple. Most of these mi-

grant laborers are from the lowest classes, and from the country. All of their lives they have been discriminated against and oppressed by the upper and ruling class of their own country; they accept it as a normal condition. Hence, discrimination which may be directed against them in the United States is nothing new, and, in fact, they do not recognize it as such. All of the individuals with whom I talked felt that the United States was a fine country, and that they were well treated by its inhabitants. Most are very anxious to get back to the United States, either to live permanently or to work for an extended period.

Individual Tzintzuntzeños were impressed by different things in the States, but all liked the law and order. Primo Calderón, who worked in a Ford foundry in Michigan, was delighted with the museum of early types of cars. Alejandro Urbano worked on the Southern Pacific in Arizona; his strongest impression was that of the long passenger trains, coated with ice and snow, coasting into the Tucson station. Patricio Estrada was fascinated by the crowded Los Angeles streetcars during rush hours, while José Estrada was impressed by the San Francisco bridges and the fact that every little village had its industry. "Here, we have a big city like Morelia (pop. 40,000), but there is nothing in it. There, every ranch has its manufacture." Ramón García noted with amazement that bottles of milk could be safely left on door-

steps in the early morning before the owners retrieved them and — things must have been different in Ohio in 1928 — that men stood up on streetcars to make room for ladies. But the most amazing thing of all was the fact that one could walk into a railway station any time of night or day and buy a ticket for any train any day. The Mexican workers' acceptance in the United States, and their privilege of moving about freely and taking work where they found it or wanted it, undoubtedly established good feeling for this country.

Travel is said to be educational. Most Tzintzuntzeños have had little opportunity for much formal education, and a great deal of what they know about their country, and the world in general, comes from their travels. In an attempt to determine what individuals travel, by what means, and to what places, a number of questions were placed in the census. The results are shown in tables 21 A and 21 B. Table 21 A shows the number of individuals in each age class who have not traveled, i.e., have never been more than an hour or two from Tzintzuntzan, and those who have "traveled," though not to any of the specific places mentioned. Most of those in this category have been to Pátzcuaro and Quiroga, and little more. Means of travel, in train or bus, is shown, as are such specific places as Morelia, Mexico City, Guadalajara, Uruapan, Tacámbaro, and the United States. The first column is for Mestizos, and the second for Tarascans;

TABLE 22.—*Movie attendance*¹

Age group	Number attending movies				Percentage of total population in each group attending movies			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	Mestizo	Tarascan	Mestizo	Tarascan	Mestizo	Tarascan	Mestizo	Tarascan
0-5.....	2	0	10	0	3	0	9	0
6-10.....	17	1	18	1	23	17	23	12
11-15.....	24	0	26	1	43	0	37	25
16-20.....	32	2	27	1	60	29	46	17
21-25.....	33	1	19	2	60	50	42	22
26-30.....	20	0	10	2	56	0	29	25
31-35.....	15	2	14	3	60	50	42	37
36-40.....	23	3	15	1	57	37	47	9
41-45.....	17	4	11	2	74	44	34	29
46-50.....	8	2	7	1	42	67	23	14
51-55.....	10	3	2	1	77	50	25	20
56-60.....	3	1	5	×	23	20	28	×
61-65.....	2	1	1	×	22	100	10	×
66-70.....	1	1	0	0	17	50	0	0
71-75.....	1	×	1	×	100	×	25	×
76-80.....	0	0	1	0	0	0	50	0
81-85.....	×	×	1	×	×	×	100	×

¹ × = No individuals in these age categories.

this distinction was set up to see if there were a significant difference between the two ethnic groups. Table 21 B reduces these figures to percentages of the total number of individuals in each category.

It appears that Tarascans travel about as much as Mestizos, although the sample in each age-group is so small as to be worth very little. Women travel much less than men, and on a percentage basis, with the exception of Morelia, from a quarter to a half as many have been to the places listed. Unfortunately, it is impossible to check frequency of these visits, but here the men would, of course, show up even more strongly. Oldsters, though the sample is again small, have traveled as widely as younger people. It is natural that the bus should predominate over the train as a means of travel, since it passes through the town, while the nearest train is 16 km. away in Pátzcuaro. After Pátzcuaro and Quiroga, not listed, Morelia (50 km.) is the most widely visited town, followed by Tacámbaro (65 km.), Uruapan (90 km.), Mexico City (365 km.), Guadalajara (336 km.), and the United States.

It is, of course, impossible to tell in great detail what people do when away from home to amuse or educate themselves. Commerce and religion are two of the most important activities, depending on the purpose of the trip. Like

traveling on a train or a bus, going to a movie represents an attempt, unconscious in all probability, to break away from the old traditional patterns of life. Having seen a movie is a fact which lends itself to statistical treatment, and consequently, in the census each individual was asked whether he had gone or not. Presumably persons with interest enough to see a movie are those with a more curious spirit than those who have not. Table 22 represents the results, again by age classes, sex, and linguistic affiliation. Quite logically, a higher proportion of those between the ages of 16 and 55 have gone to movies than the older and younger ones. The older persons did their traveling, in part at least, at a time when movies were less common, while the younger ones have not yet had as much opportunity as those a few years older. It is possible, too, that a higher percentage of older persons have a less lively curiosity. Unlike the evidence for traveling, it appears that Tarascans are less likely to enter a movie than Mestizos. Men are twice as apt to go as women, doubtless a corollary to the fact that they travel much more and have more opportunities. Still, since the nearest movie is Pátzcuaro, to which women go about as often as men, this reason alone is not sufficient. A more general conservatism on the part of women is doubtless an important factor.

THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY

The smooth functioning of the productive enterprises of Tzintzuntzan rests ultimately, and in many cases directly, on the domestic organization of each household. Work specialization is essentially limited to the family unit, as contrasted to industrially more advanced societies characterized by a more complex economic organization. Remove a quarter, or a half, of the families from Tzintzuntzan, selecting them at random, and the basic activities and productive enterprises of those remaining would continue unaffected. Fewer potters, fewer farmers, and fewer fishermen would result in little change in the work patterns of the remaining people. But remove one or more adult or adolescent members from the average family and the work efficiency of the group suffers a serious blow. Such changes, occasioned by marriage, separation, or

death, cause a realignment in varying degree in the relationships of a number of people. A father, losing his wife, will close up his home and move in with a married son. An eldest son marries and leaves his father's home; unless younger sons are growing up to take his place, *rescatón* trips may be restricted or eliminated, or income earned as a hired laborer no longer accrues to the family coffers. The family unit is, ideally, an integrated whole in which the duties of each individual are clearly defined, and in which the relationships change slowly with the passage of time, except when interrupted by an upheaval of the type just mentioned.

The basic problems connected with the domestic economy of a household are much the same for all the homes of the village. They include the way in which work is divided among

the members of the family, the day-by-day routine of each member, the nature and source of income, and the nature of expenditures. In a village the size of Tzintzuntzan a complete analysis of these data would furnish subject matter for a full-length monograph, and not simply a single chapter. The following discussion is far from exhaustive, though a large part of the basic data are included in the several charts of this section.

LABOR DIVISION

Division of labor is determined by sex and age of the individuals involved. In neither category is there anything unusual about Tzintzuntzan. Some idea of sex division has already been acquired from the discussion of the occupations of adults. Among the Mestizos, agriculture is not a basic part of the woman's work, though on occasion she may help in sowing or in other simple tasks. Among the Tarascans, a woman may participate more actively in the work of cultivating and harvesting, though I have never seen one using a plow or domestic animals. Tarascan women likewise may help their husbands in fishing, and often do so if there is not a complete all-male crew for a canoe.

Woman's most important participation, however, in a direct productive process is in pottery making. Agriculture and fishing could be practiced with no female help at all, and production would be but slightly reduced. Without the female potter, Tzintzuntzan would hardly be a pottery-making village. In this process the unique and intimate cooperation of male and female reaches its highest degree of efficiency; for the best utilization of the time of all workers, a minimum of one adult of each sex is required. There is no rule against a woman going to the clay mine, and a few occasionally do it. (See table 23, Margarita Farías (Urbano family) April 19.)

Likewise, there is no rule against a woman going to the hills for firewood. Nonetheless, these tasks are preeminently those of men, and few self-respecting husbands would want it said of them that their wives had had to do either. Members of both sexes can and do control the remaining pottery-making techniques. It is difficult to say whether the fact that women probably put in more hours at pottery making is

due to the fact that they are the real potters, or whether it is simply because many men have other duties, such as agriculture, tending of animals, selling trips and the like, which cut into their time. In any event, pottery is most efficiently produced by those family teams in which there are adult members of both sexes actively engaged in cooperative work.

The *rescatón* has little need of the help of a woman in his work, though should he be married, his wife likely will help him load his animals and prepare for the trip. The other minor occupations in Tzintzuntzan, as listed in table 8, do not depend to any important degree on the cooperation of man and woman.

With the exception of pottery-making homes, the man is expected to be the breadwinner, while the wife bears children, cares for them, prepares food, and tends her house. Potter wives in many cases probably are the hardest workers of any individuals in the village, since this work is in addition to their normal female chores.

Work division within the family, as determined by age, is of much less significance. Primarily, it takes the form of initiating children, little by little, into the duties and responsibilities of adult status. This process is discussed in the section dealing with the growth of children. Older people, for the most part, continue with the work patterns of earlier years as much as their health permits. Women have less immediate concern with infants, and can devote more time to pottery making, or, if they are members of a larger family, they may help with the cooking or tending of children. By and large, however, except as modified by child care, the work habits of adults are fairly constant from the time they are married until near the time of their death.

THE DAILY ROUND

The daily round of life in a family depends to a considerable extent on the occupation of the father, and on what he may be doing on any particular day. The introduction of the mechanical maize mill has resulted in somewhat later hours for arising; a half hour at the mill now accomplishes what formerly required from 2 to 4 hours of hard work. The mill begins grinding between 5 and 5:30 in the morning, and finishes with the last straggler by 10

o'clock. From 7 to 9 o'clock are the busiest hours. Early rising is not popular, and is done by most persons only when an unusual amount of work is planned for the day. Mornings on the high plateau are cold, and the dampness from the lake always makes the warmth of the sun particularly agreeable. Hence, predaylight arising is the exception rather than the rule in most families.

If there are school children, the immediate preoccupation of the wife and mother will be breakfast. Perhaps ground *nixtamal* will be left over from the preceding day, in which case tortillas are quickly patted out and placed on the griddle, and the fire is fanned and blown to life. In wealthier families bread and chocolate made with milk may be the rule. Meanwhile, the husband feeds his animals, looks around the patio to make sure that all is well, and awaits the call to eat. Children — if their mother is attentive — are scrubbed, their hair is braided, and they are sent off to school. The wife then finishes her household duties, washes the few dishes, makes tortillas for the day, sweeps, waters flowers, feeds chickens, dogs, and cats, and then — if she is a potter — is ready to begin work, to be interrupted only by the preparation of lunch for her family.

If the kiln has been fired the night before, the family probably is up before dawn to begin the unloading, a process of an hour or more. Pots are dusted with a rag, stacked in the sun, and comments made about broken ware or the good luck of little breakage. Only then can breakfast be thought of. If the potter husband is off to the clay mine, he likely will leave not later than dawn, breakfastless. Children are fed later, and he, upon his return around 11 o'clock, will have his *almuerzo*. Or, if a man is going after wood, he will follow the same procedure, taking at most a cup of herb tea before setting out.

Men engaged in hired labor, on the highway, cutting wheat, or in some other way, are expected to be on the job by 7 o'clock. About 10:30 there is a pause; wives, mothers, or sisters appear with small baskets in which are wrapped hot tortillas, and which contain a bowl of beans and perhaps a roasting ear or other delicacy, depending on the season. Time out for *almuerzo* is a recognized right; afterward, the worker

goes until 3 o'clock, if on the highway, and until later, if engaged in some other kind of work.

Poorer families, regardless of their work schedule, will not eat until 10 or 11 o'clock, thus combining breakfast and lunch in one simple meal, and not eating again until the evening.

Fishermen, contrary to the practice of most, are up hours before dawn, and if luck is good, will be returning by the time the sun is well above the horizon, ready for a normal breakfast. The rest of their day may be filled with net repairing or weaving, petate making, or perhaps agricultural pursuits.

The noon hour — in a relatively clockless town — is judged by the sun, and in those families with children, by their return for dinner. This is always the big meal of the day. After a short rest children return to school, to be gone until near dusk, and the husband and wife return to their tasks. The evening meal, at 7 or 8 o'clock, is fairly standard practice both for those families that eat only twice a day and those that eat thrice. If pottery is to be fired, which may be once or twice a week, supper means merely a slight pause in the work of loading the kiln and glazing the pots. The fire already will have been lighted by one of the men, and after eating, everyone goes to the kiln to enjoy the heat and to relax after the day's work. Evening, for most, is leisure time; older boys drift off to the plaza to join their age mates, to lounge and talk, or to serenade their sweethearts. Men may go to the nearest bar for a sociable drink or two, and wives may visit next door to find out what gossip is running.

Friday and Sunday see variations in the regular pattern for many people. Several score persons leave on the former day for Pátzcuaro to sell pots, fish, and other produce, and to buy clothing and other needed items for the home. When wives go, arrangements must be made to feed children or husbands who remain at home — usually cold beans and tortillas are left in the kitchen. On Sundays many, though by no means all persons, go to Mass. This is a day of loafing and resting. Some people again go to Pátzcuaro, but greater numbers go to Quiroga, to sell, to idle in the streets, or to visit with friends. Even though only 8 kilometers away, it means a change of scene and relaxation from daily chores.

WORK PATTERNS

In an attempt to determine more precisely the nature of division of work within the family, work schedules of the activities of all members of 15 years of age and over of eight families were kept for periods of approximately 2 months. The results, in somewhat condensed form, are tabulated in table 23. The same families also were used to obtain the family budgets (tables 24-31), and the meal schedules (tables 33 and 34), which cover essentially the same period of time. The following descriptions of each family will serve as background material for all analyses. The numbers following the names are the census numbers, and can be used to locate each family on map 1.

(1) *Rendón family (19)*.—The family consists of Vicente Rendón, 42; his wife, Natividad Peña, 40; and their three children: Gaudencio, 10; Teresa, 8; and Consuelo, 5. Before his marriage, Vicente was a farmer and *rescatón*. His father's lands, divided among four brothers, gave each such a small plot that he was unable to support a family, so he began helping Natividad with pottery making and has become fairly proficient. Together they form one of the premier pottery teams of Tzintzuntzan. By farming his small milpa, and share cropping others, he produces about a third of the family income; the remainder comes from pottery, plus a little from the sale of fruit. The family owns 2 burros and 13 chickens, and the patio contains, including seedlings and producing trees: 37 peach, 4 apricot, 3 *capulín*, 3 alligator pear, 2 lemon, 2 lime, 2 orange, 2 fig, and 1 zapote. Their house is in category 7, lacking water and electric lights. This is probably due to the fact that they live well beyond the reach of the water main and electric cable.

(2) *Hernández family (15)*.—The family consists of Melesio Hernández, 45, and his wife, Micaela Hinojosa, 36. The children are Francisco, 17; Eucario, 15; Pablo, 12; Ofelia, 9; and Fidelia, 7, all children of Melesio by a former marriage; and Dolores, 16, and Virginia, 11, children of Micaela by a former marriage. Herminia Campuzano, 24, is the sister-in-law of Micaela. Melesio is a farmer who farms his own lands, those of his wife, and who share crops other milpas. He is also a *rescatón* as well as a plow maker. Micaela, the older daughters, and Herminia are seamstresses, and thus add considerably to the family income. The home is in category 7, with a privy, beds (including one with springs), and oil lighting. Water is taken from a tap in a neighboring patio. Numerous livestock, which add considerably to the family wealth, include 4 horses, 2 oxen, 9 head of cattle, 3 sheep, 7 chickens, and 1 goat.

(3) *Melchor family (115)*.—The family consists of Eleuterio Melchor, 40; his wife Aurelia Cuiris, 35; and their children: Carmen, 16; Leonardo, 15; Margarita, 10; José, 8; and María, 2. Eleuterio controls a milpa which he does not bother to farm, but from which he receives a small income on a share cropping basis. The basic income of the family is from pottery making, plus significant sums of money from the exploitation of the *mezcal* cactus during the spring. Trees include 3 peach, 2 zapote, 1 alligator pear, and 1 quince. Livestock is limited to 2 burros and 6 chickens. The house is in category 4, with plank beds and oil lighting.

(4) *Alejandro Urbano family (50)*.—The family consists of Alejandro Urbano, 55, and his wife, Margarita Farías, 45, and their children: Irineo, 20; Hipólito, 14; and Fidel, 13. Alejandro does very little work except for occasional baking of bread. Margarita is a hard-working potter. Irineo is a day laborer. No livestock is kept, but fruit trees, including 20 peach, 2 alligator pear, 1 zapote, 1 apricot, and 1 quince, grow in the patio. The house is in category 4, with plank beds and oil lighting.

(5) *Jesús Molinero family (107)*.—The family consists of Jesús Molinero, 56; his wife, Josefa, 56; their daughter, Elena, 25; their son, Hilario, 22; and Elena's son, Guadalupe, 8. All adult members of the family are potters. Jesús also repairs huarachas, and Hilario is a day laborer. Livestock includes 2 burros, 1 pig, and 3 chickens; fruit trees are 4 peach, 2 cherimoya, and 2 zapote. The house is in category 4, with oil lighting and a water tap. This last actually is paid for by several cooperating families and is found in Jesús' patio only because it is the most conveniently located. Otherwise the house category would be 1.

(6) *Rómulo Molinero family (107)*.—Rómulo, 28, is the son of Jesús, and with his wife, Teresa Alonso, 19, and infant daughter, Emilia, lives in the same house with his father. The work, cooking, and family budgets are apart, though pots will be fired in the same kiln at the same time. Rómulo is the town policeman, and he and his wife are also sporadic potters. They own no livestock or fruit trees.

(7) *Vázquez family (144)*.—The family consists of Paulino, 50, a widower, and his mother, Salud, 70. Both are potters, in addition to which Paulino occasionally works as a hired laborer, cutting wheat or doing other agricultural work. Paulino is one of the few beekeepers of Tzintzuntzan, with 5 hives. He also has 5 chickens. Two peach trees and 1 alligator pear tree grow in the patio. The house category is 0, with no improvements whatsoever. Water is drawn from the tap across the street in the house of Jesús Molinero.

(8) *Severiano Urbano family (144)*.—This is a joint household with that of Paulino. Severiano Urbano, 32, is married to Mariana Vázquez, 28, the daughter of Paulino. Their children are Elvira, 10; Zenaida, 7; and Salud, 2. As in the case of Rómulo

Molinero and his father, work schedules and family income and expenditures, as well as cooking, are kept apart from the other family in the same house. Severiano and Mariana are potters, and Severiano also sometimes works as a hired laborer. They have 5 chickens, 3 peach trees, 1 cherimoya, and 1 alligator pear tree.

The selection of these families was dictated partially by chance and partially by the desire to have as representative a cross section as possible. Unfortunately, it proved impossible to establish sufficient rapport with a Tarascan fishing family to get the desired data. This is the greatest shortcoming of the charts. Also, it was not feasible to get data from one of the wealthier agricultural families or storekeepers. As in our own society, these people are more reticent about their financial affairs. Otherwise the selection is good, including family incomes from the lower upper brackets on down to the very poorest, with single and joint families, and with occupations including pottery, agriculture, *rescatón* trade, day laboring, shoe repairing, wood-working, *mezcal* making, municipal government service, and sewing.

The explanations in table 23, showing work schedules, have been condensed and simplified. Those which are not entirely self-explanatory include the following activities:

Clay mine: The entire process of going to the mines with animals, filling sacks, and bringing them to the house.

Pulverizing clay: Any step connected with the process of spreading clay in the sun to dry, breaking it up with a large boulder (*machucando*), and either grinding it on a metate or passing it through a sieve.

Mixing paste: Measuring and combining the two clays, and mixing them with water to form the paste ready for use.

Making pots: Any of the activities connected with making the tortillas of clay, molding them, adding handles, and the like. The word "pots" is used to mean any kind of clay vessel, including *cazuelas*, *ollas*, *cántaros*, and *comales*.

Painting pots: This is limited to the *loza blanca* of the Rendón family.

Glazing: Grinding and mixing the glaze, and applying it to the pottery.

Burnishing pots: This refers to *tinaja* burnished pottery.

To (place) to sell: Pottery selling trip.

Carrying fodder: Cutting and bringing fodder for domestic animals.

House: Any and all domestic duties, including trips to maize mill, cooking, cleaning, caring for children, and so forth.

Woodcutting for mezcal oven: Gathering firewood for the *mezcal* earth oven.

Cutting mezcal: Cutting and preparing the *mezcal* hearts to bake in the earth oven.

Firing mezcal oven: Building the fire, placing the rocks, placing of *mezcal* hearts, and covering the oven.

Bringing mezcal: Opening the oven and bringing the contents out of the hills to town for sale.

Church: Any visits to church, or duties of *cargueros* apart from regular Mass attendance.

Highway: Working as a hired laborer on the highway repair gang.

Judea practice: Preparation and practice for the Passion play of Easter week.

Nothing: This refers to any kind of recreation, such as playing games, visiting, loafing, getting drunk, and the like.

Spying: The Holy Week pantomime of boys. (See p. 210.)

Table 23 reveals a great deal of difference in the work patterns of the eight families, and in the actual amount of work done. Each will be examined in turn, and commented upon.

Rendón family.—Since this is a nonagricultural season, the activities of Vicente and Natividad are directed to pottery making. The relatively large amount of time which Natividad devotes to pottery shows how an efficient wife can still feed her family, take care of the children, and have time left. One trade secret: she often pays someones else to make tortillas, thus relieving herself of the most time-consuming activity of the average day. Though Vicente and Natividad are hard, steady workers, they never hesitate to take time off to thoroughly enjoy a fiesta, to entertain friends from other villages, or to make a social trip themselves. They work with the knowledge that their productivity will amply cover family needs, and never with frantic haste in order to meet a deadline for a market day or sales trip.

Hernández family.—The beautiful integration of the work of this family is not completely apparent from the chart. Melesio's varied activities, including *rescatón* trips, plow making, wood cutting, and the like are apparent. His agricultural work at this early date is due to the fact that he is farming *tierras de humedad* on a share-cropping basis. These lands, outside of Tzintzuntzan, contain enough natural moisture so that they can be planted earlier than most land. Micaela, Herminia, and Dolores alternate with household tasks in the morning. One goes to the *nixtamal* mill and makes pur-

chases for the day, a second makes tortillas and cooks, and a third cleans house. Then, by early afternoon, they are ready to sew, varying this procedure occasionally by visiting with friends, or washing and ironing clothing. Francisco does much of the routine work a father normally does: bringing firewood, fodder for the animals, or repairing fences, leaving Melesio free for his trips and intensive farming. Francisco also helps with farming, and finds time, in a slack spell, to work as a peon on the highway or in the fields of other farmers. Eucario, who watches the family livestock in the hills and who is paid as well to tend that of other owners, actually works much less than the chart suggests. His shepherding job means, simply, visits to the hills to see that the animals stay together, milking, and the like. He is often home early in the afternoon to join other boys of his age loafing or playing basketball. As in the case of the Rendón family, work is predicated on the knowledge that the family productivity can meet all requirements, and that a day or an afternoon off for a trip or a visit is time well spent.

Melchor family.—This is the hardest working family of all those surveyed. The constant attention to pottery making culminates, usually, in one fantastic day and night a week when the pots are fired in the afternoon, and while they are baking, glaze is ground and mixed. As soon as the hot vessels can be removed they are glazed, reloaded in the kiln and fired, and as soon as the kiln has slightly cooled, removed with sticks to cool more rapidly. Then pack animals are loaded, and Eleuterio goes off, with no sleep, on a selling trip. I know of no other family which maintains this killing pace; firing pots, glazing, and re-firing is a 2-day schedule for the average family. Aurelia, the mother, relegates a large part of her household duties to her daughter, Carmen, so that she will have more time to devote to pottery. During most of the period under study, Leonardo worked with a group of three other men exploiting the *mezcal* cactus. His work followed a regular pattern: Monday, cutting firewood for the earth oven; Tuesday, cutting the *mezcal* hearts; and Wednesday, firing the oven and placing the *mezcal*. On Thursdays and Fridays, while the *mezcal* baked, he was free to help at home with other chores. Friday evening he went to the oven in the hills, to pass the night wrapped in his serape, so that

even before dawn he could join the others in the task of uncovering the cooked food.

Alejandro Urbano family.—As compared to the first three families, there is relatively less cooperative work involving these three people. Alejandro's work is desultory, and interrupted by long spells of drinking. Hence, Margarita is the principal breadwinner, aided by Irineo who, during the period of the study, worked constantly on the highway. Margarita makes pottery, even occasionally going to the clay mine. Supplementing this work is bread making, at which she is aided by Alejandro.

Jesús Molinero family.—Jesús is, I suspect, 10 years older than the 56 years which figure in the census. Although capable of a good deal of work, he lacks the strength for continuous hard labor expected of a young or middle-aged man. His pottery making is limited, for the most part, to bringing clay and firewood, and to supervising the firing of the kiln. The actual making of pots is done by his wife and daughter, who alternate with the chores of the house. Jesús is the *clarín* trumpet player of greatest renown in Tzintzuntzan, and hence during a part of this period was required for Church matters. At other times he devoted himself to shoe repairing. Hilario, the son, worked on the highway except for a period when he felt ill, and did nothing more than a few odd jobs around the house.

Rómulo Molinero family.—During the period under surveillance, Rómulo and his wife, Teresa, did about as little work as is possible to stay alive. Police duties enter frequently as the work of Rómulo, though such duties usually involve nothing more strenuous than running an errand, taking a message, or something of the sort. He also spent a great deal of time drinking. Teresa, without the help of her husband, made a half-hearted attempt to make a little pottery, but as has been pointed out, for a single person this is difficult and inefficient.

Vázquez family.—Paulino suffers from ill health, and his mother is very old. Hence, relatively little work—less than appears in the chart—is expectable and understandable. The frequent trips for firewood and to the clay mine are due to the fact that Paulino has no burro, and hence must carry all of this material on his back. With such a handicap it is surprising that any work at all is turned out. Occasionally he

borrow a burro, but this is but a temporary expedient. The item "seeking lost burro," March 6, was a task done for a neighbor. During the latter part of the period Paulino was harvesting wheat, for which he was paid by the job.

Severiano Urbano family.—Severiano, like Paulino, suffers from the lack of a burro, and hence must make more frequent trips for clay and wood. This is an important reason why he does day labor. The listing of "highway" during the afternoon of the latter days in the period actually represents a 3 p. m. to 11 p. m. shift on a rock crusher set up on the outskirts of Tzintzuntzan. This made it possible for him to harvest wheat for several hours each morning. Subsequently he was transferred to the morning shift, which meant a more normal daily schedule. His wife, during all of this time, was able to put in a moderate amount of time making pots, though the fact that the kiln was fired only once indicates how little she really made.

The work schedules of each family are so diverse that it is difficult to draw any general conclusions. It is apparent that most people are hard workers, even though circumstances may limit the efficiency of such work, as, for example, the lack of animals to bring wood and clay. The presence of Holy Week, March 25 to March 31, means that slightly more time was spent on religious and recreational matters than would normally be the case for a 2-month period. Otherwise, the amount of work, though not necessarily the occupations, appears to be about average for any time of the year. It is interesting to note that, relatively, a good deal of work is done on Sunday by the more industrious families, even though this is theoretically a day of no work.

It must be remembered that a complete account of the daily activities of most individuals would show much more variety than is possible to summarize. Thus, the average man who goes wood cutting or to the clay mine is home by 10 o'clock, and can spend 2 or 3 hours in the fields, with pottery, or bringing fodder for his animals. A visit to the municipal building, to bear witness, or merely to ask a favor, is occasionally involved, and this may be combined with two or three other short errands. A detailed account of a woman's day would be

even more complex. Hence, the activities listed in the chart actually are not strictly comparable, either on the basis of time spent or kinds of work accomplished. They are useful simply in indicating the general patterns of the more important categories of work.

FAMILY BUDGETS

Tables 24-31 show the budgets of the eight families for periods of from 7 to 12 weeks. Table 32 represents an attempt to translate the data of these budgets, modified by what is known about the work habits of each family and other factors, such as income in produce, into estimates of yearly income, and expenditures for major items. The reliability is not constant. The over-all picture for tables 24-26, and their summaries in table 32, are the most accurate. These families showed the most genuine cooperation in every respect, and the samples in each category were sufficiently large to produce significant averages. Tables 27 and 28 appear defective in that known income is considerably greater than the expenditures. In view of the tendency to spend money almost as fast as it is earned, it is probable that all expenses are not listed. Alcoholic drinks account for at least a part of the discrepancy in the first case. Actual expenses for food, at least that taken at listed meals, is probably not far off. Table 29 is defective in that not all income is listed, though the amount that actually got inside the family front door appears to be accounted for with fair accuracy. Alcohol, and food taken away from home, are not listed. Tables 30 and 31 are quite accurate for the period under consideration, but the absolute amounts of income and outgo are so limited that significant averages do not result.

Anyone who has tried gathering field data of this type will appreciate the tremendous difficulties encountered, even with the most willing informants. Informants are not trained to think in terms of budgets and of daily expenditures. The husband or housewife spends when he or she has money and desires something, and goes without when money is lacking. Few persons are able to recite a list of expenses, even after

they learn what is wanted. This means the time-consuming (and for informants, very boring) process of carefully asking. "Did you buy sugar, milk, eggs, today?" and so on through the entire list of possibilities. Since one does not know the nature of all purchases, particularly at the beginning, there is ample room for error. In spite of the shortcomings of the raw data, the over-all picture gives a reasonably coherent picture of how Tzintzuntzan earns and spends its money, and makes possible significant estimates of yearly budgets. Each budget is discussed in turn, and then related to the yearly estimates presented in table 32.

Rendón budget (Feb. 10 to April 10, 1945).—Certain features in this budget make it an atypical one for the family from the standpoint of a yearly average. The first weeks followed the fiesta of Rescate, in which there was a considerable let-down due to sickness, so that income was below average. Half or more of the pottery income is from the sale of the fine white ware which goes to Mexico City every 2 or 3 months. Although during the last half of this period this ware was made, it had not been delivered, so the earned income does not actually appear in the cash balance. A lapse of from 1 to 3 months in payment for this ware frequently occurs. Ordinary ware, on the other hand, is usually disposed of in from 1 to 3 weeks after making, and shows up in the relatively small items of pottery income. Some of it is sold in small quantities to people, mostly Tarascans from La Vuelta who pass the house on their way home. The larger items represent trips made to Huecorio, on the lake beyond Pátzcuaro, to which Vicente and Natividad often go, taking pottery that has been previously ordered.

During the first 3 weeks of the period Vicente was finishing his period as judge, and considerable income in the form of fees accrued during this time. Firewood was sold in small quantities, to the extent of \$2.12. This was done more or less as a favor to people who needed a load or two, and who found it inconvenient to gather it themselves. Old debts represent \$0.60 and \$1.00 is damages collected from a man whose burro entered Vicente's wheat field and damaged the crop. The atypical loan of \$50.00 was made by me when I learned that the family was about out of money. My sympathy got the

better of my scientific desire to see how the crisis would be met. Actually, the family would have eaten beans and tortillas for a week, supplemented by their own eggs and perhaps a chicken, until more common pottery could be made. Also, they would have made more of this ware for immediate sale rather than the white ware, which the loan permitted them to make, and which resulted in a net increase in income, a few weeks after the end of the diary.

Expenditures listed in the column "other" include two burros at \$75.00 each, a loan of \$60.00 secured by the rights to a small milpa (an "empeño," that listed in table 14, case 5), a \$25.00 unsecured loan, \$40.00 for tiles for a projected new kitchen, \$4.00 for adobes for the same, \$6.90 for jute bags, \$5.00 for packing boxes, \$5.60 for packing equipment for burros, \$0.32 for remedies for a sick burro, \$0.40 bus fare for his secretary to go to Pátzcuaro on an errand connected with the court, \$1.00 for *veladoras*, special squat candles used in the church, \$0.05 for the purchase of the family dog "Jazmín," \$0.20 for tortillas purchased, \$0.75 for two brooms, \$0.45 for *palma bendita* or specially blessed palm fronds for Easter, \$0.35 paid for the washing of clothes, \$0.10 for two aspirin tablets, \$0.20 for medical alcohol, \$0.50 payment of a debt, chocolate \$0.80, lime \$0.45, cinnamon \$0.35, and \$7.50 for tortilla making.

It is clear that many of the expenditures made during this period are in the nature of capital improvements, and represent the natural increase in wealth of a hard-working family which saves and plans with a foresight not characteristic of most Tzintzuntzeños.

The cash balance column is in the nature of an experiment. Even with the utmost care and confidence in the honesty of the informants, we were not certain whether the budgets would stand up under close scrutiny; that is, were we missing significant items of income and outgo which would make the budget merely a collection of worthless figures? On March 10, in trying to find out why the family was down to a diet of tortillas and beans for a relatively continued period, I discovered the reason was the lack of money; Natividad, as guardian of the cash register, confessed that she had only \$2.40 remaining. This led to the loan which enabled the family to continue more normal and efficient work; expenditures for burros and building ma-

terials had been poorly calculated with respect to probable future income. The exact amount of money possessed on February 10 was not known. Just before the fiesta, Vicente said he had sold \$190.00 worth of white ware, and about \$100.00 of common. Later I saw the sales receipt showing \$188.50 for the white ware, so assumed that his estimate for all was approximately correct. During the fiesta—again an estimate of the family—about \$150.00 was spent, mostly for clothing, for incidental entertainment of visitors, and so forth. Assuming that when the pottery was sold the family had at least a few pesos, this led to the conclusion that the balance must have been about \$250.00 on February 10.

The final exact balance was not known — “Just about out,” was Nati’s expression. Since the kitchen was full of pottery at the time, and since a couple of hundred pesos of white ware had been dispatched and the check expected daily, I did not feel the need of advancing more money. With these known reference points, I began with the balance of \$2.40 on March 10 and worked forward and backward, with the result of \$264.24 at the beginning of the period, and \$4.62 at the end. Disallowing the February 11 item of \$25.10 entered as a maize expense and pots income, which was barter, there is a theoretical cash balance on the first day of the schedule of \$239.14, which checks very closely with the estimated \$250.00. The cash balance at the end of each day is not, of course, something which could be checked. Nevertheless, the entire picture of finances for the 2-month period makes a reasonable and logical picture, and, I believe, shows rather accurately the day-by-day state of family economics. Unquestionably, items of both income and expenditures were missed, particularly some in which barter on a small scale was involved. Nevertheless, these would seem to be a very small percentage of the total, and to about balance out.

Eliminating the capital improvements, it is seen that the average daily expenditure of the family, including food and other necessities, and the expensive glaze for pottery, figures out at \$3.44.

Inspection of the expense sheet reveals an interesting pattern. Except when the family is really low on money, there is little relationship between the cash balance and the expenditures

— one spends what one feels like spending. Likewise there is a tendency toward “grouping” of purchases. Natividad will purchase meat one day, it tastes good, and she will purchase it on the following day or two, not to buy meat again for a week or 10 days. *Mezcal* was purchased on 6 days only, and 3 of those in succession. Natividad had made *atole*, preferably taken with sweet *mezcal*, and it had tasted so good that the dish was repeated for 2 following days. Very rarely is there an “every other day” or “every third day” pattern in purchases of individual items.

Pottery was bartered for maize worth \$25.10 and firewood worth \$0.60, representing about 10 percent of all financial transactions during the period.

The total family income is estimated at \$2,530, or \$506 per person. Of this, \$1,600 results from the sale of pottery, mostly for cash, though a small amount of barter also is included. Wheat and maize harvests represent about \$400 each, beans \$30, and other items, such as eggs, chickens, and fruit, about \$100. Probably about 12 *fanegas* of shelled maize, 1,200 liters, worth \$270, are consumed by the family, and a bit more must be added for livestock. This is an average of 240 liters per person. For a family which can afford all the food it wants, this is a low figure. The explanation is that much bread is eaten, and a good deal of the wheat is made into *gordas* (wheat tortillas), which partially take the place of maize tortillas. Maize accounts for 11 percent of the entire budget, and 24 percent of the food budget, in the first case the lowest percentage of the cases studied, and in the second, the next to the lowest. Relatively few beans are eaten, simply because the family can afford more varied foods. The average of 20 liters per person is again the lowest of any family which can buy all of the food it needs. Expenditures for meat, fish, fruit, and sweets are relatively high, as would be expected. Probably \$100 is spent in the course of the year for milk, and \$200 for wheat, eaten either in the form of bread or home-made *gordas*. Food represents 43 percent of the entire budget, the lowest percentage recorded.

Clothing is estimated at \$475 a year, as follows: Vicente, \$120; Natividad, \$160; Gaudencio, \$75; each of the two girls, \$60. For Vicente this means two new pairs of pants, two

pairs of *calzones*, three shirts, a silk shirt, three pairs of underpants, three undershirts, one hat, three pairs of socks, a handkerchief, a pair of huaraches, a new pair of shoes every 3 years, and a new *gabán* or serape every 3 years. Natividad needs two slips, two petticoats, two dresses, two aprons, three blouses, six pairs of stockings, three handkerchiefs, three underblouses, a *bayeta* skirt, a cotton skirt, a satin apron, one or two new pairs of shoes, a rebozo every 3 years, and a sash every 5 years. New prices are given in the section on clothing. Each year Gaudencio needs one pair of pants, four *calzones*, three shirts, a blouse, a pair of huaraches, three suits of underwear, a hat, and a new serape. The girls need five dresses, three slips and underpants, two blouses, a couple of handkerchiefs, and every second year, a new rebozo. Food and dress expenses leave \$955 for other purposes. A considerable part of this goes into capital improvements — purchase of burros, construction of or additions to the house, and the like.

Hernández budget (March 6 to June 6, 1945). —The crude figures of this budget are swollen because of the inclusion of relatively high business expenses. A total of \$199.45 was spent for pottery to be resold; hence, family expenditures should be reduced by about a third to have a truer picture of reality. The apparently unbalanced budget is due to the fact that on June 6 Melesio had \$97.50 worth of unsold pottery. *Rescatón* trips would result in a clear profit of about \$100. Thus, this budget shows an approximate balance for the 3-month period. The family produces its own beans, chickens, eggs, squash, milk (in abundance), a little cheese and butter, and most of its maize. Likewise, it makes its own clothes and agricultural implements. Hence, less than half of the annual income is in cash and subject to the direct analysis of the budget. Barter — a plow for 25 liters of maize (calculated at \$6) — accounts for only 1 percent of the total budget. "Other" expenditures include payment of a \$20 debt, \$10 for chairs, \$2 for a chicken, and lesser amounts for cornstarch, broadbeans, blessed palm, and the like. Melesio participated in the firing of a *mezcal* oven only twice, selling his entire share for \$10 each time to the other men, for resale. Except for the \$20 on April 22, which represents Francisco's pay for a short stretch on the highway, the rest of the income

in this column is that for Eucario, who watched livestock of other families. The "other" entry is a load of zacate fodder delivered by Melesio.

All family income is estimated at \$4,000. Due to the large amount of agricultural produce which could not be measured, there is room for a good deal of error here. Any revision, however, would be upward rather than downward. Minimum per capita income works out at \$400. The family standard of living appears to be as high as that of the Rendón family, which has a somewhat higher per capita income. Income from the making of plows and yokes, from selling pottery, from the wages of the boys, and from sewing amounts to at least \$1,800. Maize represents perhaps \$700; wheat, \$500; beans, \$350; milk and dairy products, \$600; and chickens, eggs, and fruit, \$50. The family eats relatively less bread than the Rendóns, and slightly more maize — 2,500 liters, or 250 per person. This represents 14 percent of the total budget and 28 percent of the food budget. Beans are eaten in much greater quantities, 50 liters per person. Most of the dairy products are eaten by the family, and, almost unique in the village, Micaela insists on first boiling milk. As estimated, food accounts for an even half of the yearly budget. The figure for clothing is relatively lower than that of the Rendón family, since the women of the family make most of the garments and hence save this expense.

Melchor budget (March 1 to April 26, 1945). —In many respects this is one of the most revealing of all budgets. Except for a small amount of wheat and maize which comes from share cropped land, all of the family income is in cash, primarily from pottery and secondarily, during the spring, from the sale of *mezcal*. The pottery income is close to the absolute maximum which a family of this size could hope to earn, and represents steady and hard work. No bartered goods were recorded during the period.

Total annual income is estimated at \$2,350, of which only \$200 is in kind, mostly Eleuterio's share from his small milpa which he has worked on a share crop basis. Per capita income is \$336. The very strenuous work of the entire family is reflected in the large amounts of food eaten, representing 64 percent of the family budget. Maize is the largest item, 2,200 liters, or 314 per capita, including small children. This represents 21 percent of the entire

TABLE 32.—Summary of annual income and expenditures of eight Tzintzuntzan families

Families	No. persons in family	Category of house	Income				Expenditures										Clothing	Other items			
			Cash	Kind	Total	Per capita	Maize		Beans		Other foods			Total foods							
								Liters, total	Liters, per capita	Total value	Percentage total budget	Percentage food budget	Liters, total	Liters, per capita	Total value	Meat, fish	Fruits, sweets	Miscellaneous	Value	Percentage total budget	
1, Vicente Rendón.....	5	7	\$1,600	\$ 930	\$2,530	\$506	1,200	240	\$270	11	24	100	20	\$ 30	\$ 75	\$ 75	\$ 75	\$650	\$1,100	43	955
2, Melesio Hernández.....	10	7	1,800	2,200	4,000	400	2,500	250	562	14	28	500	50	150	150	150	150	988	2,000	50	1,300
3, Eleuterio Melchor.....	7	4	2,150	200	2,350	336	2,200	314	495	21	33	250	36	75	200	200	350	380	1,500	64	450
4, Alejandro Urbano.....	5	4	1,200	50	1,250	250	750	150	170	14	23	150	30	45	60	60	20	455	750	60	250
5, Jesús Molinero.....	5	3	825	25	850	170	1,000	200	225	27	43	100	20	30	60	60	20	190	525	62	150
6, Romulo Molinero.....	3	3	325	0	325	108	400	133	90	28	45	50	17	15	20	10	10	65	200	61	65
7, Paulino Vázquez.....	2	0	225	25	250	125	300	150	67	27	38	50	25	15	25	10	10	58	175	70	35
8, Severiano Urbano.....	5	0	425	25	450	90	600	120	135	30	41	100	20	30	30	10	10	120	325	72	50

budget, and 33 percent of the food budget. Per capita consumption of beans is moderately high, and of meat and fish, very high. Including children, about 11 kilos of these last-named foods are consumed per person each year. Particularly striking is the great expenditure on fruits and sweets. This is a larger absolute figure than is spent on all food by many other families. Peanuts are consumed in tremendous quantities; Eleuterio never returns from a trip without several kilos, nor does Aurelia go to Pátzcuaro without making a purchase. Except for these items, the meal patterns of the family are very simple. The obvious question which presents itself is whether the family can work so hard because it has such a high percentage of energy-building foods, or whether these foods are required because of the hard work. This income is about the highest possible for a family which devotes itself exclusively to common pottery, as contrasted to ornamental ware, such as *tinaja* and *loza blanca*, and which has no significant income from other sources. It is adequate from the standpoint of diet, housing, and clothing, but allows for few frills.

Alejandro Urbano budget (March 1 to April 19, 1946).—This family has no income in kind beyond a little fruit from trees in the patio. There is an apparent discrepancy in the amount spent on flour and the value of bread sold. Part of the discrepancy is due to the fact that the family itself eats a great deal of bread, with a resultant lowering in maize consumption, and part is due, doubtless, to sales not entered. The day labor is work on the highway by Irineo. Income from this source is greater than it might be during the rest of the year, since it is seasonal. The average daily food expenditure per member of the family is only \$0.30, to which must be added bread and some fruit. Barter accounts for only \$4.75, pots for maize. Significant purchases appear to be missing. The bean diet, for example (table 33), suggests that most of these purchases were omitted. Thus, in practice a good deal more must be spent each day on food for the family.

Yearly income is estimated at \$1,250, of which \$1,200 is cash (or barter), an average of \$250 per person. Since Alejandro does relatively little work, most of this is earned by Margarita and Irineo. Maize consumed averages 150 liters per capita a year, the lowest figure

recorded, except for marginal families that experience real hunger. This represents 14 percent of the total budget and 23 percent of the food budget. The figure is relatively low because of the large quantities of bread, baked at home, eaten by the family. Moderate amounts of beans, meat, and fish are eaten but the expenditures for fruits and sweets are considerably below those of the foregoing families, indicating that a conscious cut in spending has to be made. Clothing also represents much less per person than in the case of the wealthier families. The income of this family is adequate for basic foods, for shelter — since, if necessary, a man can build his own home — and minimum clothing, but, even less than in the case of Eleuterio Melchor, is there provision for frills.

Jesús Molinero budget (March 1 to April 29, 1945).—Almost all of the income of this family is in cash, with pottery, huarache repairs, and day labor furnishing the bulk. Since the family lives on a day-to-day basis, the income surplus probably indicates that all expenditures were not entered. A significant part of the income was the result of barter, \$18.05 or about 13 percent. Sugar is eaten only when someone is sick, and not as a usual item of daily diet. Milk is almost never drunk, and other food items are relatively limited.

Total annual income is estimated at \$850, of which only \$25 is in kind. A total of 1,000 liters of maize a year gives a per capita consumption of 200 liters. The cash value of \$225 is 27 percent of the total budget, and 43 percent of the food budget. Bean consumption is relatively low, but meat and fish account for a larger portion of the diet than might be expected. Food represents 62 percent of the entire family budget. The item "other foods" is much lower than in any of the preceding cases, indicating relative lack of variety in food. Detailed study would probably show significant dietary deficiencies to a much greater extent than the preceding cases. It appears that a per capita income of \$170, especially since four of the five individuals are adults, is considerably below minimum standards to maintain the health of the family.

Rómulo Molinero budget (March 1 to April 18, 1945).—This budget was recorded from Rómulo's wife, Teresa. As far as the money that

she received is concerned, it is probably fairly accurate. The minute quantities of income are high lighted by the entry "other" of March 10, "\$0.05 for making tortillas," i.e., she was paid this sum to make tortillas for another family. Rómulo undoubtedly received a good deal more income as policeman, which he spent on food and drink, cigarettes and matches away from home. Even allowing for this error, the family existence is near the margin. The budget notebook is spotted with remarks such as, "Will eat tortillas tonight if my mother-in-law gives them to me," or, "Tortillas and salt" as the entire day's food. In spite of this poverty, the item of \$5.30 for the Church is the largest of its kind in any budget. The money was spent for flowers, Holy Water, and other items which fall to the lot of *cargueros*, as were Rómulo and Teresa during this period.

Yearly income is estimated at \$325, all of which is in cash or barter expressed in terms of monetary value. The per capita maize consumption is 133 liters, or 400 for the family. The \$90 value represents 28 percent of the total budget and 45 percent of the food budget. The 17 liters of beans is the lowest per capita consumption noted. Meat and fish consumption is low, and fruit and sweets, insofar as they were entered in the expense account, are insignificant. Food represents 61 percent of the total budget. The allotment for clothing is very low. Altogether, the picture is one of extreme poverty, by any conceivable standards.

Vázquez budget (March 1 to March 19, 1945).—This is the most limited family budget studied. Even allowing an error of 50 percent (actually I believe that the recorded figures are very close to the truth — the income and expenditures are so few there is less chance for error) the family income is appallingly low. Both Paulino and his mother suffer from malnutrition, and their every physical movement betrays force of will behind it.

The *nixtamal* mill was visited on only 3 days during the entire period of the study. Since, however, Salud was grinding for only two persons, and a relatively small amount each day, the mill saving would be less than in the case of larger families. Bread and sugar were each purchased but once during the 40-day period. Milk is an unknown luxury. Fruit and sweets are consumed only on a very limited basis.

Total income is calculated at \$250, including \$25 in kind, representing in part the honey from Paulino's beehives, plus a little fruit and a few eggs. Per capita maize consumption is 150 liters, representing 27 percent of the total budget and 38 percent of the food budget. Bean consumption is 25 liters per person. Meat and fish show up remarkably well, but fruits and sweets are almost nonexistent. Food represents 70 percent of the entire budget. Obviously, the available food is not nearly adequate.

Severiano Urbano budget (March 1 to April 28, 1945).—This budget, while not the lowest in actual money, suggests that the family has the lowest per capita income, amounting to only \$90 per person, of any of the families studied in Tzintzuntzan. The *nixtamal* mill can be afforded only on some days; note how it is patronized almost steadily after the two pay days, and how its use falls off when the family coffers are running low. Milk is absent from the list of purchases, and bread and sugar are taken but rarely. No purchases of clothing were made during the period under observation. Most of the small amount dedicated to this purpose would be spent before the Rescate fiesta. Total family income — most of which would be from pottery, Severiano's normal profession — is estimated at \$450, of which \$25 is covered by fruit, an occasional egg, and a chicken or two from the family possessions. Maize consumption is estimated at 600 liters, an average of 120 liters per person, worth \$135 and representing 30 percent of the total budget and 41 percent of the estimated food budget of \$325. Twenty liters of beans per person, a total of 100 liters, worth \$30 are consumed. Meat and fish represent \$30, while fruits and sweets are at the very low figure of \$10. Clothing has been estimated at \$75, which would seem to be about the absolute minimum possible, leaving only \$50 to take care of all other expenditures. Food is calculated at 72 percent of the entire budget, the highest proportion of any family studied. Obviously, minimum necessities for health are not nearly met by the income of this group.

A puzzling lack in the detailed family budgets is money contributed to the Church. The few small items entered would not indicate enough money to maintain the buildings and priest. The significance of this did not occur to me during the budget periods, and I failed to

ask especially about it. It looks as if Church contributions, either in cash or kind, are not normally thought of as living expenses, and that they were largely overlooked in the study of expenditures.

Noteworthy is the fact that nearly all productive enterprises, as reflected in family budgets, require moderate to considerable investments before income accrues to the family. This investment is least in the case of potters, and involves no more than the glaze. Yet, in the course of a year, this may run to several hundred pesos. The fisherman's expenditures are not here shown, but are much heavier, involving canoes and nets as capital equipment. The farmer, likewise, has money tied up in domestic animals, seed, and perhaps hired help before any income is available. And the *rescatón*, buying a little pottery one day, more the next day, may have \$100 or more invested before he sets out on his trip.

An estimate of the minimum per capita income necessary to maintain health and working efficiency for an average family of parents and three or four children involves a good deal of guess work. From \$250 to \$300 would appear to be a very minimum, enough for an adequate diet, clothes, and shelter, but not adequate to include many frills. From \$400 to \$500 should be ample to feed, clothe, and shelter the average family, with money left over for more incidentals and — as far as is readily available — medical service. Per capita income in excess of about \$500 puts a family very definitely in the privileged category. Per capita income of less than \$250 appears to be insufficient to maintain minimum health and diet standards. Perhaps a fourth of the village would fall into this category.

FOOD

The relationship of basic food expenditures to the family budget requires a consideration of food habits. Though no attempt was made to study diet in an exhaustive form, useful data were obtained. Food diaries were kept for seven families — all of those for which work schedules and budgets were kept except Paulino Vázquez — for periods of from a month to 6 weeks. They were discontinued after this period because the additional information did not appear to compensate for the great amount of time spent

TABLE 33.—Meal chart, March 1945 1

Family	Thurs., 1			Fri., 2			Sat., 3			Sun., 4			Mon., 5			Tues., 6			Wed., 7		
1. Vicente Rendón	7 Ck, Te, T	3 Ma, B, Cs, T	10 Ck, T	9 A	11 Cs, F, B, T	7 N, B, T	8 A, B, T	12 F, B, A, T	7 B, T	2 N, A, B, T	7 A, B, T	1 N, B, T	7 A, B, T	9 C, Br	1 Ck, Ma, T	7 F, T	8 C, M, Br	2 F, E, Bb, T	7 Br		
2. Melesio Hernández																					
3. Eleuterio Melchor	9 B, T	1 F, B, T	9 B, T	10 N, T	2 Bb, N, T	7 B, T	9 B, T	1 B, T	9 F, T	1 Me, T	7 B, T	12 Me, T	7 B, T	10 Me, T	3 F, T	9 F, T	9 Te, Br	2 Me, R, T	7 B, T		
4. Alejandro Urbano	9 C, M, B,	3 F, T	10 B, T	8 B, T	1 P, T	7 B, T	9 B, T	3 P, T	10 B, T	12 R, T	9 F, T	12 Me, T	8 Me, T	9 Br, M	1 Me, T	7 B, T	7 Te, Br	3 E, B, T	8 P, T		
5. Jesús Molinero	8 A, B, T		4 F, N, B, T	12 B, T		7 E, B, T	8 M, B, T	3 B, T	9 Ck, T	4 F, T	9 F, T	2 Bb, T	9 B, T	11 B, T	4 B, T	8 B, T	2 F, T		8 B, T		
6. Severiano Urbano	10 B, T		8 B, T	12 T		8 F, T	11 F, T		9 B, T	11 F, T	7 B, T	Me, T	9 B, T	12 F, T	8 B, T	7 B, T	12 B, T		7 B, T		
7. Rómulo Molinero	11 B, T			12 B, T		7 B, T	12 B, T		6 B, T	11 F, T	6 B, T	12 F, T	6 B, T	12 F, T	1 F, T	7 B, T	11 B, T		7 B, T		
Family	Thurs., 8			Fri., 9			Sat., 10			Sun., 11			Mon., 12			Tues., 13			Wed., 14		
1. Vicente Rendón	11 F, T	2 F, B, T	10 B, T	10 F, B, T	1 F, N, T	7 B, N, T	6 E, T	1 F, B, T	7 B, T	7 Te, Br	10 Me, R, T	7 B, T	8 C, M, Br	1 Me, T	7 F, T	2 F, B, T	8 M, T	12 E, P, T	7 B, T		
2. Melesio Hernández	6 A, B, T	12 Me, B, T	7 Me, B, T	7 B, T	12 F, B, T	7 B, T	8 A, T	12 B, E, T	7 B, T	8 Pr, M	12 F, P, T	7 R, T	8 A, B, T	12 R, B, T	8 B, T	12 Mo, B, T	7 A, B, T	12 Me, B, T	7 B, T		
3. Eleuterio Melchor	7 Me, T	2 Me, T	8 B, T	6 E, B, T	2 Cs, T	9 P, T	12 P, T	8 Me, T	9 Me, T	10 Me, T	4 Cs, T	8 E, T	9 Me, T	3 B, T	8 F, T	3 E, B, T	10 F, T	3 N, R, T	9 B, T		
4. Alejandro Urbano	9 E, B, T	1 B, T	8 B, T	8 Br, M	2 F, T	9 B, T	9 R, T	4 Me, F, T	9 R, T	1 Br, M	7 B, T	7 B, T	9 Br, M	3 Br, T	7 F, T	4 E, B, T	9 B, T	3 F, T	6 B, T		
5. Jesús Molinero	10 F, T	3 B, T	8 B, T	9 T	3 E, T	7 B, T	4 P, T			12 R, T				7 F, T	4 F, T	10 B, T	6 R, T		6 B, T		
6. Severiano Urbano	1 B, T		8 B, T	1 B, T		8 B, T	2 F, B, T			11 F, T	7 B, T			12 P, T	8 B, T	10 B, T	7 B, T		7 B, T		
7. Rómulo Molinero	1 F, T		7 B, T	12 T		7 B, T	11 B, T			3 Me, B, T				11 B, T	8 B, T	11 T			7 T		

Family	Thurs., 15		Fri., 16		Sat., 17		Sun., 18		Mon., 19		Tues., 20		Wed., 21	
	9	2	9	1	7	3	7	1	8	1	7	8	1	7
1. Vicente Rendón	N, T	Me, B, T	M, B, T	N, P, B, T	B, T	F, B, T	E, B, T	B, T	C, M, Br	Cl, B, T	M, Br	F, B, T	N, B, T	Ta, Sq, T
2. Melesio Hernández	7	Me, B, T	B, N, T	Me, F, T	Me, B, T	Me, T	Me, B, T	Me, T	M, T	Me, T	Me, Br	Me, T	Me, B, T	Me, B, T
3. Eleuterio Melchor	7	12	8	3	8	3	11	4	7	11	9	3	10	2
	F, T	Me, B, T	Cs, B, T	N, Me, T	Me, T	A, Me, T	F, B, T	F, T	B, T	B, T	B, T	Me, T	A	N, E, T
4. Alejandro Urbano	9	1	8	9	7	9	1	6	9	3	9	4	9	4
	Te, Br	Cr, T	B, T	B, N, F, T	R, B	Br, M, T	Bh, T	B, T	C, M, Br	F, T	R, B, T	B, N, T	M, Br	Me, T
5. Jesús Molinero	11	8	8	8	6	7	1	7	10	7	1	7	11	7
	F, T	B, T	P, T	B, T	F, T	F, T	F, T	F, T	B, T	F, T	B, T	B, T	N, T	B, T
6. Severiano Urbano	8	6	11	11	7	10	8	8	11	7	2	8	12	8
	F, T	B, T	F, T	B, T	B, T	F, T	F, T	B, T	P, T	B, T	B, T	B, T	F, T	B, T
7. Rómulo Molinero	12	N, T	12	12	7	12	11	7	11	F, T	12	7	11	7
	N, T		B, T	B, T	B, T	B, T	B, T	B, T	F, T	F, T	B, T	B, T	B, T	B, T

Family	Thurs., 22		Fri., 23		Sat., 24		Sun., 25		Mon., 26		Tues., 27	
	8	2	8	1	8	12	8	12	8	1	8	1
1. Vicente Rendón	C, M, Br	F, E, N, B, T	M, Br	N, B, T	M, B, T	B, Me, B, T	E, M, Br	Me, B, T	A	Me, T	B, T	F, B, T
2. Melesio Hernández	7	12	7	2	3	2	7	12	7	2	8	4
	Me, B, T	Me, B, T	Te, B, T	Bh, F, T	A	B, T	Te, B, T	F, T	B, T	Me, B, T	Te, Br	Me, T
3. Eleuterio Melchor	8	3	8	2	7	11	9	2	7	7	10	7
	B, T	Me, T	C, B, Br	N, B, T	R, A	R, A	Me, T	F, T	Me, T	Me, B, T	F, T	Me, T
4. Alejandro Urbano	9	3	9	3	9	4	10	7	2	10	9	6
	F, T	Br, M	Br, N, B, T	N, B, T	B, Me, B, T	Me, B, T	Br	Me, T	Me, T	Me, B, T	B, T	B, T
5. Jesús Molinero	1	7	9	4	12	7	11	7	10	7	6	8
	F, T	B, T	C	B, B, T	B, T	B, T	B, T	B, T	F, T	B, T	E, T	B, T
6. Severiano Urbano	10	8	9	7	9	7	9	7	9	7	9	3
	B, T	B, T	F, T	B, T	N, T	P, T	P, T	B, T	B, T	B, T	Me, T	F, T
7. Rómulo Molinero	12	7	12	8	12	7	12	7	12	12	12	7
	B, T	B, T	B, T	B, T	B, T	B, T	F, T	Ma, T	B, T	B, T	M, T	B, T

1 A = atole; B = beans; C = coffee; E = egg; F = fish; M = milk; N = nopales; P = potatoes; R = rice; T = tortillas; Bh = broadbeans; Br = bread; Ck = chicken; Cl = chile (large jalapeño); Cr = chayote root; Cs = cheese; Ma = macaroni; Me = meat; Pl = pozole; Sq = squash; Ta = tamales; Te = tea (lemon grass).

in recording. Each "meal" (significant food intake, as contrasted to a snack in the form of fruit or similar delicacy) of each member of the family, babies in arms excepted, and the hour of eating were recorded. Table 33 shows, in somewhat condensed form, the results of this work. Had each mealtime and food eaten for

Families are listed in the table in approximate order of income. Vicente Rendón, Melesio Hernández, and Eleuterio Melchor are not among the richest men of the town, but their incomes are sufficiently high so that food differences between them are largely a matter of choice rather than of economic necessity.

TABLE 34.—Detailed meal chart of family of Vicente Rendón, February 12-18, March 6-13

Members of family	Age	Mon., Feb. 12			Tues., Feb. 13				Wed., Feb. 14			Thurs., Feb. 15			Fri., Feb. 16	
		9	2	5:30	7	11	4	8	8	1	5	7	11	6:30	7	1
Vicente....	42	Br, Ch	Me, F, T	Sq	Br, Ch	Me, T	Me, R, B, T	....	Br, C, M	R, F, Bb, B, T	Sq	Br, Ch	F, T	B, T	Br	F, P, B, T
Natividad..	40	do	do	do	do	do	do	....	do	Bb, F, B, T	do	do	Cs, T	do	Br, E, M	do
Gaudencio..	11	do	F, T	do	do	....	Me, T	T	do	E, T	do	do	E, T	do	do	F, T
Teresa.....	8	do	Me, B, T	do	do	....	do	....	do	F, T	do	do	F, T	do	do	F, P, B, T
Consuelo...	6	do	do	do	do	....	do	....	do	E, B, T	do	do	....	do	do	do

Members of family	Age	Sat., Feb. 17			Sun., Feb. 18		Tues., Mar. 6				Wed., Mar. 7			Thurs., Mar. 8			
		8	1	5	9	2	8	9	1	7	8	2	8	8	10	2	10
Vicente....	42	A, B, Br	Me, R, B, T	P	Br C, M,	Me, E, T	....	C, P	Me, B, Ma, T	....	C, Br	Bb, E, F, T	Br	Te	....	F, B, T	B, T
Natividad..	40	do	do	do	do	do	C, P	....	Ma, Ck, T	B, T	do	do	do	....	F, T	B, T	do
Gaudencio..	11	M, T	B, T	E, T	M, Br	do	do	....	do	F, T	do	do	do	....	do	F, B, T	T
Teresa.....	8	do	do	do	do	do	do	....	do	do	do	do	do	....	do	do	B, T
Consuelo...	6	do	do	do	do	do	do	....	do	do	do	do	do	....	do	do	do

Members of family	Age	Fri., Mar. 9				Sat., Mar. 10				Sun., Mar. 11				Mon., Mar. 12			Tues., Mar. 13	
		8	10	1	7	6	9	1	7	7	10	12:30	7	8	1	6	8	1
Vicente....	42	....	F, B, T	F, N, T	N, B, T	E, T	....	F, B, T	B, T	T, Br	....	Me, R, T	B, T	C, Br	Me, B, T	F, T	M, T	F, T
Natividad..	40	....	do	do	do	....	E, T	do	do	do	T	....	do	do	do	do	do	Cl, F, T
Gaudencio..	11	....	do	do	do	E, T	....	do	do	do	Me, T	....	do	do	do	do	do	....
Teresa.....	8	B, T	....	do	do	do	....	do	do	do	B, T	....	do	do	do	do	do	F, T
Consuelo...	6	B, T	....	do	do	do	....	do	do	do	do	....	do	do	do	do	do	do

every member of all seven families been listed, the resulting chart would have been of doubtful value, simply because of its enormous size. Hence, mealtimes and foods eaten for the majority of the members of each family have been listed, with no attempt to show intrafamilial variations. Table 34 attempts partially to remedy the defect of the larger table by showing for 2 weeks the foods and hours of eating of all members of the Rendón family.

Examination of tables 33 and 34 shows that three meals a day, corresponding to breakfast, dinner, and supper, is the custom for those families that can afford it. This frequency is reduced to two meals, and even one, where food is limited. Meal hours may vary a good deal, depending on the activity of different members of the family. Vicente Rendón, for example, usually goes wood cutting before dawn, without breakfasting. His wife, Natividad, feeds the

children, perhaps breakfasts herself at the same time, sends them off to school, and then prepares *almuerzo* for Vicente when he returns in the middle of the morning. For all families on a three-meals-a-day schedule, the heaviest meal is at midday, between 1 and 3 o'clock. This pattern of a moderate breakfast, heavy dinner at a relatively late hour, and light supper is as familiar in urban Mexican centers as in the country.

Table 34 reveals that, among families which can afford the luxury of considerable variation in food, each meal is far from stabilized for each eater. Thus, at noon on February 14, Vicente ate an enormous meal of rice, fish, broad-

Table 35 summarizes the data of table 33, showing the total possible number of meals in the 27-day period (reckoned three to a day), the number actually eaten, and the frequency of consumption of certain foods. The preponderance of beans and tortillas as the diet of the lower income groups is apparent, as well as the very limited quantities of other foods. Striking also is the fact that the members of these families eat only about half as frequently as those of the higher income brackets. Wealthier families, except for the lack of fruit and fresh vegetables, have a diet which seems basically sound. The lack of these items is more apparent

TABLE 35.—Summary of table 33

Family head	Total possible meals	Meals eaten	Tortillas	Bread	Meat	Fish	Chicken	Eggs	Cheese	Beans	Potatoes	Broadbeans	Macaroni	Tamales	Pozole	Nopales	Jalapeno chile	Chayote root	Squash	Coffee	Tea	Milk	Atole
Vicente Rendón.....	81	79	63	12	9	16	3	7	2	43	2	1	2	1	0	11	1	0	1	5	2	12	9
Melesio Hernández.....	72	72	65	4	20	6	0	1	0	54	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	3	7
Eleuterio Melchor.....	81	77	71	2	19	12	0	6	3	29	2	3	0	1	0	6	0	0	0	1	1	0	3
Alejandro Urbano.....	81	70	55	11	8	11	0	4	0	32	3	1	0	0	0	4	0	2	0	2	2	8	0
Jesús Molinero.....	81	56	54	0	0	15	1	3	0	33	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Severiano Urbano.....	81	54	54	0	2	14	0	0	0	32	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rómulo Molinero.....	81	44	44	0	1	7	0	0	0	31	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

beans, beans, and tortillas. Nati omitted rice and fish, otherwise eating the same. Gaudencio ate eggs and tortillas, Teresa fish and tortillas, and Consuelo eggs, beans, and tortillas. In this case, the differences were accounted for simply by personal preferences. At other times, and in other families as well, some foods may be limited — perhaps leftovers from a previous meal — so that there is not enough to go around. Certain foods, beyond the ubiquitous beans and tortillas, tend to be eaten in cycles of several days at a stretch. Thus, bread, meat, fish, *atole*, coffee or *nopales* may appear for two or three days, followed by a week's absence. Sometimes this is due to a slightly larger than ordinary purchase, which leaves enough for a second day. More often it is again a question of taste: a food which has not been eaten for a week or longer strikes the fancy of the family, approval is expressed, and if finances permit, the housewife repeats the successful meal until her family is tired of it.

than real. Actually, considerable quantities of cabbage, tomatoes, onions, and chiles are consumed, usually in a meat stew. Squash is more commonly eaten from August to late winter, when it ripens on vines and while it is still fresh, and chayotes likewise are out of season in March. Fruit, as will be seen, is commonly eaten between meals. A full stomach whenever the individual feels the need is characteristic of these families, while actual hunger is the lot of the others. Members of the upper brackets eat when they want to; those of the lower brackets when there is food available.

A good deal of nourishment is taken between meals in the form of odd snacks, purchases in markets, and the like. Fruit, for example, never appears on a menu, yet considerable quantities of oranges, pears, peaches, bananas, *capulines*, mangoes, and zapotes are consumed. These are thought of, not as food, but as special delicacies, and are eaten when available. Sugarcane and peanuts are great favorites in many families.

New peas usually are boiled in the pod, often with a little oil, and when the family wishes a rest in midafternoon, they may be brought outside to be eaten. Squash, roasting ears, chayote, chayote roots, and *gordas* (wheat tortillas) similarly are recognized as between-meals nourishment. Milk, which appears but infrequently on the chart, is often consumed by the members of the Rendón and Hernández families, usually with a piece of bread, between meals. The extent to which these additional foods are taken depends, to a large degree, on relative economic levels. In some cases they are an insignificant addition to the family diet, and in other cases, of great importance. The family of Eleuterio Melchor, for example, appears to have very little variety in regular meals, yet the amounts of fruit, and above all, peanuts, eaten between meals, is truly astonishing. Eleuterio's wife is simply an unusually busy woman, hard-pressed for time between pot making and caring for children. She has little time for fancy cooking, so the craving for additional items is taken care of by an unusual amount of between-meals nibbling.

The American belief that good digestion is promoted by eating at regular hours, particularly with respect to growing children, is entirely lacking. Eating is looked upon as a necessity and as a pleasure. From the standpoint of the organization of the family work schedule, it is usually most convenient to eat at stated times, but there is nothing sacrosanct about the meal hour. One eats when one is hungry and when food is available. And, as in our own society, choice tid-bits at any time throughout the day are often the most satisfying of any foods. Although detailed dietary studies would be necessary to confirm the impression, I believe that those families in Tzintzuntzan in the upper income brackets have a surprisingly adequate diet, one that would compare favorably with that of most families in the United States, and certainly far superior to that of many of the lower income groups of this country.

The reason for such great differences in Tzintzuntzan is hard to explain. The basic economic system is such that, with hard work, any able-bodied man, with the aid of his wife, can earn enough to eat well. In table 33, the hardest working families, the Rendóns, Hernández, and Melchors, are the best eaters. Do they work

hard because their diet gives them ample energy, or do they eat well because they work hard? The work schedule of Eleuterio Melchor, for example, shows incredibly constant labor, including one entire night a week devoted to firing the pottery kiln, unloading it, glazing the ware, refiring, unloading, packing the animals, and setting out on a sales trip. Few families would care to maintain this pace. Yet he and his family spend more on peanuts and fruit than others spend on all foods. Apparently the rewards of good and ample food are sufficiently great to justify an unusual expenditure of energy to obtain them. Rómulo Molinero and his wife are at the other extreme. Both are young and apparently healthy. Yet they do the least work of any family observed, and eat the least. Differential values may account for a large part of the difference. A half-empty stomach is less unpleasant than the thought of a heavy work schedule. Rómulo gives more time to the Church than any other man except Jesús, his father. To him, it is more important to respect real or imaginary Church obligations than to work to feed his wife and infant. I had decided that he was the laziest, least ambitious person in Tzintzuntzan. Yet, to my astonishment, he went to the United States with his wife and baby for 6 months of hard work. Many family heads, economically in a superior position, would not have the initiative and energy to take such a step. The answers to many of the questions raised by these dietary data can be found only through a complete study of the diet habits and health of selected individuals.

It is commonly, and truthfully, stated that beans and maize are the staple foods for most Mexicans. It is interesting to note, as shown in table 32, the relative consumption and monetary value of these foods, and the relationship of maize, the more important, to the food and total expenditures of the year. Only from a fifth to a tenth as many beans are eaten, by dry volume measure (liters) as maize. Maize is the single most important food expense, while beans, even for those families which eat most, are less than the meat-fish-fowl item. Families which can afford all of the basic staples they want consume from 150 to 300 liters of beans. The exact amount spent for maize depends to a considerable extent on the relative amount of bread consumed. As the standard of living of the vil-

lage rises, unquestionably more and more wheat will be consumed, though, of course, it will never replace the tortilla as the staple item.

Maize costs, as compared to the total of all other food costs, and as compared to the total budget, represent an increasingly large item as the standard of living falls. In the Rendón family, it represents only 11 percent of the total budget, as compared to 30 percent in the Severiano Urbano family. This range probably includes nearly all families in town. Maize represents from 23 percent of the food budget, in the case of the Alejandro Urbano family, to 45 percent in the case of the Rómulo Molinero family. This last figure is probably about as high as any in the village.

A minimum amount of meat and fish is required by everyone, and the family variations, in view of considerable wealth differences, are less than might be expected.

With accurate records it should be possible to determine the approximate local kill of live stock each year, and to estimate the average annual meat consumption per individual. In practice, however, only a small percentage of the animals killed are entered in the tax records. Theoretically a tax of about \$5 per 100 kilos is paid on every animal slaughtered. This rate varies a good deal in practice. The total kill, including weight and tax paid, of animals listed in tax records for 1944 is given in table 36.

TABLE 36.—*Official animal slaughter in Tzintzuntzun, 1944*

Month	Animal	Weight (kilos)	Tax			
			Municipal	State	Federal	Total
February..	Cow	95	\$3.25	\$0.45	\$0.20	\$3.90
Do.....	do	88	3.00	.30	.20	3.50
May.....	Pig	85	3.00	.30	.15	3.45
Do.....	do	85	3.00	.30	.15	3.45
June.....	do	75	2.50	.30	.20	3.00
October....	do	52	2.10	.25	.15	2.50
Do.....	do	52	2.10	.25	.15	2.50
November..	Veal	75	3.00	.30	.20	3.50
December..	Pig	(¹)	2.00	.20	.15	2.35
Do.....	Veal	90	3.05	.35	.20	3.60
Do.....	Pig	50	1.70	.20	.10	2.00

¹ Weight not given.

Weight of the animal is sheer guesswork, and that entered is probably in most cases below the real weight.

During the rainy season almost no cattle are slaughtered because, it is said, the meat would spoil before it could be sold. During the dry season one beef a week for perhaps 3 weeks may be killed, following which, the town glutted with beef, there will be a lapse of a couple of weeks before any more are killed. Meat moves better when the butcher shops have been empty for a few days. Butchers often by agreement take turns killing cattle so that there will not be an oversupply.

Primo Calderón, municipal treasurer, is much more conscientious than his predecessor. His records for the first half of 1945 list 11 pigs for a total weight of 695 kilos, and 3 cattle for a weight of 620 kilos. When asked why *all* of the animals known to have been butchered were not listed, Primo answered with irrefutable logic, "Why, you can't charge a tax on an animal that just up and dies." Sick animals are always slaughtered, and those that die unexpectedly usually find their way to the butcher's block.

Primo estimates that perhaps 20 cattle of all kinds and 50 good-sized pigs are slaughtered in a year. In addition, small pigs occasionally are killed in homes and a bit of the meat may be sold to neighbors. Estimating the large pigs at 70 kilos each and the cattle at 120 kilos, a total of 3,500 kilos of pork and 2,400 kilos of beef, or 4.8 kilos per capita, are slaughtered annually. The actual amount of meat is, of course, considerably less after the animals are dressed. Meat in considerable quantities also is purchased in Pátzcuaro and Quiroga, and home slaughtering must be considered. Including these sources, the total per capita consumption of meat is probably about 5 kilos.

The greatest interfamilial variation in food consumption is represented in the sweets and fruits category, and that of the remaining unclassified foods which may, as in the case of Paulino Vázquez, be less than \$60, or in the case of Melesio Hernández, approach \$1,000 for the entire family, an average of three times as much.

WEALTH AND PROPERTY

LAND OWNERSHIP

In Tzintzuntzan wealth is largely limited to tangibles. A few persons know about banks and savings accounts, but Morelia is the nearest place where money could be deposited, and, as far as I know, no one avails himself of this mode of putting idle cash to work. The very existence of life insurance policies, stocks, and bonds is unknown. The average person considers himself fortunate to have a house, a bit of clothing, and the basic tools for his trade; the disposition of idle money is a problem which he rarely has to face. For the few individuals who are able to save beyond their immediate needs, silver money and land are the only safe forms of investment. Though silver is known to be nonproductive, for centuries it has been the symbol of wealth and to it there is an emotional attachment matched only by that to land. It is more than money; it is a way to ensure one's small savings. Through fire, revolution, and other vicissitudes of life it keeps its value, and hence is too valuable to be used in daily monetary transactions. Coins which find their way to Tzintzuntzan are rarely spent; they are hidden away in trunks, odd crannies of the house, or buried. Silver money is spent only as a last resort. Rather than have it pass from one's hands a debtor borrows, giving land, animals, or house furnishings as security, in the hope that somehow paper money can be obtained to repay the debt. Only as a last desperate expedient will silver savings be hauled forth from their hiding places. The result of this hoarding is that small change is very scarce in all rural Mexico, and finding change for a \$5 note becomes a major task. In some places \$1 notes torn in half circulate freely, with a value of \$0.50 for each section. Apparently rural Mexico will soak up any amount of silver currency issued by the Government.

The exact amount of wealth hidden away in this fashion is difficult to determine. For obvious reasons, no one will say how much he has, or even admit that he has anything at all. It seems probable that most families have at least a few coins "salted away," but very few have large amounts. This is because land is just as

safe an investment as silver, and also returns interest. Hence, any large sums of money are almost invariably used to buy land. And once a man possesses land he sells it only in dire emergency. This keen competition for a limited commodity pushes the price of land to fantastic heights (p. 76).

The case of Ignacio Estrada is illustrative of the concept of land as a form of investment for one's money. In 1939 he had the good fortune to pick up three hectares of the finest lakeshore land for \$1,200. In 1945 he refused an offer of \$20,000. What would he do with the money? By itself it was worth nothing, and since payment would be in paper it would have the added disadvantage of being subject to destruction, theft, or depreciation. The only thing to do would be to buy more land, and the odds would be against getting land as good as that which he already had. "What would I have done with all that paper?" he asks, and that, to any Tzintzuntzeño, would be the final answer. "And if the offer had been for silver, Ignacio?" Yes, that was a theoretical question at least, and the answer would require some thought. But since no such offer would be made, why worry about it?

All of the land of the *municipio*, except town lots, presumably is registered in the office of the State tax collector. These records include 14 books each with 200 accounts, some of which are, of course, canceled out through sale since the *municipio* books were set up in 1931. With the aid of the tax collector property owned by persons in Tzintzuntzan, Ichupio, and the Ojo, and property in the immediate vicinity of these three settlements, was listed. The principal result of the work was to see how thoroughly unreliable tax records are as a guide to land ownership. In Tzintzuntzan, 99 male landowners and 36 female landowners, a total of 135, are listed in the current accounts. They own property assessed at approximately \$43,000 on which taxes of about \$557 should be paid. The areas of only 18 of the holdings of the 135 individuals are indicated; in a sample milpa known, listed at 10 ares, measurement showed it to be 62 ares. Most are named, following local custom, and others are simply listed

as "in Tzintzuntzan," "in Cerro Tariaqueri," or "in Cerro Yahuaró." A handful of holdings are outside of the immediate neighborhood, in Patambicho, Ocurio, Ichupio, or other places. In Ichupio, 24 male and 16 female landowners have land assessed at \$17,000, on which taxes of \$250 are paid. In Ojo de Agua, 16 male and 5 female landowners have land assessed at \$5,000, on which taxes of \$68 are paid. There is no indication as to what part of this land is agricultural and what is not; obviously, much is forest and pasture land. Thus, in the region of Tzintzuntzan and its two main "suburbs," total registered land is assessed at \$65,000 and taxes of \$875 are levied. The tax rate is given as \$0.13½ per \$100 assessed value. Careless and inaccurate assessments make the total tax figure somewhat higher than the tax rate would indicate.

The properties listed for Tzintzuntzan itself were checked with several individuals familiar with the local situation. This check disclosed that of the registered landholders, 40 were dead and 6 were unknown. Eighty-nine registrations appeared to be reasonably correct. The 6 unknown holdings pay, of course, no taxes, and the tax collector admits that he hasn't the remotest idea where they are located. As long as anyone appears to pay the taxes on a dead man's property, there appears to be no means to force him to register it in the new owner's name. Lands are often left in the name of the dead man to avoid payment of revenue stamps to register the new deed. Some of the holdings turned out to be *solares*, or house plots, improperly registered in this list. Many holdings are listed simply as *su capital, sin pormenor* ("his capital, without details").

It is clear that these data bearing on landownership belong more properly in a section on folklore, and for information on actual landholdings we have used our own census. Actually, to determine land areas properly a complete survey job is necessary, which would involve many months and many thousands of pesos.

In addition to property owned by individuals, there are three categories of communal or government land. The school, which with its land represents an investment of from \$50,000 to \$100,000, is listed on tax records at \$2,000. The Department of Public Education pays \$27 annually in taxes.

The Agrarian Community, the *ejido*, has land evaluated at \$31,400. Taxes are paid to the State tax collector in the form of 5 percent of harvests.

The Indigenous Community is listed as having lands valued at \$10,940, including 17 hectares of the Cerrito Colorado, the principal clay source of the potters. Taxes in the form of 5 percent of all income are supposed to be paid to the State tax collector. Since, apart from the clay mines and a little pasture land, all of this area is in brush or timber, there is no agricultural produce. Rights to the maguey from which *mezcal* is made are sold each year to the highest bidder, usually for about \$100. Technically, \$5 should go to the State, but since the *municipio* was founded in 1930 no payment has been made.

The Indigenous Community appears to be a fragmentary survival of both Spanish and Indian institutions, the lands owned in common by a free town for the joint exploitation of the citizens. Historically, it is related to the modern *ejido*, and a digression into history will make both institutions somewhat clearer in their relationship to the town. This story has its roots in colonial times, and has been paralleled in hundreds — perhaps even thousands — of other cases in Mexico.

By royal grant from the king of Spain, Tzintzuntzan received communal title to its agricultural, pasture, and forested lands. Pasture and forested lands were free for the use of all citizens, and no one could claim special rights. Agricultural lands, in practice, came to be private property, in that continued use of the land made it inalienable. Such land was handed down from generation to generation so that, without legal title, each individual had his own lands, recognized by all other members of the community. All land, however, agricultural and nonagricultural, was in the final analysis held by communal title, vested in the so-called *Comunidad Indígena*, or Indigenous Community. No legal provision was made for the individual to sell his farm lands, even though they had been in his family for generations. In view of the illiteracy and ignorance of the average farmer, and the desire of unscrupulous large, educated landowners to add to their holdings, the wisdom of this arrangement is apparent. This system continued into the 19th century in many parts of Mexico after the War of Independence.

Its downfall was caused, or at least hastened, by attacks against the Church.

Financial troubles of the new governments, plus the increasing holdings of the Church, led to attempts to divest the Church of excess property, culminating in the "Law of Expropriation" of June, 1856, which provided that,

all real estate held by religious or *civil corporations* [italics mine, G.M.F.] should be adjudged in severalty to the persons to whom it was rented or leased. at a price corresponding to a sum which, at 6 percent interest, would yield an annual income equal to the amount being paid as rent. Property not so leased or rented should be sold at auction. [Simpson, 1937, p. 23.]

In 1857 the basic principles of this law were incorporated in the constitution of the same year, Article No. 27 of which forbade civil and ecclesiastical corporations to own and administer real property, with certain exceptions. Thus, the stage was set for the despoiling of thousands of land-owning villages, for

whatever the Reform may have accomplished in paving the way for the appearance of a middle class in Mexico was more than offset by the damage done to the landholding pueblos. The deliberate inclusion in the Constitution of 1857 of civil communities in the list of corporate bodies forbidden to hold lands led inevitably to the breakup of hundreds of communal groups and the loss of their property to the ever greedy land monopolists. The idea, well intentioned as it may have been, of forcing the villages out of their communal lethargy, of creating a new class of independent small farmers by substituting personal for collective ownership, simply did not work out in practice. [Simpson, 1937, pp. 24-25.]

The war of the French intervention delayed action, so that it was not until some years later that the effects of the provisions of the new constitution began to be felt. In 1869 Tzintzuntzan had lands valued at \$25,000 (Memoria, 1869, p. 124). Moderate as the sum seems, out of about 115 land-owning pueblos in Michoacán, only 15 had as much or more land. Tzintzuntzan appears to have had the largest holdings of any town in the Tarascan area at that time. Unfortunately, the data do not indicate whether this sum refers only to the strict *ejido* lands, that is, nonagricultural, or to all of the lands utilized by the community.

In Michoacán the provisions of the constitution of 1857 were implemented by a State law passed February 5, 1875, which provided for

the drawing of a *padrón* or list of all men of each community, together with a description of the location and nature of lands farmed by them.¹ In the same year José María Villagómez, president of the *Comunidad Indígena* of Tzintzuntzan, drew up the list, which showed that 244 men, or 90 percent of all family heads, were landholders. Area of land was calculated by the old method, now found only in remote parts of Mexico, of listing the amount of maize seed needed to plant each field. Five basic areas belonged to Tzintzuntzan, including the two hills Tariaqueri and Yahuaró, and the rich lake-shore lands of Sánamo, Zirandangacho (including Teneria), and Patambicho, stretching almost to the limits of Quiroga.

A total of 1,267 *almuds* of 8 liters each of maize were listed as sown on land owned by the pueblo. Figuring 15 liters of seed per hectare, this gives a figure of 733 hectares of land. It is impossible to check these calculations; whatever the exact figures may have been, it is certain that Tzintzuntzan held agricultural lands in abundance, much of it the valuable lake-shore milpas.

In 1878 the list was formally accepted by all interested parties, and the proposed distribution of land titles approved, both by the citizens of Tzintzuntzan, and by the Governor of the State. The actual distribution was rather slow, due to subsequent quarrels, objections on the part of an outsider who claimed to own some of the lands, and to general bureaucratic inefficiency. By 1883, a State commission had traced boundaries of all lands, and in spite of protests by some farmers who claimed to have been omitted, the revised schedule of distribution was approved 216 to 33. Although the data are not clear, it appears that the final distribution of agricultural lands had taken place by 1885.

Through sheer strength of character, the president of the *Comunidad Indígena*, José María Villagómez, forbade the citizens to sell their property while he remained in power. This included most if not all of the 7-year period in which the distribution was made. Even before the last title was assigned, the attacks began. The

¹ Except for the quote from Simpson (p. 172) on the Plan of Veracruz of December 12, 1914, all subsequent data referring to the *ejido* are taken from the archive of the Agrarian Department in Morelia, File No. 44, "Tzintzuntzan, Apto. Quiroga" (Archival data, n. d.).

villains in the story are Colonel Jesús Villanueva Barriga, and a puppet in Tzintzuntzan named Andrés Aparicio. The Colonel, representing the citizens of Quiroga who had designs on the land nearest their town (which they maintain was taken from them illegally at an earlier date), advanced Aparicio as the new president of the *Comunidad Indígena*, and by means of the time-honored practice of vote-buying, at \$2 to \$3 per citizen, persuaded the farmers of Tzintzuntzan to turn out Villagómez in favor of Aparicio. Dates are not definite, but this action appears to have taken place between 1883 and 1885.

Almost immediately the Colonel told the new president that the communal lands still held by the town would be expropriated by the Government if they were not sold. In a meeting of the *Comunidad Indígena*, it was decided to sell rather than lose all through expropriation. Again the data are not clear, especially as to the relationship between the communal nonagricultural lands and the now privately owned agricultural terrains. As a result of this threat and misrepresentation, aided and abetted by the local cacique of Tzintzuntzan, one Juan Fuentes, who threatened to punish any dissenters, sale of lands to Quiroga was approved, and apparently many people, thinking they were selling the nonagricultural lands, were thus swindled out of their milpas. Presumably at the same time the slower but equally insidious process of purchase of private lands by large hacienda owners was going on; the techniques involved are too well known to need repeating. This period is known, in popular language today, as "the period of the first usurpation."

Subsequently, Aparicio sold the Cerro de Pedricio, a meadow on the west side of Tariaqueri hill, to Cucuchuco. At an unknown date previous to 1902, Colonel Villanueva "bought" most of the hill of Yahuario, and as the result of a dispute with Ihuatzio in 1901-02 the land known as Agua Azul, comprising the entire south side of Tariaqueri, was lost. This is known as "the period of the second usurpation." In the third and final period, the Tarascans of La Vuelta and Ojo de Agua obtained most of the choice lakeshore lands which had remained to the villagers. Actually, there is no evidence that illegal practices were used in this case; probably the greater industry of the Tarascans resulted in their slow accumulation of choice

lands. Nevertheless, when feeling sorry for himself the Tzintzuntzeño scrapes together all possible evidence. In the first years of the 20th century the final step was taken, which was the sale of communal lands, largely nonagricultural, which still remained in Tariaqueri, to people in Tzintzuntzan itself. This division was said to have been done at night, by means of falsifications of stamps and titles. Nicolás Calvo, successor to Aparicio, was responsible for this depredation.

Thus, by the time of the Mexican Revolution Tzintzuntzan had lost a large part of its best agricultural lands, and most of its communal nonagricultural lands. Fifteen years later, when the formation of the new *ejido* was in process, the town was credited with having 948 hectares of *pequeñas propiedades*, or private lands, owned by members of the community, and 148 hectares of wooded and pasture land (the latter negligible) owned communally by the *Comunidad Indígena*. The stage was now set for chapter two in the story.

The legal basis for the restoration or allocation of lands to pueblos under the modern *ejido* system is too well known to justify lengthy discussion. In brief, the idea was to restore lands to pueblos which had been despoiled during the latter half of the 19th century, and to allocate land to other pueblos in need of it, even though they might never have owned communal property. The first concrete step was the presidential decree of January 6, 1915, in which Carranza began to carry out his declaration of intentions of land reforms set forth in the Plan de Veracruz of December 12, 1914.

The legal machinery for putting the decree into effect consisted of a National Agrarian Commission, State Agrarian Commissions for each state and as many Special Executive Committees (local village committees) as might be necessary. Petitions for either the restoration or dotation of *ejidos* were to be presented in the first instance directly to the governors of the states. . . . Upon being approved by the governor after due investigation by the State Agrarian Commission, the petitioning village should through its Executive Committee be given immediate possession of its land. This possession, however, would be considered provisional until such time as the case could be reviewed by the National Agrarian Commission. Final title would be granted by the President of the Republic upon the recommendation of the National Commission. [Simpson, 1937, p. 58.]

This decree was embodied in Article 27 of

the new constitution of February 5, 1917. Restoration of lands was to be made on the basis of the number of eligible and needy individuals in each community requesting land. The *ejidos* were to be owned jointly and communally by the community, and each individual was to receive an allotment, or *parcela*, of several hectares, depending upon the nature of the land. Such land could not be considered as privately owned, could not be rented or sold, but was to remain with the *ejidatario* as long as he worked it himself.

Tzintzuntzan appears to have been one of the first towns to request the return of its lands, the original petition having been made February 11, 1916, one year after the decree of 1915. There is some question as to who instituted proceedings, since the two men whose names appear on the petition are unknown in town. Subsequent events suggest that there was little enthusiasm or interest in Tzintzuntzan, and that the "pushing" was done by State officials in Morelia. On January 22, 1917, the original titles to land of the *antigua comunidad de indígenas*, the corporate body which held communal title, were delivered in 4 volumes to the State Archive in Morelia. The Government request that the date when the lands were taken from the community, and an account of how and why, could not be met, nor could witnesses to the event be produced, since all had died. This is surprising, since restitution proceedings were begun less than 40 years after the land distribution. In view of this, the Local Agrarian Commission ruled, August 6, 1919, that for the time being the Government would not proceed with the restitution, but that the case would remain open to be taken up again at an opportune time, and that the papers would be put through the mill in the hope that formalities could be fulfilled. This judgment was approved by the governor on August 13 of the same year.

Accordingly, the Local Agrarian Commission took a census on January 1, 1921, which showed 1,180 inhabitants in Tzintzuntzan, with a total of 468 persons with occupations including 200 potters, 125 *jornaleros* or hired laborers, 45 farmers, 28 servants, 18 fishermen, and small numbers engaged in other types of work. This census appears to have been padded in order to make as drastically apparent as possible the town's need of land. The Federal census of

1921 showed a population of only 958, including 71 farmers, and when compared to the general population trend manifest in other censuses would appear to be much more nearly correct. Studies were carried out to determine what lands should be expropriated, and parts of the haciendas of Sanabria, belonging to Señora Soledad Tovar, viuda de Villanueva, and Corrales, belonging to Señora Dolores Díaz Barriga, viuda de Arriaga, were decided upon.

Both women were notified of the impending action, and asked to show cause. Through their lawyers they proceeded to argue that their lands should be left intact, and in dog-eat-dog fashion, demonstrated why the lands of the other were those that should be taken. Apparently as a result of their protests, a second census was taken by the same body, on October 4, 1932. This showed a population of 1,091, somewhat closer to the correct figure, with 166 potters, 69 farmers, 20 fishermen, and 49 family heads engaged in other occupations. A total of 61 landowners was listed, while 57 individuals were listed as *capacitados*, apparently meaning capable of working and in need of lands. In the analysis of potential lands, the haciendas were classified according to the common system of *tierras de riego*, or irrigated fields; *temporal*, cultivated only by means of natural rainfall; *monte*, or brush and forest; and *pastal-cerril*, pasture lands. Action before 1925 is unclear. In that year a statement of the Local Agrarian Commission declares that the minimum allotment to be given to each prospective *ejidatario* should be the minimum prescribed by law, either 3 hectares of irrigated land, 4 hectares of first-class *temporal*, or 6 of other types. Then follows a detailed description of the lands of Tzintzuntzan and the bordering holdings on all sides, including the areas earmarked for expropriation. Most of the bordering lands are, as might be anticipated, those listed in the *padrón* of 1878 of landowners of Tzintzuntzan. Pottery is given as the chief occupation of the town, with estimated annual incomes of potters of \$300 to \$350, and fishermen of \$800 to \$1,000.

As a result of this analysis, the Local Agrarian Commission ruled on March 10, 1926, that Tzintzuntzan should receive 60 hectares of *temporal* and 180 of *monte*, to be taken from the Hacienda of Sanabria. The governor approved this action March 23, thereby authorizing the

“provisional possession” of the land. Señora María Soledad Tovar, the owner, agreed to accept, without court action, on condition that no more land be taken from her holdings of 65 hectares of *temporal* and 444 hectares of *monte*. In arguing her case she stated that the agrarian census included persons no longer living in Tzintzuntzan, potters and merchants who did not work the land, persons chronically ill and unable to farm, and dead persons. Subsequent to the provisional possession but before the final grant, the engineer in charge, in a report dated September 6, 1927, expressed the belief that the census showing 1,180 persons was correct, and that the share to be granted to each *ejidatario* should be 5 hectares of irrigated land, 8 of *temporal*, or 12 of *monte*. This was later revised to 6 of *temporal* and 18 of other lands. This report, which is strongly biased, states that “among the inhabitants of Tzintzuntzan a reduced group is dedicated to pottery, but that properly speaking this does not constitute an industry; the products are uncertain and extremely variable due to the lack of organization, of method in the work, and the lack of means to modernize the work.”

When it was finally decided that 57 individuals were eligible for land, it became apparent that land had to be taken from the Hacienda of Corrales, which had escaped the first allotment. Accordingly, the presidential resolution of February 2, 1928, grants 518 hectares 40 ares to be taken as follows: 336.60 from Sanabria, a total of 26.7 *parcelas* including 12 of *temporal* of 6 hectares each (72 hectares) and 14.7 of *cerriles-pastal*, pasture, of 18 hectares each (264.60 hectares); from Corrales 181.80 hectares, in the form of 30.3 *parcelas* of *temporal* of 6 hectares each. Thus, the presidential resolution, signed by P. Elías Calles on February 2, 1928, formally recognized the legal identity of the new *ejido*. The land passed to the *ejidatarios*, who were obliged “to maintain, preserve and foster the existing vegetation and forests and to work the land in common.” Not until May 9, 1931, or more than 15 years after the original petition, was the formal act of possession signed. Though the *ejidatarios* had the right to work the land before this date, apparently very few did, since a letter dated May 17, 1931, to the owner of the Hacienda of Corrales tells her to vacate all land sown in wheat

by June 30 of the same year, land sown in corn by November 30, and land sown in alfalfa by May 9 of the following year, 1932.

The act of formal possession must have been very disappointing to the State officials who had tried to aid the community: *only 7 of the 57 new ejidatarios appeared to take their grants*. The officiating engineer reports that this is due to the “lack of enthusiasm and the atmosphere of hostility toward this class of activities.” If the citizens of Tzintzuntzan were uninterested in what was handed them on a silver platter, there were others who were interested, and farmers from neighboring communities became “squatters,” farming the land without legal authorization, but later, through right of occupation, receiving title. Thus, the Colonia Plutarco Elías Calles was founded near the *ejido* in 1932. Many of the farmers in Tzintzuntzan never bothered to go to the *ejido*, about 8 km. south of town, to inspect their plots.

The engineer in charge in a letter dated July 6, 1936, reports that of the original seven who took possession, *only one* was actually working his land according to the provisions of the law; the rest were share cropping *a medias*, a strictly illegal practice. About this time some of the farmers of Tzintzuntzan began to wonder if they had not missed a good bet, and in May of 1937 tried to make out that the land in the *ejido* was *loaned* to the farmers of Colonia Calles, to be given up as soon as new *ejidatarios* in Tzintzuntzan entered into the Agrarian Community. Failing in this, in October of the same year a group of citizens of Tzintzuntzan went directly to President Cárdenas to petition for additional grants. *This group included some of the original dotees who had never bothered to inspect their land*. In 1938 potential *ejidatarios*, most of them not from Tzintzuntzan, petitioned for the enlargement of the *ejido*, and a presidential decision of January 25, 1939, recognized the rights of 16 potential *ejidatarios* without land, but stated that in view of the lack of suitable lands to be expropriated, nothing was to be done.

As of 1946 there are 12 individuals, including 1 woman, who hold land in the *ejido*. Of these, 3 actually work, while the remaining 9 rent the lands on a share-cropping basis. Practically speaking, the *ejido* is of no importance in the life of the community. The old adage about leading horses to water seems very apt,

and raises the question as to why. One reason seems to be the natural indolence of the people, which is apparent in the history of water, electricity, and other cases. Once the individual's way of life is established, a more than ordinary force is required to incite him to something new and different. At the time of the distribution of lands, there were no longer able-bodied individuals who had formerly lost lands. Hence, all adult males had grown up and established their ways of life with the small amounts of land which remained with the village, or with none at all. Poor as it might be, the economic basis of their lives was established. Lands which required an hour's brisk walk to reach did not seem attractive.

A second factor was the attitude of the Church, which, it will be remembered, traditionally sided with the large landowners for the very good reason that it was the largest landholder of all. Tzintzuntzan, like most other towns in Michoacán, is fanatically Catholic, and the influence of a priest is very great. At the time of the presidential resolution of 1928, the Government had just introduced stringent legislation designed to curb the power and influence of the Church. Priests elected not to enter churches to say Mass rather than to comply with the regulations laid down by the Government, and were forbidden, among other things, to appear on the streets in clerical garb. Tzintzuntzan was one of those towns which successfully hid a priest during this period, and Mass was regularly said in private homes. Embittered by such action, the Church was violently anti-Government. Potential *ejidatarios* in Tzintzuntzan asked the priest if they should accept their allotments, and he advised them to have nothing to do with the project, that the lands were being stolen from the rightful owners, the hacienda owners, and that the time would come when the *ejido* would be turned back to these owners and all *ejidatarios* sent to jail. With this dire threat, it is not surprising that a wavering individual would decide against the new land distribution scheme.

This was also the period of the *Cristeros*, or armed bands of men who opposed by force the anti-Church decrees of the Government. General Ladislao Molina was the *cristero* most feared, or esteemed, as the case may be, in the Pátzcuaro area, and the attacks of his men on *ejidatarios*

was probably also a factor responsible for the lack of interest in the *ejido*. Two Tzintzunteños were members of this band: Francisco de J., who is now the town drunk; Gerónimo Monroy, who was once listed to receive an allotment, in 1945 was the local judge, apparently a fair and honest man with his militant fires burned low. All in all, the history of the *ejido* reflects neither to the credit of the Church nor to that of the citizens of Tzintzuntzan.

At the present time there are about 152 hectares of land owned by the Indigenous Community.² The largest areas are two tracts of 131 hectares in the hills of Tariaqueri and Yahuaró, which apparently have been in community hands since Colonial and pre-Colonial times. Seventeen hectares of the Cerrito Colorado were acquired by purchase in 1923 (p. 80) and 4 hectares of pasture land by purchase in 1937. Records in the State tax collector's office show the following breakdown:

Unspecified lands.....	\$9,840
Pasture land "Los Granginos"..	200
Cerro Colorado.....	900
	<hr/>
Total	\$10,940

Except for "Los Granginos," no area is given in the tax records. Those that are quoted were taken from documents dealing with the history of the *ejido*, and presumably represent official surveys.

INHERITANCE

The aboriginal inheritance rule among the Tarascans was for sons to receive the property of their fathers, and daughters that of their mothers. There was some emphasis on primogeniture, particularly if it were a question of a small plot of land which was not to be divided. Among the Tarascans living near Tzintzuntzan today, this pattern is still followed to a considerable extent. In Tzintzuntzan itself, inheritance rules reveal almost nothing of the earlier custom. A man dies either *testado* or *intestado* — with or without a will. In the former case, property is disposed of as the dead man has dictated. More commonly a man dies without a will, and the division of property may depend upon a number of factors. Often the deceased has told his family, preferably in the presence of a disinterested

² See p. 281 for subsequent developments concerning the lands of the *Comunidad Indígena*.

third party, who may be a *compadre*, how the property is to be disposed of. A common practice is to leave half the property to the widow and to divide the other half equally between the children, boys and girls alike. When the mother dies, her half is also divided equally. In practice, the youngest son often ends up with the house, older brothers and sisters having already married and established their own homes. There is still some feeling among many that sons should receive more than daughters, based on the belief that it is the duty of the husband to support the wife. Married daughters have, therefore, been taken care of, and unmarried daughters are more apt to share equally with the sons. Case histories will probably reveal more than a discussion of theoretical possibilities.

(1) Vicente Rendón is one of four brothers and two sisters, all of whom were quite young when their father died. The father left a considerable amount of land, which was not formally divided, in charge of the mother. Since she had no way of supporting her family, she sold the property a little at a time until in addition to the house only one small milpa, about 100 by 50 m., remained. When she died, the older brothers and sisters were married and established in other homes, so the youngest son inherited the house. Vicente's baptismal godfather was asked by the children to divide the field, which is adjacent to the house, in six equal parts. Subsequently the youngest brother has bought the shares of the other children except Vicente. He insists that he will not sell; along with his house and patio, this is the only property he has to leave his children. In this sentiment, Vicente reflects the feeling of a large number of men whose desire is to leave a house and a reasonable amount of corn land to each child. Few men, of course, are able to meet this goal.

(2) Primo Calderón is one of the exceptions. In his childhood, Primo was the poorest of the poor. During his youth he went to the United States, where he remained for 8 years. In 1930 he came back with several thousand pesos, which he invested wisely in land and houses. Although his four children are all under 10 years of age, he already has houses and fields waiting for them, and is one of the town's richest citizens.

(3) The father of Moisés Zavala divided his property equally between his sons, leaving nothing to the married daughters and only a small house to the one unmarried daughter. Moisés says that he will leave most of his property to his sons, but that he will also leave something to his daughters in the form of a dowry.

(4) The father of Eleuterio Melchor told his son shortly before dying, "I am leaving this little house to you, for you to take care of, and to share with your sister María. To your other sister Salud I will leave nothing, since you already know how she has treated me. If María should some day marry, then try to buy her share of the house, so that it will be entirely yours." Some time later, María married a next-door neighbor. Since the husband was very lazy, María soon found herself in need of money. "Brother," she said, "how would you like to buy my share in the house? I am urgently in need of money." Eleuterio answered, "Very well, sister. How much do you want for it?" and she replied, "Seventy pesos." He then offered her \$50, which she accepted, paying \$25 immediately and the rest a short time later. The reason the father had disinherited the other daughter is revealing: Salud had married well and assisted her husband, the proprietor of a store. At one period the father was a *carguero* and needed a bottle of liquor to fulfill his obligations. He went to his daughter and asked her to give him a bottle, and she refused. "You will understand," says Eleuterio. "how awful it is when a father is refused a drink by his own daughter." Most Tzintzuntzeños would agree that the father was justified in his action.

GOVERNMENT

MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION

The municipal organization of Tzintzuntzan must be described not only in terms of the village itself, but also of the subsidiary villages which together form the *municipio*. The *municipio* in a sense corresponds to a county in the United States, in that it is the basic unit into which State government is divided, and in a sense it corresponds to a township, because of its small size and the relative lack of authority of its officials. The *municipio* of Tzintzuntzan (map 2) was formed by a decree on October 2,

1930, under the governorship of Lázaro Cárdenas. Parts were carved from adjoining *municipios*, principally Quiroga and Pátzcuaro. The reason for the creation of the new entity appears to have been largely sentimental; General Cárdenas was anxious, even if only in a symbolic way, to restore some of the vanished grandeur of the former seat of the Tarascan Empire. Though a *municipio* in theory is "free and independent," in practice all major decisions are made in the State capital, and civil or military intervention on the part of the state can and does occur at any time.

As constituted, the *municipio* of Tzintzuntzan consists of the village itself, as *cabecera*, or head, where all governmental offices are located in the *presidencia* which, depending on the translation given to *municipio*, may be considered either as a courthouse or city hall. The remaining settlements are classed either as *tenencias* or *ranchos* depending primarily on size. Ihuatzio, Cucuchucho, and the island of La Pacanda are *tenencias*, while the *ranchos* are Patambicho, Puerto de Coenembo, Coenembo, Santa Cruz, El Tigre, Las Pilas, La Granada, La Viñata, Las Cuevas, Corrales, Pontezuelas, El Pino, Verdolaga, Ojo de Agua, Ichupio, Tarerio, and Ucasanástacua. *Haciendas*, which lack corporate structure, are the Molino de San Rafael, La Cutzanda, and El Tecolote. The 1940 Government census also lists the following hamlets, at least some of which no longer exist: El Alamo, Colonia Gral. Calles, Tziparamuco, Noria, Santiago, and Sirangua.

Official populations in that year are as follows:

Tzintzuntzan	1,077
Ihuatzio	1,206
Cucuchucho	295
La Pacanda	247
Ichupio	162
Tarerio	201
Ucasanástacua	110
Ojo de Agua	104
Patambicho	281
Puerto de Coenembo.....	74
Coenembo	451
Santa Cruz	178
El Tigre	119
Las Pilas	67
La Granada	92
La Viñata	71
Las Cuevas	69
Corrales	177
Pontezuelas	18
San Rafael	106
Cutzanda	48
El Pino	29
El Tecolote	12
Verdolaga	78
El Alamo	17
Colonia Gral. Calles	34
Tziparamuco	46
Noria	32
Santiago	16
Sirangua	13
Total	5,430

All three *tenencias* and the *ranchos* Ojo de

Agua, Ichupio, Tarerio, La Viñata, La Granada, and Ucasanástacua are entirely Tarascan. Their combined population of 2,488, plus 156 Tarascan speakers in Tzintzuntzan, represents 49 percent of the total of the *municipio*. All Tarascans live on the lake shore, and economically and socially they have far more bonds with the other lake villages of the same speech than with the Mestizo towns with which they are united politically. Parenthetically, it may be added that the other Mestizo settlements feel that they have very little in common with Tzintzuntzan, and the citizens of some are indignant that they were cut from the larger *cabeceras* of Quiroga or Pátzcuaro, as the case may have been, and placed within a weaker and less effectual jurisdiction.

Municipal government is instrumented by means of the *ayuntamiento municipal*, or municipal council, composed of five *regidores*, or councilmen, who are elected for 2 years. The *presidente municipal* is named by the councilmen from among their own numbers for a period of 1 year.

The president, as the highest elected official, represents the *municipio* in all dealings with the State government, is charged with the civil marriage act, names special commissions for specific tasks, and makes an attempt to see that all civic affairs function smoothly. He also appoints a number of other civic officials.

A second councilman is named *síndico*, or *agente del ministerio público*. He in a sense is the "executive vice president" charged with carrying out the orders of the president and surveying the activities of all other municipal officials.

The other three councilmen have no special names. One is entrusted with *obras materiales*, or public improvements and municipal property. A second is in charge of road repairs and maintenance while the third theoretically maintains supervision over the *Comunidad Indígena*. In practice, these three men have very few duties or obligations. They may advise the president, and whenever an unpleasant task is called for they accompany him to lend moral support.

A secretary of the municipal council is named by the president and, unlike other officials, may serve for as long as he may be reappointed. Ability to read and hunt and peck over the keys of an aged Oliver typewriter are his job requirements. The function of the secretary is that of a scribe who records births, deaths, marriages,

and any other documents which may be required.

The treasurer is named by the president with the approbation of the *contador general de glosa* in Morelia, who is in charge of all local treasuries as apart from the treasurer of the State. The treasurer may be renamed for any period of time, and is required to collect all *municipio* taxes, keep books, send monthly reports to Morelia, and make annual reports on crop production.

Functions of the local court (*juzgado menor municipal*) are carried on by two judges named by the president, with two alternates. One judge theoretically is charged with law violations, or crimes against the Government, while the other handles crimes against individuals. In practice each judge functions in both capacities for 6 months, and then takes a vacation for the remainder of the year while the other sits in office. Each names his own secretary.

A policeman is named by the president to maintain order and to carry notices to the local officials in the *tenencias* and *ranchos*. A *jefe de cuartel*, or *de manzana*, each with an alternate, is also named by the president to correspond to each of the four sections in which Tzintzuntzan is divided. This is a rather onerous but obligatory post which each able-bodied man is expected to fill during his lifetime. Hence, few refuse, since they feel it is desirable to get it over with as soon as possible. Their task is to transmit communications from the president to the head of each family, and to summon the family heads when necessary for the *faena* and the *ronda*.

The *faena* is the communal work which able-bodied males are expected to contribute to the town's upkeep. There is no fixed number of days, and the actual amount of work is slight. It consists in clearing grass from the streets before major fiestas, in aiding in the construction of new buildings for the *municipio*, and with the maintenance of trails leading to other villages.

The *ronda* is a night watch of from four to six men which is maintained during times of political tension. It functions but rarely. Most Tzintzuntzeños are mortally afraid of gunplay, and retire to their houses at the first hint of danger, leaving any actual patrol duties to soldiers who would be sent from Pátzcuaro.

Each *tenencia* has as its highest official a *jefe* named by the president, and an alternate. These men function as vice presidents representing the president in their own communities. If popular, they may be chiefs in fact as well as name. If not, the *representante del pueblo*, or village representative, named by the local men, will wield effective power. Each *tenencia* also has a judge, a *teniente judicial*, named by the president. Though entrusted with minor disputes, he recognizes the judges of Tzintzuntzan as the next highest authorities in the legal hierarchy.

Each *ranchito* has an *encargado del orden* ("one charged with order") named by the president, as well as an alternate, to keep the president informed of what goes on in his settlement.

TAXES AND SALARIES

The *receptor de rentas*, or State tax collector, is named by the State treasurer to serve for an indefinite period. The man in office in 1945 had been in Tzintzuntzan for about 8 years, and had come from another part of Michoacán. He was greatly disliked by the townspeople, both because he was an outsider and because it was felt that his obvious prosperity was due to unlawful practices. He collects taxes on houses and lots, on farm land, and on stores and *cantinas*. He is also charged with collecting for water and electricity. His records were inspected, but found to be in such bad shape that it was difficult to make much out of them.

The records of the municipal treasurer were somewhat more legible. Each year a budget is sent out from Morelia, based on past income, showing what expenses will be sanctioned for the coming year. That for 1945 showed the following:

Payment to:	Day	Year
Secretary	\$ 1.50	\$ 547.50
Treasurer, 30 percent of receipts.....		300.00
Judges' secretary	1.25	456.25
Policeman .....	.75	273.75
Office expenses:	Month	
Council	2.00	24.00
Municipal treasury	1.50	18.00
Court	1.00	12.00
Civil register (birth, death, marriage books)	1.00	12.00

[Tabulation continued on page 180]

[Tabulation continued from page 179]

To purchase books and forms for the following offices:

Municipal secretary	10.00
Municipal treasurer	15.00
Civil register	15.00
Official correspondence	45.00
Bulbs for street lights	25.00
Civic festivals	25.00
Material improvements	200.00
"Acción Social," i.e. expenses of the PRM	36.00
Extraordinary expenses	25.00

Total\$ 2,039.50

This budget reveals Tzintzuntzan to be, in terms of treasury income, the poorest *municipio* of the State.

The principal sources of *municipio* income are as follows:

(1) *Registro civil*.—The civil register is maintained by the secretary to record births, deaths, marriages, and other pertinent material. Only marriage requires a legal fee. The application is \$1, and the ceremony itself \$3. In practice, a considerably higher fee is charged, averaging about \$14. A \$0.50 fee, not required by law, is charged for registration of births and deaths.

(2) *Abastos*.—From \$2 to \$5 tax is charged on each animal slaughtered. In practice no animals are ever recorded from other towns, and only a few of those in Tzintzuntzan find their way to the record.

(3) *Compra-Venta de Semovientes*.—Transfer taxes on sale of horses, mules, burros, cattle. The tax for burros is \$1.50 and that for the other animals is \$2.

(4) *Mercados*.—During the major fiestas innumerable small vendors of fish, clothing, food, and jewelry set up temporary stands. They buy tickets issued in units of \$0.05, \$0.10, and \$0.20, the amount being determined by what the treasurer thinks he can extract.

(5) *Certificado*.—Duplicate birth, wedding, and death certificates are issued for a small but undetermined fee.

(6) *Patente de Fierro*.—Most cattle owners, for their own protection, have a registered brand. For from one to four animals an owner pays \$2. For five or more he pays \$5.

(7) *Licencias*.—Licenses for stores and bars.

(8) *Multas*.—Fines are supposed to be entered in the treasurer's books.

(9) *Participación*.—Sixty percent of all taxes collected by the *receptor de rentas* is turned over to the municipal treasury.

(10) *Instrumentos notariales*.—Two pesos are charged for notarizing legal papers, such as land sales and inheritances.

(11) To all of these basic charges there is added a 10-percent charge which goes to the State treasury in Morelia. In practice, the sum collected averages a little more than 10 percent. Commonly an item of \$2.50 will carry a \$0.30 surtax.

(12) An additional 5-percent surcharge is added which goes to the Federal treasury. In practice this also averages somewhat above 5 percent. I have noted that for some months this sum exceeds that of the 10-percent State contribution.

For the year 1944, the total recorded income of the municipal treasury was \$2,675.70. In order of importance the various sources were:

Registration of cattle brands....	\$ 701.00
Sale of animal taxes.....	472.75
Transferred from receptor's office, 60 percent.....	362.08
Market taxes.....	203.60
Store licenses.....	220.70

The remaining sources furnished less than \$100 each. January produced more than a third (\$937.55) of the entire yearly collection, since payment for cattle brands and store licenses are due in this month. An additional \$443.50 was collected in February, largely due to market taxes at the fiesta of Rescate. Thus, approximately half of the yearly revenue is collected during the first 2 months of the year. Collections during the remaining months average about \$120. Salaries are the biggest item of expense. In 1944 the State received \$116.66 and the Federal government \$109.30. Obviously the 5-percent and 10-percent rules are not closely followed for these items.

The president receives no salary at all, and traditionally he complains about how he must serve for nothing. Still, as some of the men working on the *yácatas* remarked, "They all complain about the lack of a salary, and what a sacrifice it is. Then, when it comes time to

leave office they fight like everything to be re-elected. They don't want to leave office." The largest source of income for the president is his share, averaging about \$6 per couple, of the charge for marrying people. Since up to 300 marriages may occur in one year, this is very worth while. He also receives a part of most fines levied, both in cash and produce. Often, if the person pleads lack of money, the president will say, "Bring me 20 adobes," or 50 tiles, or a turkey, or whatever can be agreed upon. There are also other means by which the president can profit by his office.

Judges have no fixed salaries, and support themselves, aside from their own normal trades, by the fines which they levy. The judge's secretary receives, in addition to a salary of \$1.25 daily, a small part of each fine. The policeman, who actually puts little time on the job, is remunerated at the rate of \$0.75 daily when he works.

ELECTIONS

For purposes of elections the *municipio* is divided into five sections. In theory Tzintzuntzan with Ichupio, Tarerio, and Ucasanástacua forms one section, Ihuatzio a second, with the other three divided among the remaining villages. In practice, in order to give Tzintzuntzan greater control, each of the four *cuarteles* is assigned to a separate section so that, for practical purposes, Tzintzuntzan controls the elections. Very few persons from other villages come to vote, so a few votes from each of the four *cuarteles* is sufficient to determine the winner. Three *regidores*, or councilmen, are elected in the odd years and two in the even, so that there is no break in council functioning. These elections, held on the first Sunday in December, vary somewhat from accepted procedure, partly because of lack of knowledge of correct electoral procedure and of imperfectly understood State laws governing such affairs, and partly because officials usually wish to perpetuate themselves or their friends in office. The election of 1945 afforded a good deal of comic relief to the deadly seriousness with which it was organized. Political talk began in October, and there was talk of candidates being submitted by the PRM,¹

by the agrarian group, by the *Sinarquistas*, and by a vague group known as the *Sector Popular*, which in some way was supposed to represent the "independent" voters.

As matters turned out, the retiring president, himself a *Sinarquista*, presented a list to the local State deputy of Tzintzuntzan for approval, which was accepted. No other lists were completed. Theoretically each registered male should receive a credential from the president. In practice, not all credentials were distributed. Election day found three voting tables in the *presidencia* (apparently there should have been four, corresponding to the electoral districts of the *municipio*). Almost no voters came from other villages. Each voter legally should vote for three *regidores* from a larger list. Actually there were only three men on the ballot, so their election was certain. Each credential told the voter at which table he should vote, where he was presented with a ballot with one name only, which he had the option of marking or not marking. When a few objected, arguing that they wanted to vote for other candidates as well, they were indignantly told by the president that at their table one must vote for the indicated candidate — their credential clearly told them which was their table, and to please stop trying to make the election a disorderly affair. After voting, the boxes were kept sealed for 3 days, as provided by Federal law, after which the men in charge of each table formally met, counted votes, and announced the election of the new *regidores*. As matters turned out, two of the three new *regidores* were generally acceptable to the community, and when the new president, Marcial Rojas of Cucuchuco, a Tarascan, was announced, there were few grumblings on the part of the villagers. Hence, in spite of certain deviations from strict democratic procedure, the new municipal government was probably as competent as could have been selected through any other method.

Interestingly, elected officials usually are very young men. Zeferino Villagómez, president in 1945, was 28. Guillermo Morales, *síndico*, was 25. Very rarely is an elected official past his 30's. This accent on youth is rather hard to explain, but apparently it is due, in part, at least, to the feeling that government service is an obligation of all able-bodied males, and that it is desirable to acquire the status which accrues

¹ *Partido de la Revolución Mexicana*, the party which emerged from the Mexican Revolution of 1910, and which has remained in power ever since. Before the national elections of 1946 the name was changed to PRI, *Partido Revolucionario Institucional*.

therefrom at the earliest possible time. Likewise, persons who have served their term as officials henceforth are exempt from the onerous task of the *facna*.

Tzintzuntzan joined with the nation on Sunday, July 7, 1946, in national elections for president, senators, and deputies. The events of the day were marked by order and discipline, and a very high percent of the electorate turned out to cast its ballot. At the same time the elections in Tzintzuntzan, which are probably characteristic of hundreds of other small rural Mexican villages, illustrate the difficulties which stand in the way of truly democratic government when a large part of the voters are illiterate.

The mechanics of voting in Tzintzuntzan closely follow those of the nation at large. In May a Government employee came from Morelia for the *empadronamiento*, in which all eligible voters — married men of 18 and over, and single men 21 and over — were urged to register by signing their signature or placing a thumbprint on the official paper. Each registrant was to receive a credential bearing a serial number and tabulated for card-index machines. Voting lists were also drawn up in Morelia, with names and numbers corresponding to each credential, to be checked at the time of voting. Credentials were distributed by the local officials, and apparently every registrant received one; no complaints were heard. Two polling places were designated for the *municipio*, one in Tzintzuntzan and the other in Ihuatzio. Citizens of the other villages were instructed to go to one or the other of these places. Votes were to be counted the same night in Tzintzuntzan, and then sent to district headquarters in Pátzcuaro for the official recount.

There were two principal presidential candidates: Miguel Alemán of the PRI (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*, the official Government party whose name had recently been changed from *Partido de la Revolución Mexicana*), and Ezequiel Padilla, supported by PAN (*Partido Acción Nacional*, the party of the *Sinarquistas* and other rightist elements). Two minor candidates were unknown in Tzintzuntzan. One Federal senator and one deputy, each with an alternate, were also elected from a field of about half a dozen parties. Before the election it became apparent that although there was consider-

able interest in major candidates, very little was known about how an election was conducted. Nevertheless, the voters were not greatly concerned. They felt reasonably certain that ballot boxes would be ready on election day, and it did not much matter to them what the precise organization of those in charge might be.

In spite of general interest in the elections, most individuals did not like to commit themselves as to their candidates. In part this may have been due to fear, and in part to the fact that they really had not made up their minds. We were always asked, "Whom do you think will be elected?" and apparently there was a considerable desire to be on the right political band wagon. Half-believed by many was the rumor that the entire State of Guerrero was fanatically pro-Padilla, and that if Michoacán did not follow suit armed men would march up from the *tierra caliente* for a general massacre. In contrast to the average small American town before elections, it was literally impossible to make a fair guess as to who had the most support. Padilla's supporters, numerous because of the strength of the local *Sinarquista* group, referred to the "imposition" of the Government which might prevent the election of their man, whom they were sure should win. PRI supporters were equally certain that Alemán had more popular support.

Election day was bright and warm, and by 8 o'clock in the morning the plaza was full of milling people, many from other villages. Voters who could read scanned the posted lists to see if their names were in order. Ramón García, school teacher, was perturbed because his credential was listed for Ihuatzio, due no doubt to a plot to keep him from voting. The tax collector turned out to be in charge of the polls, aided by Jesús Peña, who functioned as secretary, and Vicente Rendón. Voting was scheduled to begin at 9 o'clock. But the tax collector slept late, breakfasted leisurely, and did not appear in front of his door until 10:30. A table was brought out on which were placed three boxes, one for ballots for president, one for senators, and one for deputies. The list of voters, three stacks of ballots, and several pencils completed the equipment. Ramón had decided to present his credential quietly and say nothing about his listing in Ihuatzio. Vicente thumbed through the leaves, found the name, and handed Ramón

three ballots. It was all right after all. The posting of names was wrong, but all registered voters were to vote. In plain view of the masses packed around the table, Ramón made three firm crosses through the circles, one on each ballot. The ballots were folded and dropped into the box, and the next man stepped up. Each candidate had a circle of a different color so that illiterate voters would know for whom they were voting: the PRI the familiar red, green, and white tricolor; PAN blue circles; and other candidates other colors or combinations. Campaigning was on the basis of, "Mark the tricolor circle," or, "Mark the blue circle" to such an extent that most voters did not know that the names also were printed. Ramón remarked afterward, "I had intended to vote for another candidate, but forgot what the color of his circle was, so I put a cross in the ——— circles."

Presently it was apparent that the act of voting was new and strange to most of those who had come. Each man stepped confidently to the table, had his credential stamped, took the ballots, and, confronted by a bewildering collection of circles, panic would come into his face. The pencil would hover uncertainly over the ballots like a bee about to alight on a flower, and presently, by some unknown impulse would drop quickly on the nearest circle. Relief would replace fear — the voter had done his duty, and now that he knew how it was done, next time he would be prepared to really vote. Obviously, since most voters had to be told to put one cross for president and two each for deputies and senators, a secret ballot was an impossibility. But in the hour or so in which polling was watched, there was no evidence of attempts to tell the voters in which circles the crosses should be placed. The PRI had a certain psychological advantage. Its tricolor symbol on posters, year after year, has come to be associated in the minds of many persons with politics and government. Since the other parties are organized independently for each election, there is no continuity in other symbols. Hence, many voters when confronted with a cluster of mnemonic signs had their eyes drawn to the only familiar sight and, like lost souls, quickly seized this only hope of safety. It is probable that after voting, 75 percent of the men did not know for whom they had cast their ballot. During the period that balloting was observed all candidates for

all offices received some votes, including those whose names had been completely unknown in Tzintzuntzan.

In spite of the obvious problems connected with this election, it is apparent that a sincere effort was made to give each registered voter the opportunity freely to express his will. Particularly praiseworthy was the sobriety and order which prevailed during the entire day, all the more so in view of the large numbers of persons assembled in a holiday mood.

SINARQUISM

Though playing no official role in community organization, Sinarquism is of the utmost importance. The national *Sinarquista* organization is a militant right-wing nationalistic group corresponding to the Spanish Falange (though presumably with no direct connection), with chapters in most parts of Mexico. It receives its support from individuals of all social classes who oppose the leftist policies which have characterized the Mexican government for a number of years. Though all Catholics are by no means *Sinarquistas*, the Church in general often supports the organization. It is openly anticommunist, and, because of its extreme nationalism, antagonistic to the United States and to Protestantism. In the minds of the uneducated masses Russia, communism, the United States, and Protestantism are conveniently lumped together as enemies of the inalienable rights of man. Since most people in Tzintzuntzan consider themselves to be *Sinarquistas*, it is perhaps worth while to describe in some detail the origin and growth of the local cell.

Early in 1940 the local chief of the *Sinarquistas* in Pátzcuaro, accompanied by several friends, came to Tzintzuntzan, ostensibly to felicitate the new municipal president. By means of flattery they induced the president to call a town meeting in the churchyard, and once a crowd was assembled explained as follow: The *Sinarquista* organization was not to be a political party, but rather a civic organization with the principal aim of fighting communism. Communism was becoming a growing threat in Mexico, and as its ultimate aim was to take children from their families to educate them in Government schools, which would be a great danger to the *Patria*, since they would be instill-

ed with antireligious ideas. In addition, communism would take all property from individuals and use it for the state itself. People would eat and be clothed only at the expense and will of the state, and subsequently wives would be taken from husbands. Sinarquism would prevent this proposed future order. The anticommunistic struggle was to be ideological, and required neither dues nor fighting; merely the right spirit was necessary.

At the end of the speechmaking, some citizens were unimpressed and left, but others stayed to form a local committee with officers. For 6 months there was little progress, though a few meetings were held in private. Presently the municipal president threatened to kill the chapter head if meetings continued, so he fled to Pátzcuaro. Apparently the matter was settled, but unbeknown to the authorities, secret meetings were held in the convent under the direction of the priest, who urged the most fanatical Catholics to support and further the new organization.

In July, 1941, another outside commission came from a nearby village where Sinarquism had taken root, and in a small private assembly a new local chapter was formed. Subsequently, meetings were held each week to which non-members were invited and later asked to join. Within a month a hundred persons were attending, and new rules were drawn up dividing the local area, including nearby settlements, into zones, sectors, and blocks, each with chiefs. It was decided to levy an assesment of \$0.50 against each member to buy Mexican flags, one for the men and another for the women. On August 18 of that year formal delivery of the flags was made in the presence of representatives from Pátzcuaro, Quiroga, and a dozen other towns, and a parade around town terminated in the plaza where speeches were made from the bandstand. Meanwhile the municipal president, who was not in sympathy, sent to Pátzcuaro for soldiers, who arrived after the demonstrators had dispersed to their homes for banquets. The leaders were arrested and placed in jail. This tactically unwise move immediately made heroes of them, and a great crowd of *Sinarquistas* gathered around the jail, singing hymns and anthems, leaving money with the prisoners, and bringing them food. As the news spread to other villages, the crowds continued

to grow, and there were threats of stoning the municipal officers out of town if the prisoners were not released. Public opinion soon became so violent that this action was taken. Subsequently, almost all adults in Tzintzuntzan affiliated with the movement.

Later in the year the president and secretary of the *Sinarquistas* journeyed to Mexico City to take part in a national congress, where they were further instilled with the spirit of the movement, particularly to obey implicitly orders which were given from higher men in the organization. But upon their return the two delegates failed to give an accounting of the money given them, and fell to quarreling as to who should be the highest chief. As a result a number of members became disgusted and dropped out, and subsequent weekly meetings resulted in bitter bickering, in which one of the chiefs little by little converted his position into that of extreme dictatorship to direct all local policies.

By midyear of 1942 a rebel movement formed a new committee which quickly took over and set upon a course of recruiting members from the town and surrounding villages. The new chief formed "flying squads" of propagandists consisting of four or five youths and girls, accompanied by an older woman as chaperon. These groups visited other towns for periods of several days and talked and sang hymns and *Sinarquista* songs. The plan was successful and the chapter increased in size until it was discovered that the chief had been making improper advances toward the girls. He was stoned out of town and never returned, and the membership quickly fell off.

Subsequent attempts to increase membership met with little success, though a small militant nucleus continued to meet regularly. A new national congress, to which a delegate was sent, provided the answer to the falling membership. Baja California and Sonora were in grave danger of being taken by the United States. For the sake of the *Patria* these lands must be strengthened, and this could best be done through colonization. The leaders of the movement had discovered the touchstone to success. Mass meetings such as had never been seen were held, and contributions to the colonization fund grew apace. The only thought now was that of saving the honor and territory of Mexico, regardless

of cost. A group of citizens actually prepared to go to Baja California to colonize, but about that time rumors grew that the first colonists had found a great state of disorganization, and that the *Sinarquistas* in charge of the movement were acting as complete dictators, telling everybody just what he should do.

Again the organization lapsed, and membership dwindled away to a mere handful. Those who kept up their membership, however, were sufficiently militant that they were able to a considerable extent to control public offices, which remained largely dominated by *Sinarquistas*. During 1945 the activities of the movement were at low ebb. The priest who had lent so much support to the organization had left in 1944, and the new priest gave scant encouragement, particularly prohibiting the *Sinarquista* school which had functioned in the convent. During the first part of 1946 activities again increased somewhat, stimulated by the presidential elections and increased activity of the national organization.

The phenomenon of Sinarquism in Tzintzuntzan is due in part to the basic conservatism of the inhabitants. The propaganda of the central offices, particularly that of danger to the *Patria*, was skillfully designed to appeal to an ignorant and provincial audience. Land—the earth, and particularly Mexican earth—has a symbolic meaning to Mexicans which can scarcely be understood by an outsider. Church support was another factor. Tzintzuntzan is overwhelmingly Catholic, with few traces of separatist movements which have characterized other parts of Mexico. Hence, something favorably viewed by the local priest is something to which one should give attention. Tzintzuntzēños, unfortunately, are often only too glad to speak and think badly of other persons, either in the town, the next village, or the next country. Sinarquism gave them a scapegoat toward whom collective resentment could be directed, and away from their own problems. And finally, the entertainment value of group meetings played an important part. A fine parade and reunion in the plaza, whether on Independence Day, for the fiesta of Rescate, or to listen to delegates recently arrived from a national *Sinarquista* conference, is a drawing card of the first degree. Local weekly meetings were new and novel, there

was always the promise of an unforeseen event, some kind of excitement. The ups and downs of the movement are to be explained as much as anything in terms of waves of boredom and hope of new developments. When, at meeting after meeting the members were warned of the communist menace which never arrived, attendance would fall off until a new crisis in the organization would bring hope of new developments and greater interest. Curiously, women are more fervent members than men.

I sometimes talked with Vicente about Sinarquism. His views are probably representative of most of those in town who attended meetings but never held office. Vicente and Nati were my first real friends in Tzintzuntzan, and for this they were attacked by their fellow *Sinarquistas*. I as a gringo was obviously a communist and hence a menace in the community. And anybody who dealt with me must also be a communist. "Thus," said Vicente, "I'm a communist too, because I let you come to my house." I asked Vicente what he thought a communist was. "They say that communists are those who take by force that which doesn't belong to them." We both agreed that by that definition neither of us seemed to qualify. Vicente used to attend meetings, and once went as far as Morelia, but after a time he became bored with the repetition of the same stock speeches and phrases. I asked him what he understood by Sinarquism. "I don't understand it very well," he confessed. "Nobody here does. It means 'Without revolution.' They say that if it hadn't been for the *Sinarquistas* the revolution would have come. We *Sinarquistas* fight with words, not arms." I asked Vicente what the aims of the movement were. Justice, liberty, and one's rights were the answer. "For example, as judge, when someone comes to the court I treat him with justice, according to the law." About his rights and liberty, Vicente was not sure how they had been violated.

The best local definition of a communist in Tzintzuntzan follows a formula not unknown in other parts of the world: one who thinks differently. Curiously, Father Tovar was labeled a communist by some fanatics because he abolished the *Sinarquista* school which had existed in the convent. Some even went to Morelia to denounce him for his radical tendencies.

LAW AND JUSTICE

Drunkenness and fighting are the most common disputes which are settled in the local court. More serious complaints usually quickly find their way to a higher court in Pátzcuaro. Settlement, which usually involves a night in jail and a small fine, depends upon the personalities of the claimants and of the judges. Although the presiding judge theoretically is in charge of disputes the president himself may, and often does, intervene to pass judgment. Most families try to keep disputes out of court whenever possible, because there is no way of being sure who will be fined, and often both contestants are the losers. A few cases will illustrate the workings of justice.

(1) A boy in Ojo de Agua was accused by a young girl of being the father of her illegitimate child. She asked that he be made to marry her. He was locked up for several days in the hope that he might be persuaded to do so. He had, however, settled his affections on another girl, and argued that he should not be made to marry the mother of an illegitimate child, since she obviously would make an unsatisfactory wife. Case dismissed.

(2) Wenceslao Peña was charged with collecting money for Corpus Christi for the band furnished by the *rescatones*. Upon receiving an offer of only \$1 from Sacramento Marín, which he considered too low in view of the latter's wealth, he began to joke with him, scoffing at his poor contribution. No more money was forthcoming. The same evening, after the festivities, Wenceslao encountered Sacramento and again began to kid him about his "poverty." Sacramento, who was drunk, pulled out a loaded revolver and fired at Wenceslao five times. Four bullets went wild, and the fifth entered the right elbow of the victim, making a nasty wound. Sacramento was immediately jailed by his cousin Eulalio, *Agente del Ministerio Público*, and fined \$30. Eulalio also wished to jail Wenceslao for disturbing the peace, but public outcry prevented his doing so. It was pointed out that the jail was full of vermin, and that the injured man needed medical attention. After treatment in Pátzcuaro, Wenceslao was subsequently fined \$10, which to many people seemed unjust, but no action was taken. There was no apparent thought that Sacramento was a potentially dangerous man who ought to be locked up for 20 years. He showed lack of judgment, but, since Wenceslao was not killed, the affair ranked as a minor fracas.

(3) A local girl, now about 28, is known as "The Volcano." Strikingly beautiful, she was married at the age of 13 to a man about 40 years of age, who after fathering one child died. Subsequently "The Volcano" is said to have lived a rather loose life,

though she was not a prostitute in the common sense of the word. Her uncle returned from the United States after many years, and brought a large sum of money with him. While looking for a house he lodged with her and her mother. She and another girl, according to the story, took a knife and cut the leather satchel in which the uncle had his money, taking \$2,000. They were taken to Pátzcuaro and put in jail, since the reported amount stolen was so great that the local court could not act. There they obtained a lawyer who "fixed" things so that they were set free.

(4) During the 1945 fiesta of Rescate there were a number of court cases: 27 persons were arrested for assault, in addition to 2 foreign prostitutes who plied their trade too openly. Most persons spent the night in jail and were released upon payment of fines which varied from \$0.50 to \$5 depending on ability to pay. One amusing case involved suspected theft. A young man of Tzintzuntzan came to the *presidencia* claiming that he had been robbed of sugarcane worth \$1 while playing bingo. He had left the bundle under his chair, and a couple from Santa Fe seated beside him had taken it while he was absorbed in the game. Soldiers were sent to bring the Santa Fe couple, who stoutly denied their guilt. An army lieutenant from Pátzcuaro, who had been sent to maintain order during the fiesta, took charge of the case and asked the president, who knew both parties, to question them. He asked the claimant if "in his heart" he was sure that the Santa Fe couple had stolen the cane, if he had seen them take it with his own eyes. The claimant said no, that he had not seen them take it, but if they had not, who had? The defendants said that they had bought it, along with other fruit, that they were of good family, and that they did not steal. The offending canes were laid on the floor as evidence. To the ethnographer (and apparently to the president and lieutenant) the claimant was honest but mistaken. For want of better evidence the lieutenant, who had apparently read his Bible, divided the cane into two piles, giving half to each party. Both accepted the decision in good humor, apparently realizing that the authorities were in a difficult position. As the crowd filed out the accused youth from Santa Fe pulled a crumpled 1 peso note from his sash and presented it to the president, who gravely thanked him. This *mordida* ("bribe") was not that of a criminal who had won a case, but rather a part of the universal system of justice, a sign that he bore no ill feelings toward the president, and that he was grateful that no more trouble had been made. A half a dozen or more people saw the transaction, which was perfectly open and aboveboard, and there was neither word nor thought of criticism on the part of anyone.

(5) During the same fiesta the police chief of Quiroga got drunk and began to fight, in the course of which he was stabbed in the arm by an unknown assailant. Since he was a known troublemaker he was locked up in jail for the night. Next day it was

suggested that he be sent to the authorities in Pátzcuaro in the hope that he would be severely dealt with. The president, however, refused, apparently fearing that retaliation might follow, and also because the fine would be lost to him. A fine of \$25 was levied, which was reduced to \$9 when his wife pleaded that that was all she had, and he was set free on the condition that he go home.

(6) Another dispute of the fiesta centered around the games of chance which, although illegal, flourish at all fiestas. The president had collected the customary plaza tax to permit them to ply their trade, when a local general from Morelia passed through and ordered that the games be confiscated. The general continued his journey, leaving two subordinates, who offered to return the games for a rather high price. The gamblers refused, and carried their complaint to the president, who blandly denied that he knew anything about it, but told the subordinates that as soldiers from Morelia they had no jurisdiction in Tzintzuntzan. While the discussion continued the lieutenant from Pátzcuaro arrived and ruled that the games were to be locked up for the duration of the fiesta, but that no action was to be taken against the gamblers.

The basic principle of local justice seems to be to jail the disputants to allow them to cool down, extract as large a fine as the traffic will bear, and then dismiss the case. In the course of the field study countless cases of this type were handled, and no permanent feuds seemed to result. In a strict sense "justice" is not always meted out, but the system seems to provide reasonable law and order, and the average citizen enjoys relative personal security and safety.

Apart from disputes, one of the functions of the court is to draw up contracts of various types, of which the most frequent is the *empeño*, or pledging of land as security against a loan. (See pp. 144-145.)

MUNICIPAL FIESTAS

The Mexican Independence Day, September 16, and the anniversary of the founding of the *municipio* of Tzintzuntzan, October 2, are marked by the only two completely nonreligious fiestas of the year. Without the Church as the focus of interest, plans usually are built around activities of the school children. Neither celebration approaches the major Church fiestas in importance or interest.

INDEPENDENCE DAY

The one invariable ritual of this day is the midnight reenactment by the municipal president

of the *Grito de Dolores*, symbolizing Father Miguel Hidalgo's 1810 call to independence. For the 1945 observance a platform was raised under the *portal* of Jesús Peña's El Progreso store, facing the plaza. Most work stopped by noon of September 15, when the band took its place in the bandstand and people began to promenade. About 10 in the evening the municipal council took its place on the platform, sharing honors with the school children who, having drilled on recitations and short one-act dramas for the past month, romped through their brief moment of glory with scarcely a hitch.

Toward midnight municipal president Zeferino took a self-conscious place at the edge of the platform, drew himself up into his most dramatic pose, and uttered the magic words, "*Viva la independencia*," which, simultaneously shouted over all the land, from the balcony of the Government Palace in Mexico City by the President of the Republic himself, to the most humble village of the country, annually brings to 20 million Mexicans the supreme patriotic thrill. "*Viva, Viva*," echoed the crowd. "*Viva México, viva el señor Presidente de la República, viva el libre e independiente municipio de Tzintzuntzan*," the shouts continued, punctuated by the sound of gunfire, the carbines of the town guard and of any other citizens who wished to join in.

On noon of the following day a parade composed of nearly everybody in town, led by the village officials carrying flags of Mexico and Michoacán, made its way about town, its progress marked by band music and the ubiquitous rockets without which no Mexican fiesta is complete. Festivities concluded in the evening with a *gran kermés*.

The *kermés* is a typically Mexican (and Latin-American) function, which corresponds to a charity bazar in the United States. It may be sponsored by a Church organization or any other group, to raise money for some particular purpose. In Tzintzuntzan the *kermés*, held several times a year, whenever the traffic will bear it, is usually for the benefit of the Church; each time during the period of study it was managed by the nieces of the priest, aided by teen-age girl members of the several orders. We were told that they also had been given for the school, and even to bail out the town treasury. In the *por-*

tales of the plaza stands are set up, partitioned off with walls of tule reeds. Tables are brought out and signs put up to indicate the foods to be sold — “*enchiladas*,” “*tamales*,” “*pollo*,” “*atole*,” “*pozole*,” and “*buñuclos*.” A stand for the Red Cross is set up, and another with potted plants. Finally the “bank” is organized, where one exchanges money for printed tickets in denominations of from \$0.05 to \$0.50. This is a necessary check to prevent chiseling. Gaiety of a sort is lent by the music of the band, and food and services are priced at twice their normal value. As one strolls in the plaza, between meal courses at the stands, the girls accost one with small corsages, which they pin to the lapel. “One peso, please.” Presently another girl comes along. “Sir, you look very sick. Come to the Red Cross for doctoring.” Iodine, adhesive tape, and bandages are applied, or pills and powders are prescribed, poured in papers to be taken home. The food is good, one’s friends are present, and if the night is

warm a pleasant time is had by all. With luck, \$150 will be taken in, half of which is needed for expenses.

FIESTA OF THE MUNICIPIO OF TZINTZUNTZAN

The municipio of Tzintzuntzan was created by General Cárdenas on October 2, 1930, and subsequently the date has been celebrated with more or less fanfare. In former years General Cárdenas himself has been present, and sometimes the Governor of the State. In 1945 the fiesta was rather flat, partly due to lack of interest, and partly to rain. The program of school children was to have been held in the open air theater in front of the town hall, but at the last minute everybody crowded into the school auditorium. Of most interest, to the ethnologists at least, were the dances of the Moors and Christians, from Ihuatzio, and the *viejitos* from Cucuchucho, the only time during the year when these dances were held in Tzintzuntzan.

RELIGION

HISTORICAL NOTES

It has become customary to preface discussions of religion in Mexico with the statement that modern beliefs represent a blending of pagan and Catholic elements. In many, and perhaps most parts of the country, this is true. In Tzintzuntzan, and I suspect in most of the rest of the Tarascan area, probably fewer non-Catholic elements remain than in almost any other part of rural Mexico. No stone idols share the altar with saints and virgins; copal is not burned in the milpa, and turkeys are not sacrificed in secret mountain caves. Transforming *nagual* witches do not pit their influence against that of the priest, nor do diviners and medicine men practice ancient rites. In theory and in fact the inhabitants of Tzintzuntzan are Catholic, and high Church officials would feel that doctrine has made relatively few concessions to ancient custom. This does not mean that the religious beliefs and activities are identical to those of Spain any more than those of Spain are identical to Catholicism in the United States. The total content of Catholic ritual, dogma, belief, and

organization is so vast that any local group can absorb only a relatively small amount. A selective process is involved in which, largely through historical accident, certain elements come to be a part of the total pattern, and others are either rejected or never arrive. Hence, within the folds of true Catholicism there is room for a great deal of variation from place to place. In Mexico, no two towns have exactly the same combination of saints and virgins, of rituals and fiestas, of organizations and dances. Depending on the temperament of the local group and its past history, Catholicism is either a rich, full, time-consuming complex in the total cultural pattern, or it is an empty shell to which people pay lip service by going through the overt acts necessary to conform, but which functionally is a survival from an earlier period.

Tzintzuntzan is in the former class. This is not surprising, since it lies in the heart of the strongest and most fanatically Catholic section of Mexico, the States of Michoacán, Jalisco, Guanajuato, and México. For over 400 years Tzintzuntzan has had a resident priest, and during this time its people have been christened,

confirmed, married, and buried by the Church. They have gone to Mass, confessed their sins, participated in a bewildering number of fiestas and Church obligations, and supported a series of *mayordomías*. From the earliest days little time was given to think about old beliefs. The Franciscans who were charged with the conversion of Michoacán (later aided, on a lesser scale, by the Augustinians) were capable, conscientious, and thorough men. The almost complete loss of the old religion is all the more remarkable in view of the pre-Conquest strength of the Tarascan culture, and of the great importance of its religion to the people.

Perhaps the only surviving hints of ancient belief are the attitudes toward saints and other images. The ancient Mexicans were polytheistic, and worshiped a large number of deities, each with special attributes. These deities were represented both in stone carvings and writing in such fashion that usually there is no question as to who is meant.¹ Each shrine of importance and each ceremonial center had a collection of images to whom the inhabitants of the region were particularly addicted. The success of the conquering Spaniards was plain evidence that their gods were powerful. Hence, although the Mexicans were loath to abandon their own deities they saw no inconsistency in trying to adopt the new ones. If 10 gods were good, 20 ought to be twice as good.

This desire on the part of the Mexicans to claim as their own the Spanish God — gods to them, as represented by the cross and images — is one reason for the rapid conversion of thousands of people. It is far easier to convert polytheistic peoples than monotheistic peoples, for the obvious reason that the structure of their religion is such that new gods can be admitted to the pantheon without sacrificing the old. More than the early friars would like to admit, this is exactly what happened in Mexico. For many years, and even to the present day in some remoter parts of the country, the pre-Conquest deities were, and are, cherished and their memories kept alive with sacrifices, rituals, and prayers. Hence, the "idols behind altars," the presence in remote churches of Catholic images side by side with ancient carved deities. In places where

Catholic influence was especially strong, as in the Tarascan area, little by little knowledge of and belief in the ancient deities were stamped out. But the thought patterns remained virtually unchanged. Worship of a series of pagan gods was transferred to a series of Catholic images. In the minds of the conquerors themselves there was a large element of polytheistic belief manifest in the adoration of certain saints and virgins as particularly powerful or as particularly capable of helping certain classes of peoples. Small wonder then, that the Indians of Mexico failed to grasp the distinction between the Holy Trinity on the one hand and the material representation of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints on the other. The ancient Mexicans were used to worshipping gods they could see; when their own disappeared the Catholic images took their place.

CHURCH STRUCTURES

The rather elaborate religious plant of Tzintzuntzan, at present in a bad state of decay, is the result of a long period of construction, most of which dates from the 16th century. The Franciscans arrived late in 1525 or early in 1526, and first built a wooden chapel, Santa Ana, and a temporary convent. Quickly thereafter the first stone chapel, also called Santa Ana, was built, a short distance above the present town. Though no structure now remains, a pile of rocks and a wooden cross mark the site of this building. The maps of Beaumont and Seler, which are probably from the years 1540-45, show the present large churchyard, the atrium with its olive trees, and on the west side the small chapel of San Francisco adjoining on one side the first part of what later became the large convent, and on the other side the completed Iglesia de la Parroquia, the parish church. On the Beaumont map the hospital is shown outside the atrium on a site somewhat removed from the modern *kenquería*, which tradition says is the hospital, and also lacking is the beautiful open chapel of La Concepción, today enclosed with adobe walls and a tile roof and unused for any religious services. The Seler map is more accurate in this respect, and both the chapel and the adjoining hospital are shown in their correct location. La Concepción faces north and is, in reality, merely a roofed altar with three arches on the wide side and one each on the east and

¹ This statement applies rather to the Aztecs than to the Tarascans.

west, as yet unmarred by the adobe covering. Mass was said while people knelt or stood in the open.

Subsequent to the drawing of these maps, in the second half of the 16th century, the convent was enlarged, probably to its maximum size. It contains a lovely two-story patio surrounded by stone arches, and the walls are covered with paintings, the newest of which are over 100 years old. These were covered with whitewash at some unknown date, and only in 1945 when the work of reconstruction of the convent and burned church was begun were the pictures uncovered. Some show Biblical scenes and others the early folklore and history of Tzintzuntzan. To the north of the parish church stands the adobe facade of the now-ruined chapel which belonged to the Third Order of San Francisco, presumably built at a time when this organization flourished under the close supervision of the early friars. The last major construction was that of the chapel of La Soledad, finished in 1631 by Father Leso, whose tomb today is visible within the building. This structure, parallel to La Concepción, from which it is separated by a small, closed patio, faces south on the atrium. Although referred to as a *templo* in speech, and in size comparable to most rural Mexican churches, in reality it must be considered as a chapel belonging, not to the archbishopric, but to the community itself, by whom it is tended and administered.

By the time of the construction of La Soledad, Tzintzuntzan had been a Catholic town for over 100 years, and we can imagine that the olive trees in the atrium, reputedly the oldest in the New World, were already beginning to gnarl, and that the lovely cedars were trees of considerable size. The chance to become a great religious center had been lost when the home of the cathedral was moved to Pátzcuaro in 1540, but for many years the convent continued to be the chief center of Franciscan activities and instruction in Michoacán so that the Indians, to a much greater extent than in most Mexican towns, were continually exposed to a strong religious influence. The system of hospitals established by Don Vasco de Quiroga was also undoubtedly a potent factor in the stamping out of pagan beliefs and the establishment of dominance of Catholic thought.

Today the properties used for religious purposes include the large atrium, the chapels of San Francisco and La Concepción, the shell of the parish church, and the small chapel of Guadalupe in Ojo de Agua. Behind the olive trees, backing on the high stone wall which surrounds the atrium, are 12 tiny *capillitas* or shrines, stone structures about 3 m. high with a tiny niche which can be filled with flowers and candles. These, plus the facades of the burned-out parish church and the chapel of San Francisco, constitute the Fourteen Stations at which prayers are offered in the processions of the Via Crucis. Ten are named after, and symbolize, the original *barrios* of the village, even though in the minds of most persons the precise identifications have been forgotten. The other two are named after the Holy Trinity and La Soledad church.

Formerly the atrium was also the cemetery, and a number of old tombs are still visible. About 1930 the community bought a piece of land to the southeast for a new and larger *pan-teón*. Unfortunately, the march of progress interfered with the complete execution of the plan: the best alinement of the new highway meant cutting directly across the new cemetery from one corner to another, leaving today two triangular plots divided by a strip of asphalt.

Father Tovar guards in the old convent the remnants of the once extensive archives. Inspection of these books revealed little significant data on the history of the town. The oldest book, that of marriages, begins with the year 1709. All acts are signed by friars, showing that at the time the lay clergy had not yet replaced the Franciscan. Records of deaths begin with the year 1781, and of baptisms with the year 1788. Addresses of all individuals are given by *barrios* during the 17th century, either San Bartolo, San Paulo, or La Magdalena. Apparently the other original *barrios* already had become nonfunctional. These three *barrios*, it is interesting to note, are most often mentioned today in connection with religious ceremonies, and especially in the naming of certain *cargueros*.

THE CHURCHBELLS

An important part of the church property are the seven bells. The three most important, those of the burned parish church, are suspended from an iron pipe between two huge cedars in the

atrium. The largest, the *Campana Mayor*, is named Sacramento; the next in size is called the *Campana de María Teresa*, while the smallest is the *Campana de Santa Isabel*, also sometimes called the *Campana de Santa Cruz*. These are the bells used to call people to Mass, and for a variety of other purposes. The *Campana de San Francisco* is a small bell which hangs from a tree just outside the chapel of the same name, and is used for functions connected with this building. In the tower of La Soledad there are three unnamed bells which are used only for functions directly connected with this church.

The bells of La Parroquia form an interesting part of the folklore of Tzintzuntzan. They may be rung in a variety of combinations to indicate to the town what is about to take place. This "bell language" is apparently found in most parts of Mexico and, as far as I know, has not been studied to date. Some of the *llamadas*, or calls, appear to be identical over the country, but each village seems to have its own refinements and special usages. The following list probably includes most of the calls of Tzintzuntzan. Their study results in some confusion, as all those who ring the bells are not equally expert, and may not know the precise nature of each tolling.

Before Mass there are three *llamadas* or calls, about 30, 15, and 5 minutes respectively before the service begins. For the *misa rezada* (Low Mass), the large bell is tolled, then there is a pause, followed by one, two, or three single notes, to indicate how much time remains. For the *misa cantada*, with music (High Mass), all three bells are tolled together, followed by the single, double, or triple clap of the large bell alone. To indicate that there is a speedup, that the interval between calls will be shorter than usual, the same system is used except that the tolling is for a shorter period, is followed by the indicating clap, and then the tolling and clap is repeated several times. To call children to indoctrination, boys at about 7 on Mondays, and girls at 3 on Saturdays, the *Campana de María Teresa* is tolled in series of two quick claps, repeated once, then twice, then once, for a period of several minutes, in the following fashion: Clap-clap, pause, clap-clap, clap-clap, pause, clap-clap, pause, clap-clap, clap-clap, pause, and

so on. This call has been observed to vary to one clap, pause, then four claps, pause, the series repeated six or eight times. The same bell is associated with the prayers of the Via Crucis. Friday afternoons, an hour or two before sunset, members of the Third Order of San Francisco must go to church to pray before each of the pictures of the Fourteen Stations. There are three calls, as in the case of a Mass, with the single, double, or triple note afterward. During the actual praying the bell tolls continuously.

For a Mass of the dead all three bells strike together as one bell three times, then a pause followed by 5 minutes of continual tolling, then the three bells again, and so on. This is called the *doble* or double. This tolling goes on all through the night of All Saints', and is also used to notify the community when a member of the Third Order has died. To call men to work for the Church, the large bell strikes three groups of two claps each. For reunions of the town to discuss various problems, it tolls slowly for from 10 to 20 claps, followed by a pause, then another series, and so on until a quorum has arrived. For events of utmost importance it is tolled in this pattern, but much more rapidly. For Masses which belong especially to La Soledad, the same system is used as for regular Masses, except that the tower bells are used. To call the *cargueros* of this church, its large tower bell strikes four groups of four notes each. For processions in the churchyard, all six bells are pealed together. On days of major fiestas all six bells toll the *alborada*, an early morning pealing. To call the *cargueros* of the San Francisco Chapel its small bell is rung in a series of single claps separated by pauses. A final single, double, or triple clap indicates, just as in the manner of Mass, which call it is.

LA SOLEDAD AND ITS FURNISHINGS

The normal order of religious functions in Tzintzuntzan was badly upset by the burning of the parish church April 6, 1944, together with almost all of its furnishings and equipment. *Compadre* Guillermo, like an auctioneer, ticks off the destroyed objects on his fingers. "One Sacred Heart of Jesus, one Señor San José, La Purísima, four Nazarenes, one Christ, Our Lady of Guadalupe, the Divine Providence, a picture

of the Descent from the Cross, one San Isidro, one picture of Las Animas, one Saint John the Baptist, the pictures of the Fourteen Stations, one harmonium, and one organ." Greatest of all losses was the destruction of the painting of The Descent from the Cross, a picture commonly, but probably erroneously, attributed to Titian. It was the principal attraction for tourists, many of whom stopped on their way to Pátzcuaro to see the painting.

After the destruction, Tzintzuntzan was fortunate in having the large Soledad chapel, which was offered by the townspeople, in their own interests, of course, to the priest to serve for all services until the reconstruction of La Parroquia could be completed. This has meant a doubling up of the ceremonial and religious activities formerly spread between the two buildings, with consequent confusion at times to the ethnologist in trying to determine which activities more properly belong to the community, and which fall within the realm of the Church itself. La Soledad has ceased to be merely a big chapel, a larger edition of San Francisco, reserved for specific functions and fiestas during the year, and has assumed the place of the parish church for *all* major religious activities. It is a building with a single tower, pleasing in appearance though less ornate than the parish church. The floor is wood, and the plaster walls show faded painted stencils. At the front is the high main altar on which is placed the *sagrario*, the chest-like ciborium in which is kept the *santísimo* (Holy Sacrament), the consecrated wafers for the Eucharist. Flanking it on both sides are smaller altars which are arranged in different fashions throughout the year for the various fiestas. Just in front of the left altar, hanging precariously to the wall, is the pulpit, and beneath it, a small harmonium which serves in the absence of an organ. Two long benches line each wall of the church, and each side likewise has its confessional booth, that on the right for women and that on the left for men.

Around the walls of the church, about 5 m. from the floor, are small pictures surmounted by a cross, and always hanging askew, of the Fourteen Stations. The roof is a wooden vault, from which hang several long light cords terminating in single, unprotected bulbs, a gesture in the direction of progress and the 20th century.

Fortunately La Soledad has to date escaped having her facade outlined with electric light bulbs, a fate which sooner or later seems inevitable for all churches with ambitious priests and parishioners. To the right of the altar a door communicates to another room, the sacristy, which is used for small functions such as baptisms, and through which the priest enters the church.

La Soledad, like all Mexican churches and chapels, contains a number of images and pictures of saints, the Virgin, and of Christ. Some of these belong especially to La Soledad and represent the accumulation of years, and others are the few that were salvaged from the burned parish church. Each has its appropriate place, the pictures hanging permanently but the images free to be moved for special religious observances. Those which figure particularly in religious rites may be pointed out.

On the right-hand wall near the front of the building is the towering construction known as the Monument to the Holy Sacrament. During Easter Week a small glass case with two images, Los Niños Cuates, the children Jesus and John, rests on this altar, and at other times it is decorated with flowers and candles. Except when removed for the Easter celebrations the Santo Entierro lies at the foot of this altar in a glass case known as the "urn." This most revered of all images of Christ is a 2-m. wooden figure, hands and feet pierced so that nails can be driven through to suspend it from the cross, and with blood painted streaming down its face from wounds beneath the crown of thorns.

According to tradition, just when La Soledad was completed a horse wandered into the atrium bearing the figure, its drivers having become lost. Not one to look a gift horse in the mouth, the priest placed the image in the newly completed chapel and asked no questions. Subsequently a commission arrived from Pátzcuaro to explain that the image had been destined for one of their churches, and credentials having been properly established, permission was granted for the removal. But when the Patzcuareños tried to lift it it became so heavy that they could not budge it. During subsequent years others tried to move the image, with the same results. But, curiously, the Tzintzuntzeños were able to carry it about in their processions with the greatest

of ease, all of which showed clearly that God had intended the image for Tzintzuntzan, and that it was divine will that guided the steps of the wandering animal.² Subsequently the Santo Entierro grew from its former moderate stature to its present large size, necessitating the remodeling of the urn with a glass extension at the foot to contain the feet. Even so, when at rest the image is cramped and the knees must be slightly bent.

Beyond the Santo is a life-sized figure of a woman, the Virgin known as La Purísima. Her brown hair falls over her blue robe, drawn in at the waist with a gold cord, covering a white satin dress. She stands on a blue wooden ball from which protrude the white heads of angels. Just to the right of the main altar is the Virgen de los Dolores, also called La Señora de los Dolores, a life-sized figure wearing a black dress trimmed in gold, with a white veil topped with a golden crown. La Virgen de la Soledad, the chapel's own Virgin, occupies an alcove directly above the main altar. She is dressed in the same way as the Virgen de los Dolores. To the left of the altar stands a life-sized image of San Francisco, clad in a brown robe with a white cord, a silver halo supported on a rod above his head. His arms are folded, and in the right hand is a crucifix and in the left a human skull.

The left-hand altar, facing the Monument to the Holy Sacrament, is occupied by a large painting 4 m. wide of Nuestro Señor del Rescate, in whose honor the major fiesta of the year is given. Christ stands handcuffed, naked to the waist. Mary Magdalene and the Virgin kneel in the left foreground, while Jews are seated in the right foreground. To the rear stand Pilate and several soldiers.

Farther back along the left wall, on a table, is a 60-cm. figure of San Ísidro, patron of farmers, clad in black knee boots, yellow pants, blue tunic and brown coat, his folded hands raised in supplication. He is accompanied by the "angel," a smaller figure clad in huaraches, blue pants, and red coat, which walks behind two brown and white painted wooden oxen which pull a crude plow.

² This story seems to be part of the folklore of Mexico. Rea (pp. 228-231) tells about a famous image of the Virgin in Zitácuaro that arrived on muleback at the church, destined for another town. But the mule could not be urged on, so the villagers knew that the Lord intended the image to stay at that place.

Finally, one on each side of the entry door, are two large crosses to which are permanently impaled life-size wooden figures, nude except for blue silk shorts held up with elastic waist bands. These are the images of the thieves crucified with Christ on Calvary, and are used in the Easter Week celebrations. That to the right of the door is San Dimas, and that to the left, San Gestas.

RELIGIOUS PERSONNEL

THE PRIEST AND HIS AIDES

In 1945 the resident priest was Father Eduardo Tovar, a Tarascan Indian of 65 years. He came shortly after the burning of the parish church in 1944, and immediately endeared himself to the people by announcing that he wanted to learn the customs of the town, and that he did not wish to interfere with any of the established fiestas or ceremonies. Unlike some Michoacán priests, including his immediate predecessor, he is not at all fanatical, and avoids politics in his sermons, contenting himself with simple lectures on the value of truth, honesty, the importance of the family, faithfulness to one's spouse, and the evils of drink. Likewise he announced that he would not support the *Sinarquista* school which the previous priest had maintained in the convent. The Government school, he said, was one of the finest in the State, its teachings were not communistic, and it was much better equipped to instruct the children of the town than any private institution.

Father Tovar lives in a part of the old convent, and has as housekeepers three nieces. The official family also includes a sacristan, a local boy of 22 selected by the priest after his arrival. Three lay councils function to safeguard and promote the interests and property of the Church. Each has its president, secretary, treasurer, and several *vocales*. The Junta Vecinal ("Neighborhood Council") is supposed to protect the interests of the Church, and to maintain relations with the State and Federal governments. The Junta Parroquial ("Parochial Council") was established after the religious persecutions of the late 1920's to reestablish the functions of the Church and to make sure the priest lacked neither food nor funds. The Junta de Obras Materiales ("Council of Material Works") was

established after the fire of 1944 to implement the reconstruction of the church and to oversee maintenance of Church property.

In addition to these individuals who are directly concerned with the functioning of the parish, there are other persons who function in a religious capacity, usually for a stated period of time. Most important are the *cargueros* who are charged with the care of specific images, or of chapels. They are appointed in different ways, to be explained in the appropriate section. Less formal in organization are the *rezanderos*, or prayermen, of whom there are about half a dozen. They are usually older men who have mastered the innumerable prayers and chants open to laymen, and who are temperamentally inclined toward passing a large part of their time in extraordinary religious affairs. They are hired by *cargueros* for specific tasks or periods, and follow their profession as long as they wish, or as long as their services are in demand.³

Finally, a great many persons, perhaps a majority of all adults and children, participate in religion, apart from the usual Masses, through membership in one or more of a number of special orders, each with special insignias and special obligations and functions. A week never goes by but that the members in some way are reminded of their responsibilities, and often for days on end they must take time off from their regular occupations to participate in processions, to *velar* ("keep vigil"), or otherwise to meet the minute requirements of their organization.

Church functions fall into several categories. Every day in the year, unless the priest is absent from town for a day or two, there is a 6 o'clock *misa rezada* (Low Mass), and on Sundays, as well as many special fiesta days, there is in addition a longer *misa cantada* with music (High Mass). Every day when the priest is in residence there is a 5 o'clock rosary, and on Thursdays and Sundays there is a *rosario solemne* which differs from the others in that the church is better illuminated with candles, and there is music. All of the regular Masses and rosaries are paid for by the priest, which is to say, the Church. Special Masses, such as those

for the dead, for weddings, and those connected with the veneration of certain saints and images of the Virgin, are paid for by the interested parties. In addition to these, the priest's normal duties include visits to neighboring settlements and houses in town to call on sick individuals and to administer the last rites. Likewise his days are filled with marriages, baptisms, first communions, and confessions. His nieces are charged with the indoctrination of the youth of the community, boys going to *doctrina* Monday evenings and girls Saturday afternoons.

Mass is, for any priest, fraught with distractions. The church is perhaps half full when it begins, and during the initial 30 minutes late-comers continually arrive, pushing their way forward between those who have already taken their stands, until the crowd is so great that at times there is scarcely room to kneel. Men occupy the left half of the building, kneeling with much scuffling at the appropriate intervals, and standing at ease during the rest of the time, some even sitting comfortably on the floor during the sermon. A few lucky early arrivals take seats on the two long benches which line the wall. Women kneel on the right side throughout the long service, except for a few *gente de razón* who may occupy the benches when kneeling for all is not in order. Babies and children are, of course, brought by their mothers, and though most are remarkably quiet and good, there are always a few who wander about, play, or cry, so that the good Father Tovar often has a hard time making his tired old voice audible above the din. The act of crossing oneself is a minor gymnastic exercise. Thumb and index finger of the right hand are placed together in the form of a cross, and in this position a small cross is described on the forehead, another over the mouth, another over the chest, and then with the hand a large cross is made from forehead to chest and from the left to the right shoulder, finally touching the mouth with the thumb. Often this process is repeated a second time. During Mass one has a stronger feeling of being in an Indian community than at any other time. This is because the ranches of La Vuelta and Ojo de Agua have no priests, and their inhabitants come to Tzintzuntzan for regular services. Hence, the church shows a far higher proportion of indigenous costume than one sees about town

³ Formerly the *cargueros* were expected to buy huaraches for the *rezanderos*, in addition to the small sums of money paid them.

on normal days. Indian men all wear the white pajamalike *calzones* and shirts, and the women the heavy red or black wool skirts, the *telares*, and brightly embroidered blouses and aprons. During Mass one has no doubts about the genuineness of the Indian heritage of Tzintzuntzan.

At noon each day the large bell strikes 12 times, and most individuals, wherever they may be, stop for a few minutes, some kneeling and others merely removing their hats. Formerly it was customary to kneel and chant prayers.

Unlike the activities just mentioned, those of the *cargueros* are to a considerable extent separated from the priest, though all are done with his knowledge and consent, and often with his participation. Frequently these activities are tied up with the fiestas which come at stated intervals throughout the year, in some cases forming their central theme. These fiestas are almost purely religious in motivation and content, and generally correspond to the universal Church observances of Lent, Holy Week, Corpus Christi, All Saints' Day, and the like. Others, particularly exemplified by that in honor of Nuestro Señor del Rescate, are unique to the town, and are strongly flavored with commercial and social elements. One might say in such cases that religion is the excuse to hold the fiesta, but after the requisite number of Masses has been attended, the real pleasure lies in the buying and selling, the games of chance, and the visiting with friends and relatives from other towns. Fiestas of this type, in that they are organized by the civil government rather than entirely by the Church, tend to blend with a few purely secular holidays such as the Mexican Independence Day and the anniversary of the founding of the *municipio* of Tzintzuntzan.

THE CARGUEROS

The term *mayordomía*, by which the phenomena about to be described are known in many parts of Mexico, is little used in Tzintzuntzan. In brief, the system involves the ceremonial sponsorship by a group of people of an image in the church, or of a church or chapel building itself, usually for a period of one year. Prayers must be said periodically, candles burned, Masses paid for, and meals given in honor of the venerated object. The most serious *cargueros* are those who assume the responsibility as

the result of a vow, a *manda*. An individual or a member of his family may be sick; he vows that if health is restored he will become a *carguero* for a year, accepting all attendant obligations and expenses. Though health is the most common reason for the vows, desire for success in some undertaking may also be a reason. Other *cargueros* assume the post for reasons of prestige, considering it a necessity if one is to become a respected member of the community. In all cases, some type of election formalizes the decision.

Any person who has been a *carguero*, whatever his reasons for having done so, automatically occupies a position of distinction in the community for the rest of his life. He can seat himself at the table at all fiestas, and even occupy the head. When he dies, his body will be placed in the church for mourning, free of the contribution which others must make. Conversely, any middle-aged man who has not been a *carguero* can never be a person of importance, or be highly respected by his fellow men. A person can be a *carguero* more than once, but subsequent times do not increase his status or prestige. Often a man who becomes a *carguero* names a young son, perhaps still just a baby, as the true official. The concept behind this practice is a little obscure, but it appears to be a means of spreading the honor over another member of the family. The boy receives a certain distinction, and the father loses none. But the son cannot carry the honor over into adult life, and must at some time on his own assume the responsibility. The father, who technically is not a *carguero* at all, receives all the honors and respect due one, as well as the rights to special privileges which go with having been a *carguero*. The obvious fact that the father has spent the money is recognized, and hence he is the respected person. The phenomenon of the *carguero* is probably the best example of "conspicuous display" of wealth which exists in Tzintzuntzan. The individual has to spend a great deal of money which does not directly clothe, feed, or shelter him, and for his self-sacrifice he is admired.

Women technically do not become *cargueros*. Nevertheless, though unmarried youths may occasionally assume the responsibility, most men need the active cooperation of their wives. In

every sense the assumption of a *cargo* is a family affair, and in popular thought both man and wife are considered to be *cargueros*, sharing equally in the work and the attendant prestige.

Most, though not all, *cargueros* belonging to a specific *mayordomía* have distinctive names. Possibly representing the former unity of the Church and State, these names applied to religious officials are those of Spanish civil officers.

During the last 40 years a number of *mayordomías* have either died out or been reduced in importance. The process began before the Mexican Revolution of 1910, probably due to the onerous time and money requirements. A further reduction occurred in the early 1940's as a result of the pressure of the priest preceding Father Tovar. *Cargueros* have not ceased to function overnight; there has been a gradual lessening in importance and activity and finally only a shell remains of the original form. *Cargueros* become simply *encargados* ("those in charge of"), with lessened duties, and presently they too cease to exist. At present in Tzintzuntzan there are five groups which actively function, although only four are of real importance. In addition there are several others which are either dying out or which are only a memory.

CARGUEROS DE LA JUDEA

These are the most important of surviving *cargueros*. The five men are the centurion (*centurión*, here corrupted to *cinturión*), *mayordomo*, captain (*capitán*), ensign (*alférez*), and sergeant (*sargento*). Vulgarly they are called *cargueros de habas* ("broadbean *cargueros*") because the *pozole* which they serve on the Fridays of Lent is made with broadbeans as a substitute for meat.

The chief obligations of these *cargueros* are fulfilled during Lent. All five carry a candle each Friday in the Via Crucis procession. The night of the second Friday the *mayordomo* offers the first of the *pozole* dinners, and on the succeeding Fridays the centurion, captain, ensign, and sergeant, in the order indicated, do likewise. On the sixth Friday the centurion names a youth who, in his stead, dresses in a white tunic which covers his head. The *mayordomo* and captain appoint two boys of about 8 years of age who dress as "Jews" and who, armed with machetes, serve as escorts to the mock centurion who is mounted on a white steed, escorted by the real

carguero. All four go to the church to attend the rosary, after which they fall in with the procession of the Via Crucis.

On Maundy Thursday the mock centurion attends the representation of the Last Supper and stands behind the table as the "apostles" eat, later accompanying them to the church for the sermon of the *lavatorio*. On Good Friday he follows the image of Christ around the atrium in the procession of the Three Falls and, as soon as the figure of Christ has been bolted to the cross, goes home to change his white clothing for black, and his white horse for a black steed. Returning to the church he stands near the foot of the cross until the wooden image is lowered, which he follows to its resting place in the center of the church where he seats himself, accompanied by four children dressed as angels, and where, with the other *cargueros*, he must keep vigil all night.

Next day all the *cargueros* make the rounds of the town, breakfasting in the house of the *mayordomo*, dining in the house of the centurion, and supping in the house of the captain. Between meals they are offered brandy in all homes which they visit. On the evening of Easter Sunday the election of new *cargueros* is held in the house of the outgoing centurion. In 1945 the fiesta which accompanies the election fell to the lot of José Medina, retiring centurion, and upon his invitation I attended the ceremony which proved to be lively and animated. Guillermo Morales went with me to explain the significance of each action.

Preparations begin early in the morning for the *pozole* and *atole*, which will be used to feed the crowds. About 3 o'clock the band of Pascual Corral, the school caretaker, begins to play, but the dancers are few and the fiesta is *muy triste*, very dull, until nightfall. Gradually more faces appear, and the tempo quickens. In one room, lighted by a burning *ocote* fagot placed on a piece of pot stuck into the adobe wall, the *atole* is boiling, and half a dozen women squat amidst the huge pots. In a corner an enormous copper cauldron is filled almost to the brim. An old woman with a long stick stirs continuously, from time to time taking a wooden ladle to taste it. With the eerie light of the burning pine, the fire, the sweat on her brow, it is a perfect scene of a witch preparing her brew. In another room the *pozole* is being cooked over open fires, while the band is crowded into the narrow space of the porch. About 9 o'clock the music stops and we all file through the door into the street. "We're going to get the judge,"

explains Guillermo. Civil authority is necessary to make religious elections legal. After stumbling through the dark streets, guided by the music, we presently arrive at the house of Mariano Cornelio, whose brother-in-law, Antonio, is judge. Our arrival apparently is not unexpected, for several dozen people are gathered on the porch and drinking already is under way. The band takes its place and strikes up a tune, and drinks are passed to the newcomers. Then the drum, *chirimía*, and *clarín*, a trumpetlike instrument on which a series of weird notes is sounded by inhaling,⁴ take the stage, and again the band plays, this time a *jarabe*, and men and women dance simultaneously, though not as partners. Formalities concluded, and Antonio properly urged to come, we return to José's house to find the banquet ready. A single oil lamp scarcely takes the edge off the darkness. Antonio seats himself at the head of the table, but delegates authority to speak for him to his assistant, Ernesto Reyes.

When all are seated José lays his lance and tablet, insignias of office, on the table in front of the judge. Then the *mayordomo* and captain do likewise. But all does not go smoothly. The retiring ensign has moved to Pátzcuaro several months earlier and failed to carry out his obligations, thereby losing the respect of all the villagers. Worse yet, he has carried off his cross, the insignia of office which must be passed on to the newly elected official. To make matters worse the sergeant has not shown up, apparently disgruntled for unknown reasons. Antonio, given an unexpected chance to show his authority, through his assistant insists that without these symbols there can be no election, it would be illegal. While all sit in perplexed silence José saves the day by producing two small wooden crosses from the family altar which will serve until the others can be regained.

Now, all is ready. "*Que entre el público,*" shouts the assistant, "let the public come in," and those who up until now have preferred to dance rather than join in the more serious deliberations crowd into the small room, drunken and noisy, but in good humor. Previously the women have crowded into one corner, and a couple of candles have been added to augment the thin light of the lamp. Antonio, Mariano, and the assistant confer in low tones. Then the assistant rises and shouts, "*¿Qué les parece a Bonifacio Morales como centurión?*" Cries of "*Está bien, bueno, bueno,*" show that the choice is satisfactory. Now a new cry is heard. "*Que venga la yosha, que venga la yosha* ("bring on the *yosha*"). The candidate, to put the seal on his new office, is expected to offer brandy, on this occasion only called *yosha*, to the assembled multitude.

Again a whispered consultation is followed by "*¿Qué les parece a Ezequiel Morales para mayor-*

domo?" but for some reason this fails to meet with the approval of the crowd, and cries of "No, no, no" are heard. "He is just a boy, he can't do it, we don't want him." I decide that Ezequiel, whom I do not know, must be a pretty unpopular fellow. Yet before the end of the election he is unanimously named sergeant. It would be a sign of servitude, to accept all propositions without disapproving at least one, to show that the "public" is the group that actually elects. "We want Bernardo Saldivar, we want Bernardo Saldivar," is the cry, and general approval results in his election. More *yosha* is called for and obtained, and in like fashion the remaining three *cargueros* are named. All five now stand before the judge who takes lance and tablet, kisses each, and hands them to the new centurion, who does likewise. The crosses are similarly treated and handed to the other four newlyelected men. This is the formal seal of acceptance; there is now no backing out. The assistant writes all names on a sheet of paper, the judge signs, and outside the drum, *chirimía*, and *clarín* are heard.

By election time all potential candidates are rather drunk. This is a more or less essential preliminary, because accepting a position as *carguero* means a severe financial strain, and not all persons are willing or able to do so. When drunk, a man's resistance is weakened, and carried away by the spirit of the occasion he will accept what, in a more sober moment, he might decide to put off until next year. José Reyes, the new ensign, is suddenly sobered by the realization of what has happened. Insistently he tries to renounce; he is the retiring captain, he has acquired all the honor possible, and he now finds himself saddled with a financial yoke he is not anxious to bear. Time after time he tries to put the cross back on the table, but his comrades refuse to let him. "What has been done has been done," philosophically remarks the judge, and poor José is in for another year of hard work and self-denial.

Now comes the *atole*, served in jars with a capacity of a liter or more, with several pieces of bread laid across the tops. When the seated men have had enough they pass what remains back to the waiters, also men, who, unless refilling is necessary, give the same jars to the seated women. Next comes the *pozole*, rich with pork, and far tastier than the flat broadbean *pozole* which has been the festive fare all through Lent. One eats with spoons made from palm leaves, the same instrument used long before Easter or Christianity was known to the Tarascans. After the important persons have been satisfied, the "public" is served, and the crowd files out of the stifling room to dance in the cool night air. More *yosha* is brought, and the animation and gaiety continue until nearly dawn, when the participants file home for a few hours' rest before the day's work. Nobody has been hurt, nobody has been seriously angered, the fiesta has been a great success, and José retires with the knowledge that he has lived up to his obligations and acquired a new stature which will follow him to the grave.

⁴ Ing. Robert Weitlaner of the National Museum of Mexico informs me that in the Río Balsas region of Guerrero he has seen, in use today, trumpets of cane and *sirian* tree gourd which are sounded in the same way. This suggests that the Tzintzuntzan instrument—at first glance derived from the European trumpet—may in fact be a modern adaptation of a pre-Conquest instrument.

CARGUEROS DE SAN FRANCISCO

The chapel of San Francisco is tended by eight *cargueros*, the chief of whom is the *mayordomo*, while the rest have no special names. Each one keeps the key to the chapel during 1 month of the year and goes daily to burn incense in the morning and afternoon. When he delivers the key to the next he offers a *pozole* to the other *cargueros*. Since there are only 8 men for 12 periods, the last 4 months are split into halves of 15 days each and all men repeat their obligation. The *cargueros* elect a *rezandero* who must pray in the chapel each Sunday afternoon and at the transfer of office at the end of the year. Saturday afternoons all eight men clean and decorate the chapel with flowers, preparatory to spending Sunday evening praying there. On the fourth day of each month they pay the priest about \$12 to say a special Mass. On October 4, the day of San Francisco, the *cargueros* participate in the celebration by serving a breakfast at which the priest is the guest of honor, and a dinner to which the *ex-cargueros* are invited. In the evening there is food and dancing in the home of the *mayordomo*. Following the fiesta the retiring *cargueros* decide on their successors, each one acting as an individual without consulting the others. Because of the relatively low expense of being a *carguero* of San Francisco it is usually not difficult to find a volunteer, but if a retiring *carguero* is unable to find a successor he must serve through another year.

In addition to the regular *cargueros* there is a junior auxiliary composed of several young children known also as *cargueros*. Four or five go to the chapel on each of the 9 nights before the day of San Francisco carrying trays of cooked squash, roasting ears, and other foods known as the offering of *parande* (T.).

Even very small children may be *cargueros*; when too young to walk they are carried by their parents.

CARGUEROS DE SAN ISIDRO

These six men, always Tarascans, are named in Ichupio. The chief is the *mayordomo*, the other five *acompañantes*. Each Saturday they decorate the table on which rests the image of San Isidro, and each Sunday they place and

light candles on it. As in the case of the *cargueros* of San Francisco they hire a *rezandero* to pray on Saturdays and at other gatherings. On the fifteenth day of every second month Mass is paid for by one of these men. The same evening he offers a *pozole* in his home. The principal ceremony of these *cargueros*, really little more than an elaborate Mass, is on the Day of San Isidro (May 15), patron saint of farmers. Some farmers, particularly Tarascans, bring maize and beans which are blessed to ensure good harvests. Later, breakfast is served to the priest in the patio between La Soledad and La Concepción, and in the afternoon the *mayordomo* offers a *pozole*, at which time new *cargueros* are elected. These men formally are installed on May 17 when the retiring *cargueros* signify the transfer of office by placing small sugar crowns decorated with doves and ribbons on their heads. On the *octava* of Corpus Christi the *cargueros* of San Isidro are expected to furnish some of the objects which are thrown to the crowd from the porch of the parish church.

CARGUEROS DE SAN MIGUEL

These *cargueros*, boys from 10 to 15 years of age, are elected in an undetermined manner on the first night of the *novena* of San Miguel. They pass each of the 9 nights *velando* and pay (more exactly, their fathers pay) for the Mass on the Day of San Miguel, September 29.

CARGUEROS DE LA SOLEDAD

Until recently the *cargueros* of La Soledad church were, because of heavy financial and material obligations, the most respected and important of all *cargueros*. In 1942 the priest abolished the posts, and their place was taken by eight *encargados* who have contented themselves with supervising the cleaning of the church and other limited activities. With the arrival of Father Tovar in 1944 clerical antagonism was removed, but the future fate of these *cargueros* is still in doubt. Since their activities were not observed the past tense is used in description.

The four *cargueros* were the *mayordomo*, deputy (*disputado*), scribe (*escribano*), and attorney (*fiscal*). They began their year of service on the second Sunday following the Resurrection, when the men and their wives knelt before

the image of the Santo Entierro while the white cloth used to lower it from the cross on Good Friday was placed on their shoulders as a token of transfer of office. The *rezandero* of the retiring *cargueros* gave the symbols of office to the newly elected men: a small wooden cross to the *mayordomo*, a small wooden image of the Santo Entierro to the deputy, a small bell to the scribe, and a framework of rods to be covered with flowers each Sunday to the attorney. In the evening the old and the new *cargueros* assembled in the house of the new *mayordomo* for the fiesta which the incoming men offered to those retiring. Then in turn they went to the houses of the deputy, scribe, and attorney where the same meal of *nacatamales* and brandy was repeated.

Each *carguero* was in charge of La Soledad for a month before passing his responsibilities to the next. Thus, each served three times during the year. The man in charge burned incense morning and afternoon in front of all images of saints in the church, and rang the bells of La Soledad Thursday afternoons to call the *cargueros* to clean the building. Friday evenings the *cargueros* and their wives gathered in La Soledad to sing praises, and each Sunday they decorated the church with flowers and carried a small image of the Santo Entierro to Mass in the parish church.

All four *cargueros* participated in most major town fiestas throughout the year. For Ascension Thursday each gave a small fiesta for which preparations began the preceding Tuesday night when all *cargueros* met in the house of the *mayordomo*. The gathering was known as the *contadera*, or counting of the money, because each man brought contributions to pay for the Mass, music, candle wax, and the salary of the *rezanderos*. To give it the proper legal atmosphere all contributions were taken to the home of the municipal judge to be counted and recorded. Later in the night the homes of the deputy, the scribe, and attorney were visited. Next morning the *cargueros* staggered through the streets, the fiscal carrying the wax on his shoulders and imitating the actions of a bull, while the others went through the pantomime of fighting him. In the late afternoon they arrive at La Soledad and, aided by their less intoxicated wives, decorated the church. An image of Nuestro Señor de la

Ascensión, adorned with walnut branches and covered with bananas, mangoes, oranges, and other fruits, was placed in the center of the church. By means of a rope tied to its neck it was lifted to the ceiling during Mass on Thursday morning to simulate the ascension of Christ. The same evening the fruits and other food with which the image was decorated were given away. Three weeks later, on Corpus Christi, the *cargueros* took the image of the Santo Entierro of La Soledad to the parish church for Mass, and in the late afternoon joined with the *cargueros* of San Isidro in the throwing of fruit, corn, wheat tortillas, and other foods from the porch of the parish church (pp. 216-217).

On November 1 the *cargueros* asked their friends and relatives for help in the preparation of a breakfast to be served on the morning of November 2, All Souls' Day. During the night, while friends and relatives worked with preparations, the *cargueros* visited each house in which a *carguero* or ex-*carguero* of La Soledad had died during the past year, where, after praying, they were offered *pozole* and other foods. Meanwhile a mock tomb was set up in the church and during the early morning hours the *cargueros* kept vigil,⁵ remaining until noon when the priest came to chant responses for the dead. In the forenoon a table was set up in the small patio between La Soledad and the chapel of La Concepción. Invited guests included all past *cargueros* of La Soledad, the current 12 *cargueros* of the chapel of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the municipal judge, and a few other old and respected men. Each *carguero* offered a cup of chocolate and 10 or 12 pieces of bread to each of the past *cargueros*, the chocolate and 5 or 6 pieces of bread to other guests, and to all a wooden tray on which a quarter of a kilo of sugar and 3 or 4 squares of chocolate were placed. This "breakfast" began about 3 o'clock in the afternoon and ended about 8 o'clock, after which everyone began to drink brandy.

On December 12 the *cargueros* of the chapel of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Ojo de Agua invited those of La Soledad to participate in their fiesta of this day. On December 16 a nude image of the Holy Child adorned with colored paper and wheat straw, and with a peach in one hand, was placed in the center of the church

⁵ I observed this custom in 1945 in the church at Janitzio, (See pp. 220-221.)

for the adoration of all who wished to come. After dark it was carried to a home in Ojo de Agua to be placed on a small altar, and after the rosary *pozole* was served. On Christmas Eve the *cargueros* again went to Ojo de Agua where, after the rosary, they ate *ponteduro* (toasted maize mixed with brown-sugar sirup) and then returned with the image to La Soledad. The procession was timed to arrive at La Soledad just at midnight, the presumed hour of birth of the Christ Child. After placing the image on the altar the *misa de gallo* or Mass of the Cock followed, and then *atole* and *buñuelos* were served in the small atrium between the two chapels.

A particularly onerous obligation of the *cargueros* was connected with the carnival. Shortly before midnight on Thursday following the Rescate fiesta they went to the municipal judge's home where their contributions were counted and certified. During the preceding days each *carguero* had brought or purchased quantities of fruits from the *tierra caliente*, and on Friday a procession was formed to visit each home to collect this produce and carry it to the church. The attorney, who was required to furnish two *arrobas* of wax, again played the part of a bull, baited by the others. Each *carguero* arranged a section of the church, making a fence of sugarcane and placing the fruit behind it. On Saturday High Mass in honor of the Santo Entierro was paid for by the *cargueros*, and on the next day breakfast was served to the judge and *cargueros* of Guadalupe, during which the band played, especially a number called *El Toro* ("The Bull"). The significance of the symbolism of the bull in these activities is unclear. On Ash Wednesday the *cargueros* gave away the fruit and sugarcane which first were blessed by the priest.

Activities during Easter week were particularly important. On Maundy Thursday the *cargueros* removed the Santo Entierro from its usual resting place in the glass "urn" and placed it on a table covered with a white cloth. Friday afternoon they cooperated with the ex-*cargueros* in placing the image on the cross and Saturday morning they removed it, after which all went to the *pinole* fiesta.

This *pinole* fiesta apparently was very picturesque. Great quantities of red maize, brown sugar, cinnamon, anise, cocoa beans, and *achiote*

(*Bixa orellana*) were assembled in the houses of each of the *cargueros*, a row of metates was set up around the patio, and girls were asked to come to grind maize. The first metate of the line was occupied by a widow, known as the *chapáquata* (T.), who supervised the girls, who were known as *pinoleras*. She ceremonially passed all maize over her metate, broke it slightly, and passed it on to the girls. The last girl of the line, the *extrema*, in addition to mixing the ingredients as they came to her, served soft drinks to the other girls. In one corner of the patio a band played "so that the grinders would not tire." After grinding most of the *nixtamal* the girls joined the men and the band for a parade around town, leaving only a few married women to grind the *huérfano* ("orphan"), so-called because it was said that, since the girls, the music, and the rockets had left, the *pinole* was now an orphan. The *pinole* was eaten on Sábado de Gloria, the day after Good Friday. Until recent years the deputy had the additional obligation of providing food for the representation of the Last Supper, which at that time represented a real banquet and not just the symbolic wafers of today.

On Sunday after Easter new *cargueros* were elected informally by the retiring ones.

CARGUEROS DE LA CAPILLA DE GUADALUPE

The *cargueros* of the Chapel of Guadalupe in Ojo de Agua, like those of La Soledad, have undergone recent changes in functions and numbers. Today there are 12, 3 of whom, including the *mayordomo*, are from Ojo de Agua, and the remainder from Tzintzuntzan. Their function is described in connection with the fiesta of December 12. Formerly there were but three *cargueros*, the *carguero* of San Bartolo, the *carguero* of La Magdalena, and the *carguero* of San Pablo, names which correspond to three of the ancient *barrios*. Individuals asked for the responsibility when they had to fulfill a *manda*, or vow. Each Saturday they swept the chapel and on Sundays they arranged flowers within and said the rosary. Each kept the door key during 1 month and delivered it on the 12th day to the succeeding guardian. New *cargueros* took office on December 12, following the fiesta. This system of three *cargueros* was abandoned in the early 1940's in favor of the present organization

of 12 *cargueros*, each with less financial responsibility than formerly.

OTHER CARGUEROS

A series of now defunct *mayordomías* existed until the first years of the 20th century. They were closely integrated with the ceremonial survival of the *kenguería* or hospital of Don Vaseo de Quiroga, in which many of their functions took place. After the hospital ceased to function as a haven for the sick and aged, the ceremonials and rituals which apparently were connected with it continued for many generations. The unit of hospital buildings today consists of the unused chapel of La Concepción and the *kenguería* itself, which is composed of a large meeting room in which images of saints formerly were kept, and another large room known as the *güataperá*, which served as kitchen. *Mayordomías* associated with the *kenguería* were formed by the following *cargueros*:

Cargueros de la kenguería.

Cargueros mandones.

Capitanes de Nuestra Señora del Rosario.

Capitanes de los barrios.

Cargueros de la cruz.

The *cargueros* of the *kenguería* were the *mayordomo*, steward (*prioste*), and scribe (*escribano*). Either the first or second of these — informants are not quite sure — was required to live in the *kenguería* during his term of office. All *cargueros*, except those of the cross, were elected on the day of San Andrés, November 30, during a great communal fiesta. The precise mode of naming is uncertain except in the case of the *cargueros* of the *kenguería* itself, who were named by the *mandones*. During this fiesta the *cargadoras*, the *sahumador*, and the *campañita* were named. The first were women who were charged with carrying the image of the Virgin in Church processions. The last two were young girls, the first of whom carried burning copal during such processions, and the second of whom went at the head of the lines ringing a small bell.

The principal fiesta of the *cargueros* of the *kenguería* came on December 8, the day of *La Purísima Concepción de María Santísima*, principal patron of the Americas according to Catholic dogma. Great quantities of *atole*, *pozole*, and brandy were served in the *kenguería*, and as

many as five bands are said to have come for the music competition which is, even today, so characteristic of the Tarasean area. On February 2 there was a fiesta in honor of the Virgin of the Candelaria. After the participants were somewhat drunk the wife of the steward painted the faces and fingernails of those seated at the table a bright red, and many, realizing what had happened, are said to have fled in embarrassment to their homes. The purpose of this custom was, apparently, temperance, to make use of ridicule to prevent extreme intoxication and to remind the participants that there were limits beyond which they ought not go.

The captains of the *barrios* represented a survival from the earliest days of town organization. As has been pointed out (p. 25), the original scattered *barrios* were drawn together into a more compact village form, and for many years Tzintzuntzan was organized on the basis of 10 such units. Each *barrio* had a *cabeza*, or head, who held office during his life and often passed it on to his children. In his house there was an image of Christ and an image of the particular saint after whom the *barrio* took its name. In addition, each *barrio* had a captain, one of the *cargueros*, who held office for 1 year only. They joined the other *cargueros* of the *kenguería* complex in the prayer known as the *kénikua* held each Saturday morning about 3 o'clock. The *prioste* called all to assemble by tolling a bell, and each person came bearing flowers in a wooden tray. After lighting candles and praying in front of the images of the *kenguería*, just at dawn all left the building and carried the images in a procession around the atrium. Among those remembered from later years were San Francisco, San Nicolás, San Juan, the Virgin of the Rosario, and the Virgin of La Purísima. It was believed that if a *carguero* failed in this duty he would have to return after death to join the processions.

The captains also took an active part in the fiestas of December 8 and of the Candelaria on February 2. On the former date each organized a procession through his *barrio* in which a reed mat covered with a cloth and supporting a clay dish was carried to all houses in turn by parad-ers who wore crowns of bread. Everyone was expected to contribute a half *real*.

Heads of *barrios* had fewer obligations,

though they are said to have been charged with the responsibility of distributing palm fronds on Palm Sunday. Natividad remembers that in her childhood, about 1910–15, the following *barrios* still functioned for ceremonial purposes: San Pedro, San Pablo, San Bartolo, San Juan, Santa Ana, San Miguel, and La Magdalena. The small image of San Miguel with the sword, now in La Soledad, belonged to the *barrio* of this name.

There were six *cargueros mandones*, two each from the *barrios* of San Bartolo, San Pablo, and La Magdalena. Two of them offered a *pozole* on Saturday of the carnival, two on the Saturday before Easter, and two on the Day of the Cross, May 3. On Tuesday of the carnival they brought five or six dozen chickens, which were hung from the beams of their houses, and a peregrination was organized to begin in the *barrio* of San Bartolo and pass through all other *barrios*. Music was provided and the oldest and most esteemed men of the town were invited. Each danced under the suspended chickens and finally touched one which he received as a prize. These *cargueros* paid for the pyrotechnic tower and provided *pozole*, *atole*, and brandy for the fiesta of San Francisco on October 4. In addition, they took an active part in the naming of the *cargueros* of the *kenguería* complex.

There were three *cargueros* of Our Lady of the Rosary, the *mayordomo*, captain (*capitán*), and attorney (*fiscal*). Like the *barrio* captains, they took part in the *kénikua* each Saturday morning. For Corpus Christi Day the captain selected a girl between 7 and 10 years of age who, wearing a crown of blossoms, danced with two musicians, one with a violin, the other with a guitar, and both with a small bell tied to their waists. These *cargueros* ceased to function about the time of the Revolution of 1910.

The three *cargueros* of the cross were the captain (*capitán*), ensign (*alférez*), and sergeant (*sargento*). They helped the *cargueros* of Our Lady of the Rosary with the fiesta of Corpus Christi. The captain provided a *pozole* on the first day, the ensign on the second, and the sergeant on the third. They also provided music for the fiesta and played practical jokes, grabbing hats and serapes of all passers-by and, by means of pantomime and burlesque, trying to embarrass all the women. During Lent each

carguero selected a Friday and offered a *pozole*. Unlike the other *cargueros* of the *kenguería* complex, these were appointed during the fiesta in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

In a general way the organization of the *kenguería* with its associated *cargueros*, as contrasted to outside *cargueros*, corresponds to the Cherán *cabildo* described by Beals (1946, pp. 131–136). Nevertheless, the organizations of the two groups are quite different in many respects, so that it is perhaps more proper to suggest that both may have developed from a common source along distinct lines. One of the most important distinctions is that in Cherán each *mayordomía* is represented by one *carguero* only, while in Tzintzuntzan there are at least three, and often more.

THE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS

Membership in the various associations differs from being a *carguero*, in that one belongs for a long period of time, usually life, and in that the monetary aspects are secondary in importance. Likewise, most of these orders require relatively little time as compared to the heavy obligations of the *cargueros*. Also, the prestige angle is of little or no importance. I believe that all of the orders of Tzintzuntzan extant in 1945 are given. No list is permanent, however, since some associations tend to die out when the members lose interest and others spring up to take their place. Apparently the arrival of a new priest, with special orders dear to his heart, is the signal for a shifting in the organization which has prevailed under the preceding priest.

THE THIRD ORDER OF SAN FRANCISCO

(*La Tercera Orden de San Francisco*)

The purpose of the Third Order of San Francisco is to allow men and women who do not have time or inclination to become either friars or nuns to enter actively into the religious life of the Franciscan Order. According to the local church archives the Third Order was founded in Tzintzuntzan by Fray Juan de Guevara, presumably in the early days of Franciscan influence, though the date is not given. The weathered adobe facade of the Church of the Third Order is all that remains of its former importance. Apparently when the Franciscans ceased to

furnish the local priest and the church came directly under the jurisdiction of the secular clergy, probably during the mid-17th century, the Third Order was abolished. In view of the antagonism between the regular Church and the religious orders of that time it is not surprising that the new priests did not encourage interest in other than secular organizations. It was not reestablished until 1937, when two Franciscan priests came from Salvatierra and remained for 9 days. Since that time the order has grown, and now includes a great many members of both sexes. The order is divided into two sections, one for men and the other for women, each with its president, treasurer, and secretary.

The principles of the order are summed up in the words Faith, Hope, and Charity: faith in God, hope that one will be saved from the Devil, and charity toward fellow men. All persons who wish to join the order must pass through two preliminary stages, apostolate and novitiate, before becoming full professing members.

THE PERPETUAL CANDLE

(La Vela Perpetua)

La Vela Perpetua, or the Eternal Candle, is an organization embracing almost all men and women of the town. The women are organized formally into 31 groups, each with a chief known as the *cabeza del día* or head of the day. Each group is charged with furnishing and lighting candles during the rosary for the day of the month which falls in its charge. Each member pays \$0.06 monthly to her chief, who turns over the proceeds to the priest. Men are charged with bringing candles and contributing \$0.25 on each of the "Three Thursdays," Maundy Thursday, Ascension Thursday, and Corpus Christi. Unlike the Third Order, joining is simple. One asks the priest to put one's name on the rolls, and in return he issues a membership card. Children as young as 7 or 8 often join. Women are allowed to join the group of any chief whom they like. Thus some groups are very large, while others with an unpopular chief are small. Natividad Peña first belonged to the group of the 19th day of the month, of which her baptismal godmother was chief. When the old lady died, the chieftainship passed to her grand-

daughter, whom Nati felt neglected the day so that in disgust she deserted and joined the group corresponding to the 15th day of the month. This inheritance of chieftainship is one of the few forms of intangible property rights known in Tzintzuntzan. When a member is dying, the priest calls her companions of the same day to the church to recite the prayer known as the *hermandad*, which consists of the rosary and the Trisagion.

THE SOCIETY OF OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE

(La Sociedad de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe)

The Society of Our Lady of Guadalupe is composed of married and unmarried women whose principal duty is to pay for the Mass said on the 12th day of each month in the chapel of Guadalupe in Ojo de Agua, and to decorate the altars with flowers and to clean the floor of the chapel. They wear a tricolor sash over their shoulders, red, white, and green, during processions around the atrium and within the church.

THE APOSTOLIC SOCIETY OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS

(La Asociación Apostolada del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús)

Individuals of both sexes and of all ages may be apostolates of the Heart of Jesus. They must confess the first Friday of each month, at which time they contribute alms of \$0.02. The society is divided into groups of from 5 to 10 persons, headed by a *selador* who collects the alms to give to the priest. The contribution is supposed to go in its entirety to Morelia. Members of this organization have as a distinguishing insignia a bright crimson sash worn over their shoulders. For major fiestas, they also carry a banner with a picture of Christ and with the wording "*Apostolado de la Oración*" followed by "Tzintzuntzan, Junio, 1924" presumably representing the date of the founding of the society. Small girl members go to each rosary during May and June. They are dressed in white and during the first month wear a blue sash, symbolic of the Virgin Mary, and during the second month a red sash symbolic of the Sacred Bleeding Heart of Jesus.

MINOR SOCIETIES

Daughters of Mary (*Hijas de María*).—The Daughters of Mary is a society made up of unmarried girls. Its function is vague, though during Church processions its members wear blue sashes over their shoulders and carry lighted candles.

Catholic Action (*Acción Católica*).—This society is composed of girls of marriageable age. It was recently founded by Father Tovar and has as its purpose the propagation of the Catholic faith. Like all other Church organizations, it has its president, secretary, and treasurer.

The Catechists (*Las Catequistas*).—This is a small society for teen-age girls directed by the priest and led by his two youngest nieces. The purpose of the members is to teach the Catholic doctrine to children of less than 7 years of age.

Propagation of the Faith (*Propagación de la Fe*).—This society for men has as its purpose the propagation of the Catholic faith. It appears to be moribund.

The Cord of San Francisco (*La Cuerda de San Francisco*).—This is an organization for small children. Their fathers have certain financial and ceremonial obligations which are determined by the priest.

The Tuesdays of San Antonio (*Los Martes de San Antonio*).—This was a society for women. It ceased to exist when the image of San Antonio de los Martes was destroyed with the parish church. Members went each Tuesday, lighting candles in front of the image of San Antonio, and asking for anything they desired, not infrequently a sweetheart.

THE CEREMONIAL YEAR

The people of Tzintzuntzan, like those of all other Mexican towns, organize and participate in a series of fiestas and observances. In some of these, such as that of the Rescate, the religious elements find strong competition from the commercial, and for some people may be subordinate. In others, such as the activities of Easter Week, the religious theme, though intertwined with social and recreational motives, clearly is dominant. Some of the observances involve few people, and produce no significant slackening in the pace of work, while others are the excuse for a week or more of "vacation"

for everyone in the community. Except for the observances of Independence Day and the anniversary of the founding of the Municipio of Tzintzuntzan, already described, all have sufficient Church background so that they are best discussed as a part of the total religious picture.

EPIPHANY (JANUARY 6)

(*Día de los Santos Reyes*)

Observances of the New Year are lacking in Tzintzuntzan, so the first event of the ceremonial calendar is the dramatization of the visit of the Three Kings to the Christ Child. This rite takes the place of Christmas festivities, which are almost entirely absent. In the afternoon a procession winds its way through the village, led by a 14-year old girl on horseback, clad in white and carrying a staff with a white paper star. On foot follow three choir boys in black, and then three mounted youths, dressed to represent kings, with false whiskers, colorful robes, and oriental turbans. Finally come a dozen young girls dressed as *güares*, wearing traditional Tarascan costume.

Father Tovar is on hand to see the procession off. "Regional dancing," he explains to us, and then to the sacristan, "Go now and pass by every corner in the town. I must go to visit a sick person." The procession lasts about an hour, periodically stopping for the girls to dance. Perhaps 200 spectators follow behind.

CANDLEMAS (FEBRUARY 2)

(*La Candelaria*)

Formerly in the *güatapera* there was a fiesta. Now there is nothing except the Mass at which candles are blessed, to be used when a person is dying.

FIESTA OF NUESTRO SEÑOR DEL RESCATE

Every Mexican village which has any claim to size or importance has one fiesta which is larger and more interesting than those of the remainder of the year. Ordinarily it is the patron saint who is so honored. Although Tzintzuntzan has a fiesta for the patron, San Francisco, it deviates from the usual pattern in that the big celebration of the year is in honor of a painting of Christ, known as *Nuestro Señor*

del Rescate ("Our Lord of the Redemption"). It is distinguished from all other local fiestas, and its importance indicated, by the fact that only it is referred to as *la función*, "the function," with the accent on "the." According to tradition the fiesta is relatively recent, having begun shortly after the turn of the present century. During a particularly virulent period of smallpox the sacristan, Guadalupe Estrada, was looking through a storeroom in the old convent when he stumbled upon the dust-covered picture. Guadalupe admired it and made a vow to make a small fiesta in its honor if the townspeople were saved from the epidemic. Shortly thereafter the intensity of the disease began to wane and presently the village was free from the scourge.⁶

With some difficulty Guadalupe persuaded the priest, Padre Mariano Vargas, that the Rescate painting was responsible for the miracle, and that a fiesta should be offered in its honor. Boxes for contributions were distributed among interested persons of neighboring villages, the church was decorated, and a small fiesta was held. The second year more boxes were distributed, programs were printed, and the fiesta enjoyed increased attendance. By the fourth year it had begun to achieve considerable fame, as the powers of the Rescate were recognized. Priests from other places were invited, while the local priest, seeing a potential source of income of great value, paid for the first *castillo*, or fireworks pole, the surest way in rural Mexico to draw a good crowd to a fiesta. Thus, little by little the fiesta took its place as one of the most important of the State, sharing honors with that of Pátzcuaro on December 8, and that of the now lava-buried town of San Juan Parangaricutiro on September 14. With the persecution of the Church in the late 1920's and the hiding of the priest, the fiesta took on a more commercial cast which remains to this day. Now, the municipal government handles most of the details, while the priest limits himself to purely Church affairs. Likewise, for most visitors, the entertainment and commerce are of more interest than the religious aspects, though during most of the days involved the church is well filled and many come to crawl on their knees

through the churchyard in payment of a vow.

The manner in which the date of the fiesta was decided is uncertain. It is a "movable date," falling during the week preceding the beginning of Lent, with Tuesday 8 days before Ash Wednesday as the most important day. When viewed from the wider perspective of Catholic festive functions it is seen that it takes the place of the Carnival which formerly was observed in Tzintzuntzan, but which has gradually been abandoned.

Communal and individual plans for the fiesta begin a month or more in advance. Family budgets, for once, are carefully studied, and it is decided how much money can be spent on new clothing and other finery. Potters plan their production so that they will have a great surplus for sale, and fishermen put their nets and equipment in top condition in the hope that good luck will greet their efforts during the few days immediately preceding the fiesta. The municipal president calls a meeting of his fellow officers and other important men of the community, as well as the officers of the Indigenous Community, to plan the number of days the fiesta will last, what will be the order of entertainment, how many bands shall be hired, and what the total cost will be. Temporary licenses granted to outside merchants take care of most expenses except that of the music, which occupies a peculiar position of importance in all of the Tarascan area. Here, rivalry between towns is evidenced in the desire to have a bigger and more famous band than any other village or, lacking a good local band, in hiring for one's fiesta the finest music available. Some of the sierra towns are said to have four or more bands at a single fiesta, all competing for popular acclaim, and the band which comes away victorious can charge a correspondingly higher fee for its next engagement. For the Rescate fiesta of 1945, the band of Pascual, caretaker of the school, was quickly eliminated. Probably no musicians ever practiced more diligently or made less progress than these men, and never during the course of our many months of study were they asked to play in another town, until the final month, when their surprise was equaled only by that of the townspeople.

Following custom, it was decided that the officers of the Indigenous Community would

⁶ The painting properly is an *Ecce Homo*. Apparently it has been called *Rescate* ("Redemption") only since the time of the smallpox epidemic.

levy a tax upon all family heads to finance one band, while the municipal president, aided by 40 friends, would hire the other. \$2.50 was assessed per head by the first group, while the second paid \$9 per person. Two commissions were named to make the contracts; that of the town council quickly settled with near-by Ihuatizio for \$410 for 4 days, while the members of the Indigenous Community, after considerable trouble, obtained a contract with the band of Nocosepu, on the west side of the lake. Negotiations sometimes last for several days. Bands in the sierra enjoy the most fame, and if prices are not too high an attempt is made to get one or both from there. While in Tzintzuntzan both compete, not only to establish their fame but also to enhance the reputation of the contractors on the part of the town council or the Indigenous Community. The negotiations with Nocosepu form an interesting case history:

A commission of four men, equipped with ample brandy, was sent to talk with the leader. He was reluctant to sign a contract, since his 17 musicians were three short of full strength. Shortly before, the three had temporarily deserted just at a time when they were contracted to play at another town. In a rage, the leader had them jailed in Pátzcuaro for breach of contract, as a result of which they refused ever to play again. The time was short until the Tzintzuntzan fiesta, and there would be no time to train new musicians. Suggestions were made to look for substitutes in other towns, but until 11 o'clock at night (negotiations had begun at 4 in the afternoon), no real progress was made, except in the direction of inebriation on the part of all. Finally the commission decided to make one last appeal before going to another town, and, the difficulties seeming less under the influence of alcohol, the director asked for \$700. Little by little this astronomical sum was whittled to the final contract of \$425, at which time the local judge was called to draw up a written contract, and to note payment of a \$25 deposit. The judge warned the director not to sign, reminding him that his band was below full strength, and that not only would his reputation suffer but also that of the town itself. Nevertheless, negotiations were completed to the satisfaction of the interested parties.

Several weeks before the fiesta an elaborate program was drawn up by the town council, printed in Morelia, and posted throughout a large part of the State. The announcement was, to a large extent, window dressing, and many of the events were included simply to make the program sound more attractive, with no intention of carrying them out. Likewise, composition of

the program gave members of the town council their only real opportunity at creative literary endeavor. The announcement for 1945, in translation, reads as follows:

GRAND ANNUAL FAIR

Which will be held in the first and historic city of Tzintzuntzan, Michoacán, during the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th days of next February, 1945.

TO THOSE WHO COME TO THIS FAIR:

This place, which in past times was the home of the Tarascan kings, takes great pride in seeing itself saluted by all the descendants of that noble blood, which even today circulates in the veins of many of the people of this state, for this fiesta is a way of paying homage to those who truly bequeathed to us this blessed land of Michoacán. And it is just that all those of us who are descended from that nobility, year after year, gather together to record gratefully those things, and because of these reasons this historic corner feels extremely proud.

Therefore, the municipal authorities of this place cordially invite you with all sincerity to honor us with your presence at this Fair which takes place on the days indicated.

You will have all legal personal guarantees on the part of civil and military authorities both within and without the town.

The following program will take place:

February 4. Meeting of the musical bands which will play throughout the fiesta.

February 5. Cock fights and horse races.

February 6. In the morning a magnificent parade through the principal streets of this historic pueblo, followed by sports; in the evening a great confetti battle, fireworks, and an outstanding serenade.

February 7 and 8. Grand *jaripeo* (bull-baiting) by the horsemen of this place, assisted by the musicians.

February 8. In the evening, to end this great fair, there will be a brilliant *kermés*.

TZINTZUNTZAN, MICH., JANUARY 8, 1945.

As will be seen in the detailed account of the fiesta, the excitement was somewhat less than announced.

In the days immediately preceding the fiesta, the chief occupation of town officials was that of assigning plaza places for merchants. Townspeople, by virtue of their contributions for music, were exempt, but all outsiders paid a plaza tax. Padre Tovar refused to countenance commercial stands in the ample atrium of the church, except for religious objects, to the great consternation of many merchants, who felt that was the most profitable place. Since various

members of the town council sold plaza licenses, it is hard to tell how much money was actually collected. Tax records show that \$451.10 finally found its way to the books, of which \$283.50 came from small stands selling fish, belts, serapes, food, and so forth, while \$167.60 came from the larger establishments—\$15 each for the merry-go-round and largest bingo stands, and from \$1 to \$5 for moderate-sized stands, including the folding tables of gamblers. Gambling is illegal, though condoned, and gamblers' fees are found on the books side by side with those of the sellers of religious items. The following description is a chronological account of the fiesta, recorded at the time in diary form.

Friday, February 2. The first outsiders begin to arrive and stands to go up, though the official opening of the fiesta is more than 48 hours away. Streets are swept for the last time, and men doing their *faena*, or obligatory work, are clearing grass away from the main thoroughfares.

Saturday, February 3. The activities of yesterday continue with increased tempo. Tables and boards are carried from houses to stands, tents go up, and trucks of equipment and merchandise arrive. Most local women are at home preparing *atole*, *pozole*, tamales, and other foods. Each family expects many visitors, and food must be awaiting their arrival. The *cargueros* and members of Church organizations consult with Padre Tovar about the decoration of the church, and particularly the arrangement of the picture of Rescate. This is the first fiesta since the burning of the parish church last year, and everyone feels slightly ill-at-ease. Some pessimists doubt the success of the fiesta, but are forced to admit that activities are up to normal.

Sunday, February 4. This is the first day of the fiesta proper. From noon on it is possible to eat a wide variety of foods in the outdoor stands, the merry-go-round is running, bingo and other gambling games are going full swing, and animation is great. At Mass Padre Tovar speaks briefly of the fiesta, warning people of the dangers of drink, and urging them to stay away from the *cantinas* and centers of vice. A rosary for Monday afternoon and a great Mass on Tuesday morning are announced, and all members of religious orders are admonished to bring candles. In the afternoon there is great consternation among all authorities—neither of the bands has arrived at the 4 o'clock hour stipulated in the contracts. According to custom, the municipal officials followed by townspeople are to go to the edge of town to meet the bands, and to escort them to the plaza. Tonight the Ihuatzio musicians arrive quietly at 8:30, stepping off a truck at the plaza itself, while the members from Nocosepu straggle in separately around 9 o'clock. Indignation is great, and there is talk of sending them all to jail for breach of contract. Finally, the "magnificent meeting" takes place in the form

of a march around the plaza, one band stationing itself in the kiosk, and the other under the *portales* of a store, to play alternately for most of the night. From now on musicians will receive little sleep and much drink. \$50 has been allocated for brandy for Ihuatzio, and \$30 for Nocosepu. And, in spite of the priest's wise warning, the *cantinas* are well filled and the *tragadieces* ("swallow dimes," i. e., juke boxes) are blaring forth their refrains. Prostitutes from Pátzcuaro and Zacapu have rented quarters just off the plaza.

Monday, February 5. At 3 o'clock in the morning the two bands, accompanied by the president and town council, and various *cargueros*, go through the streets to Ojo de Agua where they are greeted by the family heads, who offer them a *pozole* with much brandy. The powder for rockets has been purchased by the families of Ojo de Agua, and after this early breakfast it is carried to the town hall, each band with its followers making many detours through the streets. Here the powder, in the presence of all, is divided, and half sent with one band to the priest, for Church uses, and half remaining in the town hall, for civil use. During the day it will be made into the rockets which are indispensable in any fiesta.

In the morning the red, white, and green crepe paper decorations are cut in patterns and stretched across the streets, and over doors and windows. Business is brisk and the streets are crowded. Jesús Peña, recently returned after 6 months as a *bracero* in the United States, is cashing in on a new wrinkle he has picked up—the pay toilet, and a \$0.05 latrine has been partitioned off in his patio. Unfortunately, to most visitors this seems to be a needless expense, and already one must watch one's step, even in the plaza itself. It is not chance that the end of the fiesta sees the greatest outbreak of illness of the entire year. The sellers of religious items are doing well in the atrium, and the first penitents have arrived. In time of need, danger, or illness one may vow to the Rescate that, if saved, one will crawl on knees the 200 m. from the atrium entrance to the church and the altar with the picture, carrying a lighted candle. All day today these individuals could be observed, supported at each elbow by a helper, while other helpers place serapes in the path to lessen bruising from rocks and gravel. This form of flagellation seems limited to women, as contrasted to the male flagellation of Good Friday, in which only men take part.

Two hawkers of religious music are hard at work selling their wares—printed songs about the history of the Virgin of Guadalupe and "Las Nuevas Mañanitas al Señor del Rescate." One plays a guitar, both sing. Both songs are interrupted after each verse for the commercial. "The Virgin of Guadalupe for only \$0.10; here you can get it." The "Mañanitas" brings \$0.20. More verses and commercials, but sales go poorly. "We are from the Archbishop of Morelia (all hats are tipped). His Holiness wants you to know that he is coming tomorrow afternoon at 3 o'clock, and that each of you should have a copy so that you can sing. The Mañanitas, only \$0.20 each." The

threat of the coming of the archbishop is powerful, and sales boom, even though most buyers are illiterate. The singing and selling continue, and at each mention of "Nuestro Señor" hats are respectfully tipped.

In response to Zeferino's plea to the governor in Morelia, an army lieutenant and four policemen arrive from Pátzcuaro to keep order. Zeferino's consternation is great when he is billed \$12 taxi fare for their transportation. Consternation is even greater when one of the police is recognized as a former resident who fled town because of robbery and murder. In a hurried secret conference several trusted townsmen are detailed as auxiliary police, ostensibly to help the new guard, but in reality to keep an eye on *el tostón*, the nickname of the feared policeman. Thirteen men are arrested for drunkenness, fighting, and quarreling. The operators of gambling games are highly indignant at Zeferino when the newly arrived lieutenant refuses to reverse the order of the general (p. 187) prohibiting their gaming. In the evening, both bands play in fierce competition until midnight.

Today, likewise, the *coronitas*, offering boxes and tin crowns, were brought from surrounding pueblos. There are said to be nearly 300, some from as far as Tacámbaro, Zacapu, and Tingambato. Each remains in charge of a single family in these towns, and is passed on from generation to generation, the right to guard them being renewed each year by permission of the Tzintzuntzan priest. In the evening the guardians gather in Ojo de Agua, and again the bands make the pilgrimage to escort them to the atrium, where the contents are delivered to the priest.

Twelve arrests are recorded, including two prostitutes who violated the rules and solicited in the streets.

Tuesday, February 6. This is the actual day of the fiesta itself, and in every way the most exciting. Before dawn both bands go to the church to salute the Rescate—exactly as one does for a friend or relative on his birthday or saint's day—with "Las Mañanitas." Early Mass is followed by an exhausting High Mass, and in the afternoon there is a solemn rosary. The relationship of *compadres de la corona* (p. 263) is formed on this day, and during relatively free periods the new godparents make the trip down the aisle with their godchildren, while the *rezandero* holds a small crown over the child's head and mumbles the Pater Noster, three Ave Mariás, and a Gloria, terminated with the placing of \$0.12—a carryover of the old *real*—in the collection plate. Women penitents crawl to the church, and many other persons of both sexes kneel before the painting with lighted candles. A constant procession of trucks and busses brings in the crowds. Ospina and I, guessing independently, arrive at an estimate of 10,000 persons including townspeople.

A ring for cock fights has been set up, and the sport continues from 11 until 6 o'clock in the afternoon, well attended, and with high stakes. Bingo continues to be the biggest attraction, and fascinated players drop their grains of corn on the dog-eared

cards, the lucky ones carrying off a glass, a china plate, or perhaps a rag doll. I play a few games, and am rewarded with the answer as to why, in all parts of central Mexico, the word *Apache* has come to take the place of the pre-Conquest *Chichimeco* to mean barbarian, uncivilized person. In Tzintzuntzan, as well as many other places, one will hear "he looked like a regular Apache," or, "I haven't had time to put on my good clothes. I'm a regular Apache." It conveys the idea of savagery, half humorously, a little seriously. Here, staring at me from the card, is the feathered Plains Indian, labeled "Apache." The merry-go-round is a simple wooden affair with no motor and no mechanical music. Simple seats replace horses and tigers, and motive power is furnished by small boys who push from the inside, their only reward the right to climb on and ride when top speed has been reached. Two violins grind out tunes, a girl and boy with painted faces clown and clog a bit, and the effect is just as satisfying to the spectators as the steam caliope to patrons of the merry-go-round in the country to the north.

Today also witnesses two dance groups, the first from Pátzcuaro and the second from Cipiajo, to the north of Mt. Zirate. The Patzcuareños dance the dance of Santiago, simulating the struggle between Santiago on the one hand, and Herod and Pilate assisted by lesser Devils on the other hand. Four men are dressed in black, representing the Devils, and one in a white and black striped garb represents Death. Pilate wears a wooden mask with large horns, while Herod as king has a large crown and is dressed in red and blue. Santiago, dressed in red and blue, rides a hobbyhorse—a stick with a carved horse's head—which he attempts to mount, and carries a wooden cross and a banner. Mirrors, beads, and other ornaments complement the garb of all. Women also take part in the dance, as well as other lesser actors, to a total of about 30. A seven-piece orchestra furnishes music.

The dancers from Cipiajo are the *pastorelas*. Except for their hats, richly adorned with mirrors, colored paper and colored ribbons, and staves ornamented with rattles and bells, they have no distinctive costume. Likewise, their music is in great contrast, consisting simply of a reed flute, drum, and violin. There is considerable disappointment in that Cucuchucho has not sent its *viejito* dancers. This dance of the "little old men" is the only really typical and distinctive dance of the Tarascan area, and one of the most amusing of all Mexico.

The fireworks maker, a Tarascan from San Jerónimo Purenchécuaro, engaged by the inhabitants of Ichupio for \$350, has arrived with his assistants, and spends the day assembling the *castillo* ("castle"), a 14-m. pole with a bewildering array of pinwheels, firecrackers, and other pyrotechnic tricks. About 6 o'clock in the evening it is raised, with the aid of many spectators, in the center of the atrium, ready for the grand finale of the fiesta. Presently the church bells ring and the crowd assembles, and by 9 o'clock all is deemed ready. The fuse is lighted, flame shoots up to the wheels, igniting bombs on the way, and for

perhaps 10 minutes there is a display to satisfy the most demanding critic. Shouts of delight mingle with screams of surprise and pain when powder shoots out and burns spectators standing too near. Afterward, most people move over to a small stage in front of the chapel of San Francisco, where a group of amateur actors from Pátzcuaro is presenting a *colloquia*, a religious playlet depicting Biblical scenes. From early evening the two bands have been engaged in really serious competition.

Ihuatzio, seeing a chance to make a professional killing, has added five extra musicians to its normal complement of 20, but at the last minute, the Noco-sepu director, fearful for his reputation, has brought 15 more musicians to add to his depleted 17, and popular judgment is that this is the finest music the town has ever enjoyed. Music, gaming, and drinking last until well past midnight, and most agree that it has been a fine day.

Wednesday, February 7. This is supposed to be a day of continued celebration. Actually, the crowd thins very rapidly, and the restaurateurs agree that the visitors have not been *muy gastador*, good spenders. The highway, which makes possible greater attendance, is also the greatest enemy of the fiesta. Formerly people walked or came in boats, arriving a day or two early and staying a day or two after the main day. Now they can leave their homes early in the morning, even returning the same night, in busses and trucks, at less cost in time and money. Both bands play until midafternoon, and then give up and go home. The *Gran Jaripeo* is, of course, not held. Wearing after several days of bingo and other games, the gambling urge for most persons has worn off. Prices are cut in half, and many of the stands are dismantled. For practical purposes the fiesta is over by noon.

LENT

(*La Cuaresma*)

The period of Lent is, from the standpoint of the Church, the most important time of the year. Formerly there was an elaborate Carnival but in recent years this practice has died out. In a sense its place is taken by the Rescate fiesta, which comes only a week before the Carnival normally would fall.

ASH WEDNESDAY

(*Miércoles de Ceniza*)

Ash Wednesday is the first day of significance in Lent, although in practice very little happens. Most people go to High Mass to have blessed ashes placed on their heads by the priest. Sometimes a bit of an old saint's image, well-worn and no longer serving its function, is burned to secure ashes, and other times palm fronds or live branches are used.

THE SIX FRIDAYS

The six Fridays are the most important days of Lent before Holy Week. They are marked by the Via Crucis procession, after which the *cargueros* of La Judea offer their *pozole* (p. 196). On the first Friday El Nazareno, a kneeling image of Christ supporting a wooden cross, is brought out of the sacristy and placed on a litter equipped with carrying poles. The litter is carried to a place just beneath the pulpit, where it is left throughout Lent, except when removed for the processions. Beside Christ, also on a litter, is the image of the Virgen de los Dolores. The same evening the image of Christ is covered with a lavender robe, and about 9 o'clock leaves the church, carried by the *cargueros*, to make a counter-clockwise circuit of the atrium, followed by the image of His mother. The procession stops in front of the facade of the old temple of the Third Order, in front of the Chapel of San Francisco, and in front of each of the 12 little stone shrines which line the churchyard. Many of the followers carry candles, carefully shielding them with their hands against the night breezes.

The act is a dramatization of Christ's trip to the crucifixion, and each of the stops symbolizes one of the Fourteen Stations on the way to the cross. Thus, 14 times the images stop, the followers bend and kiss the earth, and a woman member of the Third Order reads the account of Christ's ordeal and exactly what happened at the particular station at which they are kneeling. At intervals the followers make responses, and at the end again kiss the earth before rising to proceed to the next station. In each of the little shrines flowers have been placed and candles lighted. After returning to the church, all adjourn to the house of the *mayordomo* for the first *pozole*.

The procession is repeated on each succeeding Friday until on the last, *Viernes de Dolores*, the Friday before Palm Sunday, the culminating encounter between Christ and His mother is staged. The centurion, as has been seen (p. 196), dresses a youth in white robes and mounts him on a white horse, and to the tune of the *chirimía*, *clarín*, and drum he is marched to the church. The mournful notes of the *clarín* are weird beyond description, and when heard at

night one can easily imagine that one has been taken back 1900 years in time. The large church doors open and out comes the image of Christ, carried by the other four *cargueros*, and in close order, the Virgen de los Dolores in shining black velvet robes, carried by four women, the wives of the *cargueros*. Then, unlike the earlier processions, the Virgin turns off to the left to proceed alone in a clockwise direction, while the centurion and his charge follow Christ to the right. Both make the stops, just as for the preceding Via Crucis processions. On the far side of the atrium from La Soledad, Christ meets His mother. She comes as close as is possible and then is inclined forward as if she were kneeling. After a moment of silence she is picked up and falls in the procession behind her Son. Together they visit the remaining stations. Finally, upon reaching the church, Mary is carried in backward, followed by Christ, and both are placed in their customary positions.

PALM SUNDAY

(*Domingo de Ramos*)

Before Palm Sunday most families buy palm fronds either in Pátzcuaro or from wandering peddlers, and weave them to form imitation ears of corn and other ornaments. Some people obtain olive branches and a few, to make doubly sure, bring both to the Sunday Mass where they are blessed by the priest who sprinkles holy water on them. Next the priest passes down the central aisle and out the church door followed by several dozen people with palm branches. The great doors swing shut, the chorister sings for 5 minutes and then Father Tovar pounds three times on the door with a small wooden cross. The doors open and he and his followers return to the church. This ceremony symbolizes the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem when the way was strewn with palm branches. The animation, color, and gaiety of the people mark this as one of the most impressive Masses of the year. The blessed palms are nailed to the walls of houses where they exercise a protective influence. When there are bad storms, a little of the palm is burned and the ashes are strewn on the floor in the shape of a cross to protect the family from lightning.

HOLY WEEK

(*La Semana Santa*)

Formerly, work was forbidden during all of Holy Week. Nowadays Monday and Tuesday are rather normal days, and in 1945 the highway gangs continued work until noon Wednesday.

HOLY WEDNESDAY

On Holy Wednesday all good Catholics confess, and the spies appear for the first time. A half dozen boys of 18 or so, dressed in brilliant satin dresses of their mothers and wearing cotton stockings are mounted on horseback. Their pointed red flannel caps and hooded faces give them the appearance of latter-day Ku Klux Klanners. Bareback, and without shoes, they ride down parallel streets, stopping at each intersection. The first blows a plaintive note on a whistle, and as it dies out the next spy takes up the sound, and so on down the length of the line. Then all ride to the next series of intersections where the act is repeated. According to local tradition these boys represent the men who spied on Christ and carried him off to be sentenced. Formerly, when work was forbidden in Tzintzuntzan during all of Holy Week, the spies had a real function. It was their job to see that nobody was working, and if they found someone so engaged, they took his tools and locked them up in the courtroom, forcing the owner to pay a fine to regain them. The spies are forbidden to speak, and one of the pastimes of small boys is to try to trick them into breaking their silence and thus reveal their identity.

MAUNDY THURSDAY

(*Jueves Santo*)

The church bells ring for the last time for 2 days calling people to the only Mass of the morning. From now until Saturday the bells are in mourning and the faithful will be summoned by the *matraca*, an apparatus consisting of board leaves to which are hung wooden clappers which resound on the boards when a crank is turned. Father Tovar, accompanied by the members of the Junta Vecinal, each sheltering a burning candle, slowly advances up the aisle under a

golden cloth, the *palio*, supported on four staffs. Outside, poles have been erected in front of the church door, and over them is stretched a canopy of fish net, to which are fastened red and white paper decorations and purple bougainvillæa flowers. The procession advances to the end of the net covering, prays at the chapel of San Francisco, and returns to the church.

The main altar and the one on the left bearing the picture of Nuestro Señor del Rescate are draped in purple cloth to symbolize mourning. On the altar to the right, the Monument to the Holy Sacrament, candles and vases of lilies and geraniums have been placed. Christ's spirit is said to be present in this altar. During the day there is a *rezandero* who has an account book and several large candles which he loans to those who ask to be *veladores*. By holding a lighted candle in front of the Monument and vowing to light candles at stated intervals during the year, the supplicant seeks special favors. For the loan of the candles he pays \$0.25.

During the day comic relief is provided by the antics of Judas and Barabbas. The former is dressed in a Carmelite tunic and a priest's cap, his face hidden by a papier-mâché mask. In his hand he carries a small leather sack filled with copper coins which represent the 30 pieces of silver for which Judas betrayed Christ. Barabbas, wearing the mask of an old man, one huarache missing, is dressed in a tattered tunic which leaves one arm and shoulder uncovered. In one hand he carries a length of chain with which he tries to whip children, and in the other a dog-eared deck of cards. As they pass through town Barabbas stops any passer-by who looks as if he might have a few centavos, and by means of pantomime insists that they play cards. Placing his own coin on the cards, he waits only until it has been matched before he grabs both and rushes off. Judas simply holds out a small box for contributions, and the money so gathered is used to help defray the expenses of the *Judea*.

According to local tradition, this representation of the Passion of Christ was introduced by Father Leso in 1631 upon finishing La Soledad chapel. It is sponsored and prepared by a group of young men who have no formal organization, but who, for a month before Holy Week, meet each night in the church to practice their parts. The entire procedure is so thoroughly

integrated with the rest of the activities of Holy Week that it is not always easy to tell which activities belong strictly to the *Judea*, and which are a part of the regular week's activities.

All during Thursday members of the *Judea* group are engaged in building a crude stage in the small atrium between La Soledad and the chapel of La Concepción, and in the sacristy a cage is built to serve as the prison of Jesus. This activity stops temporarily at 4 o'clock in the afternoon for the *lavatorio*, or washing of the feet of the apostles by the priest. The men who play the part are chosen by the priest, apparently primarily on the basis of the quality of their beards. Most are older men and look every inch the part which they play, and their feet are probably as calloused and dirty as those of the original apostles. Only John, young and unshaven, stands out from the crowd. They seat themselves on three benches forming three sides of a square, facing the audience, and everyone crowds around to watch intently and critically. Father Tovar splashes a little water on the top of the first foot, gingerly daubs a little soap and water, dries the foot with a towel and then passes on to the next. When finished with all 24 he mounts to the pulpit and, over the usual caterwauling of babies, reads the account of the washing of the feet, sermonizes a bit, and thus finishes his unpleasant duty until the next year.

By evening the stage is ready, lighted by two casseroles filled with burning crumbled candles. José Estrada, the organizer and moving spirit of the *Judea*, steps to the center of the platform, uncovers his head and announces, "With the recommendation of Father Tovar we are going to show the dramatization of the betrayal of Christ. Please remove your hats." As if a wind had passed over the audience, all hats come off.

The portrayal of the Last Supper, in many parts of Mexico a real banquet, has been reduced in Tzintzuntzan to mere symbolism. The apostles are clothed in women's dresses, the closest approach to a real tunic that the local dressmakers can turn out, and after the play they are recut to fit their wives. All disciples, with much noise and clatter, finally find their places at the table and partake of the supper which consists only of a basket of communion wafers and a bottle of brandy. Christ announces in a sad voice, entirely out of keeping with the jovial spirits of Jesús Huipe who plays the part, that some-

one is going to betray him. The hoarse voice of Jesús Guillén prompting from behind the cloth-covered bench jogs Peter into inquiring "Is it I, Lord?" The supper concluded, all walk off the stage, and in a few minutes return, now having assumed the role, by some magic, of the learned judges who will hear the evidence against Christ. Jesus, meanwhile, is placed in prison in the sacristy. The audience is not at all bothered that the stagehands walk on and off at will, Chinese fashion. Judas comes on the stage, offers to betray Christ, and after mutual questioning on the part of both sides, is accepted. At this point the representation is adjourned until the following evening, and after a decent interval, Jesús Huípe leaves his cage to go home for a night's rest.

GOOD FRIDAY
(*Viernes Santo*)

Following Mass there is nothing until about noon, when the small atrium is again filled to overflowing. Pilate, wearing a yellow robe and a white turban, sits midstage, aided by a scribe. He reviews the evidence and announces that he sees no reason for the crucifixion of Christ. Christ is then dragged from his prison, which meanwhile he has reentered, to the stage by a multitude of "Jews" who shout "Justice! Justice!" He wears a crown of pine needles, symbolizing thorns, and is covered with blood (a chicken has been killed and Christ smeared with its blood just before his entry). Pilate still maintains that Christ should not be crucified, but the shouting wears him down and finally he signs the death decree and washes his hands in an enameled basin to absolve himself from the blame. As Christ is dragged on and off stage, he is thrown around unmercifully by his guards who seem to take great delight in so abusing poor Huípe. After the death decree a large hollow wooden cross is brought on the stage. Christ shoulders it, and followed by the "Jews" and a number of spectators, makes the Via Crucis round of the atrium, passing by the tiny chapels, and falling at the third, seventh, and ninth stations to symbolize the Three Falls. The *chirimía*, *clarín*, and drum play, and the youth on the centurion's horse, accompanied by two small boys with machetes, goes along with the procession. By the time they reach the church door

the spectators have already taken their places inside, and there is scarcely room for another individual.

The Santo Entierro lies stretched on a bier, its head taped and its body covered with white cloth, and the two large wooden crosses with life-size images of the thieves have already been raised into position at each side of the front of the church. Father Tovar preaches a short sermon, tells the people that what they have just seen really happened, and that it is not just an act thought up by their ancestors. Getting his dates a bit askew, he announces that it all took place 1945 years ago. Then he launches into the general theme of how wicked and sinful man is.

This over, the actors file out the side door, enter the sacristy and, accompanied by the *encargados* of La Soledad, appear in front of the main altar. Some of them uncover the Santo Entierro, gently lifting and carrying it to the huge cross waiting on the floor. Gilded spikes are passed through the holes in the hands and feet and bolted to the cross. The foot of the cross is placed in a hole in the floor and with ropes and poles it is raised into place. During all of the act, the men carry white cloths in their hands when they must touch the body. When the cross is firm, two ladders, whose tops have been wound in white cloth so that they will not defile the cross, are placed against the back. An *encargado* mounts one and places a gilded cross on Christ's head while another, on the other ladder, places a plaque on top of the cross with the letters "Inri," signifying "Jesus, King of the Jews." Then everybody leaves until 4:30 when the representation of the descent from the cross takes place.

Again the *matraca* calls the people. Father Tovar recites the story of Calvary, and then two men mount the ladders, simultaneously taking the spikes out of the arms, allowing them to fall grotesquely. The spikes are taken out of the feet and the body is lowered to waiting arms which take it to the bier where it is stretched out and covered. As the body is about to be lowered, the women and a few men break into a loud wailing. This grows louder and louder and reaches its climax as the body is carried to the bier. The faithful say that they can clearly see the sweat and blood running down Christ's face, and weep for his suffering. I glance around

and see the tears flowing copiously from the red eyes of *Natividad*. The din is almost ear-splitting. Altogether it is a remarkable psychological manifestation, and many of the women undoubtedly feel real grief. Parenthetically one may say that it is an interesting example of how the individual can experience the emotions that his culture expects him to under circumstances which will have no effect whatsoever on a member of another culture. Then everybody files out of church, and later the *Santo Entierro* is placed in its glass case, ready for the night's vigil. At midnight there is a silent candlelight procession around the atrium.

Los Penitentes.—One of the most remarkable demonstrations of Holy Week is that of the *penitentes*. During the course of the year an individual, always a man, may find himself or a member of his family gravely ill or in great danger. He promises Christ to do penance on the night of Good Friday if only he will be saved from the danger or illness which threatens him. Penance takes two forms; the penitent, naked except for a white loin cloth and a white hood with eye-holes, may either carry a heavy wooden cross on his bare shoulder, or may wear *grillos*—an iron bar with rings for hobbling the ankles. In both cases the individual is aided by two *cirineos*, symbolic of Simon of Cyrene who at the fifth station aided Christ with his cross, who go along, one on each side. The penitents first visit the church, next make the rounds of the atrium, stopping at some of the little stone shrines, and then follow a stated path through the streets of the town, stopping in front of each of the several crosses. If the penitent is wearing the hobble, he may be seen hopping through the church door, his *cirineos* supporting him by the elbow to make each jump longer. In front of each shrine or cross he bows, advances and retreats, and lashes his bare chest with a small whip. Then the *cirineos* help him on to the next post, and so on through the rounds of the town. A penitent with cross is more spectacular. The large wooden cross trails on the ground behind him, echoing as it bounces on stones as he rushes at full speed from station to station. If a penitent falls during his journey, he must return to the church and start anew.

There is a certain amount of fear at the sight of the penitents, and few people go out of their

way to see them. This stems from the belief that a person who fails to comply with his promise or who, if the promise is for a definite number of years, dies before expiration of the time, must come back after death and make the rounds. These ghosts appear exactly like any other penitent, hence one is not sure when one is looking at a ghost or a living man. "Has a dead person ever come back to fulfill his vows, *Carmen*?" I asked. "Thanks to the goodness of God, we have never had to experience this in *Tzintzuntzan*." But there is always a first time for everything, and so in general it is considered to be very bad to look at penitents.

On a dark night the clanking of the hobble and the rattling of the heavy cross are enough to fill any superstitious person with terror. Nevertheless, a purely objective analysis suggests that the custom of the penitents has degenerated to an empty shell of its former significance. Informants' statements led us to believe that we would see shoulders cut to the bone and ankles so gashed that the penitents would have to keep to their beds for several weeks. Careful observation revealed only one person showing blood, and, who knows, for in the dark of the night, cock's blood and human blood look very much the same.

There are a number of devices by which the flagellation may be minimized. In the case of the hobble, two strong *cirineos* can carry most of the weight of the man throughout the journey. A certain amount of bruising is inevitable but, though some penitents may limp the next day, few are forced to take to their beds. In the case of the cross, likewise, the *cirineos* can support a great deal of the weight. And in the dark side streets the cross can be removed from the shoulders of the penitent, to be replaced only when there is the possibility of being seen. The lashing with the whip is scarcely even symbolic. It might serve to shoo flies, but hardly would cut a man's chest to ribbons. Those who suffer the most are first-time penitents who have not as yet learned the trick of manipulating properly the cross or hobble. In subsequent years, the journey may be a nuisance, but it is hardly a thing to be feared. Certainly the penitential rites of *Tzintzuntzan* can in no way be compared to those of some of the cults of southwestern United States.

EASTER SATURDAY
(*Sábado de gloria*)

The church is well filled long before High Mass. A table covered with a white cloth has been placed in front of the main altar, and the Santo Entierro continues to occupy its glass case in the center of the church. Father Tovar takes his place in a chair, faces the table and chants alternately with the choir of two men and three boys. This represents the blessing of the holy water, although actually the water remains in the font, concealed in the sacristy. This completed, the table is cleared away and the priest goes to the main altar. This is the signal to ring *La Gloria*, and the church bells again peal forth after 2 days of silence. The purple curtains fall away from the high altar, revealing a masterpiece of floral decoration and lighted candles, while a boy climbs to the niche at the very top and lights the candles of *La Virgen de la Soledad*. At the same time the purple cloth covering the picture of *Nuestro Señor del Rescate* falls away, and a narrow white strip of cloth with paper angels pinned to it is cut down from the Monument to the Holy Sacrament.

Out of the corner of my eye I see Carmen pick up her year-old daughter Lupe, the palms of her hands over the little girl's ears. Three times she is raised from the ground in the hope that her growth will be stimulated, and each time the astonished Lupe protests loudly and vigorously. Looking farther behind me, I see still other mothers doing the same with their children.⁷ It is a moment of great rejoicing, the culmination of the week's activities, and the symbol of the rebirth of life. The small glass case with the twin children, Jesus and John, is brought in from the sacristy and placed on the Monument. Otherwise, *La Soledad* has few images to unveil to take out of mourning. Father Tovar cuts short the Mass by eliminating the

⁷ Anyone who, by chance, is not at Mass, may strike fruit trees either with the palms of his hands or with switches so that the trees will grow large and give much fruit.

⁸ Because of space limitations, two earlier accounts of Holy Week which I had hoped to include have been eliminated. The first, by Nicolás León, describes events as he saw them during the latter part of the 19th century (León, 1906, pp. 454-459). The second is an account of the *Judea* as witnessed by Frances Toor in 1925 (Toor, 1925, pp. 21-25). During this 50-year period very few changes appear to have taken place.

sermon, passes the Host for those who wish to take Communion, says the final prayers, and allows the crowds to file out. Holy Week is officially over and one can do pretty much as one pleases, even to a little work. However, few will begin before Monday.

During all of Holy Week no opportunity is lost to get contributions for the Church. The alms box is brought out of its corner and becomes a semipermanent fixture in the center of the church. One penitent breaks the general rule and makes his rounds during daylight, and one of his *cirineos* carries a plate, taking contributions from all passers-by. During the representation of the Passion, several men pass through the audience with plates asking for contributions for the Three Falls. Before Christ is placed on the cross a money plate lies beside the image, and many people approach, kneel, kiss the feet, and leave \$0.50. After the descent from the cross the spikes and the crown are placed on plates and passed through the audience, and the plaque "Inri" itself serves as another collection plate. Hence, although the contribution at any one time is not great there is ample opportunity to contribute a good deal of money during the course of the week.⁸

ASCENSION THURSDAY

This Thursday, Maundy Thursday, and the Thursday of Corpus Christi are known as the Three Thursdays. In former times there was a representation of the ascension of Christ to the heavens: a cloth was painted and hung to resemble clouds and at the appointed hour the Santo Entierro was hoisted to the ceiling of the church. At the present time, the blessing of the ciborium, the small box in which the Holy Sacrament is kept, is the special act of the Mass.

THE MONTH OF MAY

(*El mes de María*)

The month of May, known as the month of Mary and also as the month of flowers, is of considerable ceremonial significance. As a sign of special devotion, individuals or groups of individuals ask to be *encendedores*, which means assuming the responsibility for paying for Mass and decorating the church with candles and flowers on a given day. Not all of the days of

the month are spoken for at any one time. Examination of the sacristan's calendar revealed 10 vacancies. For May 1 appears the legend "Tomás Felipe, Liborio Aparicio and Companions." Then there is a vacancy until May 7 which is the day of Matías Ojeda, Francisco Pérez, and companions. Often the rights to certain days remain in families from generation to generation. Moisés Ramos, for example, is charged with May 10, which was the day of his father. When his father died, he was reluctant to let the day slip away from the family. Since he is one of the richest men of the town, he can well afford music as well as a small fiesta in his home. Other days belong to special groups. *Las señoritas* — the unmarried, teen-age girls — have May 12. May 15 belongs to the *cargueros* of San Isidro, while May 18 is the day of the Association of the Perpetual Candle. May 21 is spoken for by the members of Pascual's band; May 28, by the married women; and May 31, by the unmarried youths of the town. As contrasted to their regular and recognized obligations, individuals sometimes ask the priest for free dates for a single time only.

During May many mothers take their young daughters to each rosary, dressing them in white garments tied at the waist with a blue sash, in honor of the Virgin.

HOLY CROSS DAY (MAY 3)

(*El día de la Cruz*)

The Day of the Cross is the festive day of masons all over Mexico. In Tzintzuntzan, those who were engaged in building the house at the *yácatas* asked for and, of course, received time off to prepare an elaborate meal and to buy and fire the inevitable rockets. For Tzintzuntzan however, it is a day of fiesta for everyone, and beginning at 5 o'clock in the morning one hears exploding rockets in all parts of the town. Eight crosses, survivals of the ancient *barrio* town division, still stand. These are decorated with colored paper and flowers, and in some cases almost resemble small altars. This is a survival of an ancient custom which has undergone several transformations. Formerly, it will be remembered, there were *cargueros de la cruz*. When tradition begins, they decorated a single cross on the slopes of the hill of Tariaqueri

above the present section of El Rincón, and at a later date the custom was extended to all eight crosses. Aided by the inhabitants of each of the *barrios* the *cargueros* were required to decorate their cross and to prepare food for all those who came to pray.⁹ Each cross featured a special dish so that one could select his favorite food. The *cargueros* of the cross functioned until about 1940, when they were stamped out by the former priest.

Today the crosses have their substitute *encargados*, four for each, who are informally selected by the retiring *encargados* from among the responsible families who live in the vicinity. They must furnish food and decorate the cross with colored paper, flowers, and candles. The drum and *chirinúa* players pass by all crosses early in the morning and *rezanderos* are invited to come to pray, though they receive no payment. The offering of food at present occurs after dark, following a period of prayer.

DAY OF SAN ISIDRO (MAY 15)

The day of San Isidro, patron saint of farmers, is celebrated with Mass, attended especially by the Tarascans from La Vuelta. Some bring maize, beans, and squash seeds to be blessed to ensure good harvests.

CORPUS CHRISTI AND THE OCTAVA

Corpus Christi, depending on the date of Easter, falls late in May or in June. A complementary aspect of the fiesta is the *Octava*, which falls 8 days later. In spite of the obvious religious motifs of both of these days, more indigenous elements appear to remain than in any of the other major fiestas. Certainly these 2 days are the most amusing of the entire year from the standpoint of the spectator. Corpus Christi is the responsibility of Tzintzuntzan, while the *Octava* is primarily an affair of the Tarascans from La Vuelta. Most of the activities of both take place in the churchyard, though the organization is largely civil. A couple of weeks before Corpus the municipal president asks about half a dozen men from each profession, traditionally the *yunteros*, *arrieros*, *huacaleros*, and *alfareros* ("ox drivers," i. e.

⁹ This information rather conflicts with the general scheme of *cargueros* who normally are expected to bear the financial burdens.

farmers, "muleteers," "crate-carriers," "potters") to accept temporary posts as *cargueros* with a view to organizing their activities in the fiesta. The crate carriers and potters today work as a group, since the former profession has been almost entirely eliminated. The basic theme of both Corpus and the *Octava* is the representation of present and past ways of life, especially the latter.

CORPUS CHRISTI

(*El Corpus*)

On the morning of Corpus there are both the early Low Mass and the High Mass, after which temporary altars, or *pozas*, are prepared, four on each side of the church. About 1 o'clock in the afternoon all participants assemble in Ojo de Agua to make a ceremonial entrance into the churchyard together. First come the pack animals and then follow the yoked oxen, with the share of the plow hooked over the yoke, the beam dragging behind. Some ox horns are adorned with *mancornadas* of maize, two ears tied together by the husks, while others have colored crepe paper draped over their heads. Nearly all have thick wheat cakes, *gorditas*, hanging on their heads and backs. Some of the *gorditas* are very large, and others are cut to represent various animals. Last come the *huacaleros*, half a dozen children from 4 to 8 years of age, each with a tiny crate on his back containing a haphazard assortment of herbs, tiny pieces of pottery, petates, fire fans, and other miniature objects of daily life.

Upon entering the atrium the muleteers tie up their animals and set about the preparation of food. It is no surprise to find that Jesús Huipe, master mason, master potter, barber, Christ of the Passion play, and jack-of-all-trades has been elected to make the tortillas. A bandana over his face "*porque le da pena*" ("because he is embarrassed"), he pats out the thin cakes and drops them on the griddle, burning his own fingers in turning them, and making a product which, while edible, is considerably below par. The crowd stands around and roars with laughter at his efforts. Meanwhile, other men are preparing *atole*, straining red maize dough through a sieve and pouring it into a huge copper kettle. This ceremonial food preparation is said to be a reenactment of early

days when large groups of muleteers made trips together, and while some busied themselves with the care of the animals others set about the preparation of the evening meal. On such trips metates, griddles, and all other necessary equipment were carried. The lead mule had a bell around his neck to attract the others, and, true to form, one of the Corpus mules is so equipped.

Upon entering the atrium the ox-drivers tie their plows to the yokes and start to plow a narrow strip along the south side of the churchyard, followed by a few women sowers and a boy or two who drop beans, maize, and squash seeds in the furrows. Few women sow in Tzintzuntzan, though it is common among the Tarascans. Hence, their appearance here is in the spirit of burlesque, which pervades the entire day.¹⁰ The *huacaleros* enter last and dance to the door of the church, accompanied by a small orchestra from Ichupio playing a kind of semi-*mariachi* music, the sweetest and most agreeable of any that is ever heard in Tzintzuntzan. The most characteristic event of the rosary, which follows, is the visit by Father Tovar to each of the eight minor altars, the *pozas*. He walks under the rich cloth *palio*, held aloft by four men, his path cleared by members of Catholic Action, holding candles. Then he leaves the church proper, flanked by the sacristan, altar boys, and the *almas puras*, the tiny girls in white, with blue sashes, who throw confetti on him, and advances to the chapel of San Francisco, which serves as still another *poza*. Formerly the procession did not leave the church. Its departure, and other bolder processions around the atrium and even in the streets of town, represent increasing laxity in enforcement of the law which forbids processions outside of a church.

As the rosary nears its end those who have remained outside station themselves on the porch in front of the burned parish church with pots, mangoes, ears of corn, the wheat-cake *gorditas*, and petates to throw at the crowds below. But first Father Tovar must sit with the muleteers and eat *atole*, bread, and tortillas, after which the muleteers themselves dine. Then he passes to the porch, seats himself in a convenient position and, like the United States President at the

¹⁰ In 1946 a large part of the atrium really was plowed and planted. The produce went to the maintenance of the priest.

first baseball game of the season, throws the first *gordita* to the cheering crowd. Then all the rest who have brought objects to throw begin a bombardment of the crowd which lasts nearly half an hour. Maize ears join the *gorditas*, and then the mangoes, pots, and petates. For Corpus a special giant-size wheat cake, called *hojarrasca*, is baked, and also a bread known as *semita* which is simply a *gordita* to which molasses has been added, baked in an oven instead of on the *comal*. Again the *huacaleros* begin to dance, and the ox drivers, who rested during the rosary, take up their plowing. Finally they remove the corn and cakes from their oxen, hurl the food at the crowd, unfasten the plows, and drive their animals home. Potters, *huacaleros*, ox drivers, and muleteers then go to the home of one of their numbers for the inevitable *pozole*, while the others go home to take stock of their loot.

THE OCTAVA

The burlesquing of this day and the preparation of most details of the celebration are the work of the Tarascans from La Vuelta. Basically the activities form a rite designed to ensure bountiful harvests. Again the oxen, covered with ears of corn and wheat cakes, plow in the atrium, but this time a real miniature milpa consisting of several score stalks of corn, bean plants, and tomato plants has been set up in the yard, transplanted bodily from the irrigated plots of La Vuelta which have been planted early and carefully nurtured for this occasion.¹¹ Through the milpa stalks the *velador*, the watcher, face hidden behind a grinning wooden mask, wearing a battered straw hat, a long black overcoat, boots, and carrying an ancient muzzle loader. In the milpa are hidden a stuffed opossum and a stuffed fox. With elaborate motions the watcher pours powder into his musket, rams home the wad, and then carefully stalks around the edge looking for the animals. He sights one, falls to his stomach, aims carefully, fires, runs through the stalks and gleefully seizes the opossum by the tail, much to the amusement of the Mestizo onlookers. Meanwhile, a large group of dancers circles the milpa. First comes a masked figure of imposing size and great dignity, a baton of command in his hand. He is the own-

er of the field. Then follows his "wife," a man wearing a dress and further disguised by a straw hat and a rebozo drawn over his head and face. Finally come a dozen girls of all sizes in indigenous costume, the children of the couple. They dance with a slow jogging step, revolving in place periodically. All show great joy. The milpa is nearly ripe, the crop is good, and the *velador* has successfully protected the maize from the depredations of animal pests.

To one side of the milpa a mock market has been set up, a circle of a couple of dozen Tarascan women with fish, corn, *gorditas* and other foods, petates, fire fans, and baskets. A man passes around with slips of paper bearing the marking \$0.50 which, following the burlesque of the day, represent only \$0.05. He, as the tax collector, exacts \$0.05 from each woman. Meanwhile the buyers go from one seller to the next asking prices, and being told \$20 or \$10 for the smallest items. It is understood that this means centavos, and the transactions are made to the satisfaction of all. Women get up from their places and dance, to the accompaniment of one of the orchestras, and pull in spectators to dance with them, often to their embarrassment. Most of the talk is in Tarascan, with the addition of *-ta* and *-na* to all words, forming a curious double talk that is hilarious to all who understand it. There is great sport in addressing Spanish-speaking persons in Tarascan, and shrieking with delight when they show confusion at not understanding. This probably has considerable psychological significance. This is one way in which the *naturalitos* can lord it over the Tzintzuntzeños who habitually look down upon them and make fun of them. Actually, for fear of being made to look foolish in this way, many of the Mestizos entirely avoid the fiesta.

Before the rosary the oxen are led to the church door where Father Tovar sprinkles holy water on them, a blessing which reaches all whether actually touched by the water or not. The rosary itself is marked, as in the case of that of Corpus Christi, by the priest's ceremonial visits to the temporary altars, the *pozas*.

As the rosary terminates, the market and milpa representations begin anew, and presently the hurling of objects at the crowd again takes place, this time without the priest. The sense of burlesque is magnificent. Big Mariano Cor-

¹¹ Most maize has not yet sprouted.

nelio stands with an enormous dried fish, a superb prize, and swings it wildly above his head, as if to throw it to the farthest man of the clamoring crowd. Then, with great disdain, he lets it fall at his feet and turns and leaves without even looking. Presently the loot is exhausted, and quietly the spectators leave.

Normally fishermen from Tarerio take part in the fiesta, bringing a new *chinchorro* net and a large fish painted on cloth. To music they dance in the atrium, surrounding with the net the men who carry the fish. Owing to a dispute with the town officials they refused to come, quietly holding a small fiesta in their own village the next day. In some years a greased pole is a part of the act. A peeled pine pole 20 m. tall has a small platform built at the top, on which clothing and other valued objects are placed. The pole is soaped thoroughly, and the man who can shinny to the top receives the prize.

The success of Corpus and the *Octava* depend to a large extent on the energy of the men in public office, and here temperamental differences play an important part. In recent years there has been a tendency to reduce the scale of festivities because of the expense, and also because some persons, feeling that the ancient customs mark Tzintzuntzan as a backward pueblo, are ashamed of their Indian background. A few people, however, take great pride in the ceremonial acts which are put on, and it is due to them that the celebrations continue to be held. Jesús Peña, for example, though having no official connection with the town government, insisted that the *huacaleros* dance for Corpus, and himself fitted out the crates and costumed the children. Several years ago, when he was president, he ordered a kiln built in the atrium, and brought women to glaze and fire pots. As an added note of hilarity, when the pots were thoroughly hot they were removed with sticks and hurled among the astonished spectators who quickly fled to safety.

THE MONTH OF JUNE

(*El Mes del Sagrado Corazón de Jesucristo*)

The month of the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ, like May, has its *encendederos* charged with each Mass. The *almas puras*, young girls dressed in white, substitute a red sash for the

blue one worn during May, and bring flowers and candles to the rosaries. Usually the month is marked by Corpus Christi and the *Octava*. Invariable is the small celebration on June 24, the day of San Juan. This is a sort of an agricultural ground hog day. If it rains on this day there will be ample moisture for good harvests; if not, crops will dry. Hence, it is desirable to do everything possible to ensure the will of Christ, and this is accomplished by means of a special Mass which is paid for by offerings to La Coronita, the crown of the Santo Entierro (or at times, that of El Nazareno, the kneeling image of Christ used in the Via Crucis procession). Early in June the *encargados* of La Soledad carry the crown from house to house to solicit offerings and on subsequent days it is taken by inhabitants of the surrounding ranches to their homes where more contributions are received. In this manner between \$100 and \$150 is collected for the Mass on June 24.

THE ASSUMPTION

(*La Asunción de la Santísima Virgen*)

On August 12 the nieces of the priest place a bed in the center of the church on which is laid the image of La Purísima, the object of a night-long *velación*. The next afternoon she is restored to her customary position beside the Santo Entierro, and on August 15 a special Mass is said in her honor. In Tzintzuntzan this observance usually is referred to as that of Nuestra Señora de Agosto ("Our Lady of August").

FIESTA OF SAN FRANCISCO

(OCTOBER 4)

October 4, Day of San Francisco, patron saint of Tzintzuntzan, would be the date of the biggest fiesta of the year were it not for the fact that the Rescate in the spring has taken its place. Except for a fireworks *castillo* and band music in the evening, it is almost entirely a religious affair, completely lacking commercial flavor except for the few sellers of religious objects in the atrium. A Low and a High Mass are said in the morning, and in the afternoon there is a rosary, after which the image of San Francisco, led by the priest, makes a procession around the atrium stopping at each of the tiny stone shrines.

ALL SAINTS' AND ALL SOULS' DAYS

(NOVEMBER 1-2)

The period from noon of October 31 to noon of November 2 is one of the most interesting of fiesta of the year were it not for the fact that the entire ceremonial year. November 1 is the *día de todos santos*, All Saints' Day, dedicated to the *angelitos*, the little angels, the children who have died during the year. November 2 is the *día de las ánimas*, All Souls' Day, also called *día de los fieles difuntos*, and *día de los muertos*, dedicated to the souls of the adult dead. Offerings of food are made on both days, in slightly different manners, and preparations begin the preceding afternoon. At dawn on October 23, 9 days before the day of the *angelitos*, two rockets are heard, followed by two more at noon, and two more at sunset. On October 24 the operation is repeated, this time with three rockets, and on the succeeding days with four until October 31. In each home the family altar is decorated with petals of the *simpласuche* flower,¹² the pre-Columbian "flower of the dead," the marigold, and during the 2 days families without greater obligations recite Pater Nosters and Ave Mariás. Fiestas for the deceased *angelitos* are held the night of October 31.

Antonia Corona, a beautiful Tarascan girl of 14, was killed early in June, a victim of lightning. Her fiesta will serve to illustrate those held in all parts of Tzintzuntzan:

The baptismal godparents are expected to offer the fiesta; however, those of Antonia plead poverty and beg off, whereupon Doña Epitacia, the mother of the girl, begins to weep because her daughter will not be properly honored. At this point her son-in-law, Cirilo, married to a sister of the deceased girl, rises to the occasion, and volunteers to organize the festivities. Five musicians from Santa Fe are hired, to arrive at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Meanwhile a large altar is prepared in the home of Doña Epitacia, on which is placed a little wax doll clothed in white garments. Surrounding it are candles, marigolds, and purple orchids known as the *flor de ánima*. Young girl friends of the deceased bring ears of corn which they place on the altar, and then begin to help Doña Epitacia with the preparation of the *pozole* to feed to all visitors.

Cirilo, in his own home, prepares the *arco*, a tiny table with reed arches decorated with marigolds and

orchids, and covered with oranges, bananas, chayotes, and special "bread of the dead," unleavened loaves made in the form of human figures, with eyes of currants, and tiny painted sugar angels. Tamales and tortillas are prepared by his wife to feed the musicians, who must come first to his home, and brandy in abundance is on hand. Anxiety is great when the musicians do not arrive at the appointed hour, and the tension increases until 6 o'clock in the evening, when they stroll in, completely unrepentant for their breach of contract. Cirilo's relief is so great that he takes no punitive measures, and dines and wines them according to custom. Meanwhile all of the Coronas come, as well as a number of other friends, perhaps 50 in all. About 8 o'clock a procession is formed to go to the home of the deceased girl. The *arco* is carried, Cirilo shoots rockets, and children carry burning *ocote* splinters to light the way. Cirilo and his wife, acting the part of godparents, dance in front of the *arco* as it progresses, and continue doing so for a few minutes after entering the house.

Then all enter the room containing the altar and kneel to pray, men on the left and women on the right, in the positions taken during Mass at church. Cándido Picho is *rezandero*, and for an hour and a half he leads the prayers, terminating with *alabanzas cantadas*, chanted prayers. Then the musicians begin, playing gay Tarascan tunes — of which there is a tremendous variety — as well as *jarabes* and other better-known Mexican numbers. In the same room a large table is set at which the male relatives are seated. Cirilo, acting as godfather, takes a bottle of brandy, kisses it, and passes it to his own matrimonial godfather who is seated at his right, and then to his father-in-law, father of the dead girl, on his left. In turn, each man kisses the bottle, after which it returns to Cirilo who repeats with a pack of cigarettes, passing it in turn to all diners. Drinking is done by turning from the same "shot" glass, and in the order of kissing. Cirilo ceremoniously presents each glass, the recipient accepts, asks permission first of Cirilo and then of the others to drink with the stock phrase "*con su permiso*," empties the glass, sprinkles the last few drops on the ground, and returns the cup to the donor. Then great plates of *pozole* are served, and when the men are taken care of, the women seat themselves on the ground at the far side of the room. More *pozole* is offered to the now content men, who refuse with thanks, after which the plates are given to the women. When all have eaten the table is cleared away and dancing, in ball-room fashion with both sexes participating, begins. Drinking and dancing continue all during the night until 3 o'clock in the morning, at which time the musicians, deciding that their contract has been fulfilled, leave on foot for Santa Fe, 12 km. away.

About 11 o'clock Doña Epitacia leaves for the cemetery, accompanied by her daughters and several children who carry the *arco*, on which has been placed the wax doll which graced the altar. Some of the girls carry baskets and wooden trays with cooked chayotes, squash, fruits, and *pan de los muertos*, the bread of

¹² From Aztec *cempalxochitl*. *Simpласuche* apparently is a local corruption of the word. More commonly in Mexico it is called *cempasúchil*.

the dead. Other families have arrived, and on a number of graves other *arcos* have already been placed, surrounded by candles, and covered with yellow marigold petals. Visitors go from grave to grave, praying a moment in front of each, and receiving a chayote, a bit of squash, or a piece of fruit.

In the afternoon Doña Epitacia and the other watchers go with the *arco* to the church, where the priest blesses the offerings. She is upset because Father Tovar merely blesses the food and does not take it. In Santa Fe, she says, the priest takes all the food and sells it to the townspeople, the money to be used for the upkeep of the church. Somehow, she feels, the blessing has not been thorough, but there is nothing that can be done. As the last act of the day she carries the *arco* to her house, where it is placed on the altar, with the *angelito*, to remain during the entire year.

Meanwhile, in his own home, Cirilo counts the cost of his token of filial esteem:

Musicians.....	\$ 40.00
Supper for musicians.....	22.00
Colored tissue paper (<i>papel de china</i>).....	2.00
Candy angels.....	3.00
The large wax angel.....	21.00
One <i>fanega</i> of maize.....	20.00
One small pig.....	25.00
Brandy.....	36.00
Rockets and powder.....	10.00
Candles.....	12.00
Rezandero.....	1.50
A Mass for Antonia.....	10.00
Total.....	\$202.50

All during the night of November 1–2 the church bells are tolled by young boys who build a fire to warm themselves, and people on their way to the cemetery bring them raw foodstuffs which they cook over the open fire. About 4 o'clock in the morning family groups begin to wend their way to the cemetery, carrying *arcos* and other offerings of food, to take up their vigil by the graves of departed relatives. Again yellow marigold flowers are scattered over all graves, and candles are lighted. Toward dawn perhaps 40 tombs are thus arranged, and the twinkling of several hundred candles in the dark suggests will-of-the-wisps run riot. The night is cold, and the mourners crouch, wrapped in serapes, occasionally saying a few words, but for the most part guarding silence. After daylight other persons come, to talk with friends keeping vigil, to eat a little, and to see what is happening. By 11 o'clock most people have gone home and the graveyard is again deserted. The explanation that the vigil is at night rather

than during the day—so that the heat of the sun will not melt the candles—appears to be rationalization of ancient custom rather than based on fact. Three Masses are held on November 2, with which the observances terminate.

Two classes of food offerings are recognized, new and old. The former are intended for persons who have died during the preceding year, while the latter are for those who have died in earlier years. New offerings are primarily distinguished by being more abundant and of better quality than the old. Perhaps most families keep vigil the first year after a death. A reduced number continue for 3 or 4 years, but rare are those who continue throughout their lives. In many parts of Mexico as, for example, in Mitla (Parsons, 1936, p. 281), it is believed that the food is for the spirits of the dead, who actually come to earth to eat. In Tzintzuntzan, as well as the purely Tarascan villages of Lake Pátzcuaro, this belief is largely nonexistent. A few of the *naturalitos*, the Indians, suggest that it may be the case, but more general is the feeling that the spirits of the dead are present, watching, appreciating the thoughtfulness of their survivors in remembering them, but not eating. One never hears, as in the case of Mitla, of souls making themselves visible to survivors. Neither is there the belief that glass, crockery, clothing, and other household items should be new.

The night vigil of All Souls' Day is also found in Ihuatzio, and particularly in Janitzio, where it has become one of the most famous spectacles of Mexican indigenous life. Here a mock tomb is arranged in the center of the church, a bier covered with a brown cloth and adorned with fruit of many kinds, chayotes, squashes, and bread of the dead. Four huge *cirios*, enormous candles, one at each corner, give the only light; the altar is completely dark and undecorated. People wander in from time to time, a few to pray a little, most just to cross themselves. A youth stands watch, lolling in the corner, and a drunk snores loudly on the floor. The cemetery, which occupies a cut on the side of the island, is dark until 1 o'clock in the morning. A few tourists arrive to watch, and presently the first Janitceñas appear. Women carry baskets and trays of foods, and small girls trail them, clutching candles and marigolds. All squat beside the graves, lay out the food, ar-

range candles around the edge, and sprinkle marigold petals in the form of a cross. Unlike the custom in Tzintzuntzan, men rarely come to the graveyard. By 4 o'clock five score or more graves are decorated, and the side of the hill is illuminated by hundreds of candles. Great crowds of tourists have come, and the Tarascan women show no hesitancy in talking with them. No one shows signs of grief; rather, it is a pleasant annual outing to be enjoyed by all. "Do the souls of the dead come to eat?" No, in Janitzio, as in Tzintzuntzan, the souls visit the island, but they do not eat. All night long boats arrive from Pátzcuaro with the curious, and from the water the island stands out sharply illuminated for many kilometers around, in contrast to the rest of the year when, with great difficulty, one can pick out a light or two from the mainland.

PROCESSION OF THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE

(NOVEMBER 11)

On December 12 in all parts of Mexico there is a celebration in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe. In Tzintzuntzan, preparations begin a month earlier. The *cargueros* of the Chapel of Guadalupe arrange the procession in which the picture of the Virgin, which is enshrined above the chapel altar during the remainder of the year, is carried to La Soledad, where it is placed on the left-hand altar to remain until December 11. Tiny girls in indigenous costume, the *güares*, are brought by their parents, who themselves come with wax candles. The procession is announced for 5 o'clock in the afternoon; actually, nobody takes this hour seriously, and not until 9 in the evening does the line begin to move, headed by the picture on a litter, and followed by perhaps 200 people. Pascual's band plays, rockets are shot, and the *rezanderos* lead chants. The Virgin safely enthroned on her altar, a few persons remain to light candles in her honor; the rest drift off to their homes.

FIESTA OF THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE

(DECEMBER 12)

On December 11 the painting of the Virgin is carried from its resting place in La Soledad to the home of Victoriano Picho, one of the *cargueros* of the Chapel of Guadalupe, where

José Estrada constructs an elaborate frame for it, 2.5 m. high, of reeds covered with white crepe paper and artificial roses. When all is ready it is placed on a litter and carried to the nave of La Soledad in the late afternoon. While arrangements are made for the procession back to Ojo de Agua, a number of people come to light candles to the Virgin. Meanwhile, two small girls in white, with paper wings, dressed to represent angels, are placed in front of the painting on the litter. After dark Pascual's band plays, followed by the *chirimías* and a drum. Four men shoulder the litter, gingerly lift it out from under the paper streamers with which the church is adorned, and walk to the door. Outside are the members of the various religious orders, women with candles, and men with Fourth of July sparklers. The litter bearing the Virgin, preceded by the band and the *chirimías*, proceeds down the streets and toward Ojo de Agua. The *chirimías* are playing a weird, unrecognizable tune, perhaps a survival from pre-Conquest times. Presently the notes penetrate my consciousness; the *chirimías* are playing the "Beer Barrel Polka." My feeling of participating in an ancient rite is not heightened when Pascual's band takes over, to blare forth "On Wisconsin" and "Our Sturdy Golden Bear." "Where in heaven's name did you learn *those* songs, Pascual?" "*Pues, quién sabe*, but I like them. Don't you?"

With the sparklers, lighted candles, and rockets, the little procession is unusually gay. Presently we arrive at the chapel, and the image of the Virgin is placed on the altar. All day the *cargueros* have been preparing *pozole*, tamales, *aguacatas* (bean-filled tortillas), and other food to feed those who come with the Virgin. After prayers food is served, and the visitors disperse until the following morning. On Wednesday, December 12, there is Low Mass at the late hour of 7:30 in La Soledad, and then people begin to gather at the chapel in Ojo de Agua. A few booths, set up on the highway just outside the chapel, display *jícamas*, sugarcane, oranges, peanuts, bread, and other foods. Wenceslao and Faustino Peña have just returned from a trip to the *tierra caliente* for the purpose of bringing back these delicacies, and Jesús, not to be outdone by his brothers, has set up a small stand, a *cantina*, next to them. Inside the chapel wall

pozole is being served in heaping plates to all who come. At 10 o'clock the *deconeada* Mass, with three visiting priests, is held, and the little chapel, gaily festooned with paper streamers, is filled to overflowing, with several hundred people standing outside, hoping to catch a glimpse. A number of Tarascans arrive in canoes from other lake villages, the band and *chirimías* play, and trade at the little stands is brisk.

More than ever one realizes the social role which fiestas play in the lives of the people. For some it is an opportunity for a little commerce, though even for these perhaps the commerce is the excuse and not the end. For more there is the attraction of spiritual welfare, and for all, there is occasion to break away from daily routine for a few hours, to enjoy the feeling of a full stomach and no pressing work, to bask in the warm sunlight, to have a drink or two, and just to relax with one's family and friends. The recreational attractions of the big cities have little to offer of greater interest to people of the small towns than these products of their own effort and initiative.

SUMMARY

The Church is an absolutely essential complex in the lives of the Tzintzuntzeños. Without it there would be no spiritual hope and, probably even more important, few means of recreation. As the sociospiritual focal point of the culture, it is comparable to the Protestant churches of pioneer, midwest, rural communities of the 19th century in the United States. The Church is a very expensive complex. Contributions are expected at regular intervals throughout the year. Collection is taken at each Mass; an alms box is prominent when one enters the church at any time; membership in the various religious orders requires periodic contributions; special assessments are made at the time of fiestas; Masses for the dead must be paid; tithes in the form of agricultural produce are expected; candles and wax must be purchased; special clothing for some events is donated; the several Church councils have their treasuries to which one must make contributions, and work must be donated for the repair and maintenance of Church properties. *Cargueros* have heavy expenses mounting to several hundred pesos a year. Religious expenses fall into three categories: money and

produce which go directly to the priest; contributions to the several Church councils, for care and maintenance; and expenses for fiestas, *cargueroships*, and the like. Estimating Church income is very difficult, and the results are open to question. A former sacristan of the early 1930's estimated the direct income to the priest as follows:

Sunday Mass.....	\$5-8
Daily Mass.....	\$2-3
Fiesta del Rescate....	\$2,000
Maundy Thursday....	\$300
Ascension Thursday....	\$300
Thursday of Corpus..	\$300
Other fiestas.....	lesser amounts.
200-300 <i>fanegas</i> of maize (20,000-30,000 liters).	
25 <i>cargas</i> of wheat (5,500 liters).	
30 <i>fanegas</i> of beans (3,000 liters).	
Eggs, chickens, fruit, vegetables.	

Maize, wheat, and beans are sold by the priest, while the eggs, chickens, fruit, and vegetables are for his own table. The former sacristan estimates the total amount of Church income, including produce, at \$20,000. Since that time Mexico has experienced inflation of between 300 and 400 percent. Probably contributions have not increased in proportion; it seems reasonable to assume, however, that by 1945 Church income was between \$30,000 and \$40,000, and possibly considerably more.¹³ Contributions to the three Church councils are small, perhaps not more than \$1,000 for all. On the other hand, contributions to costs of fiestas, money spent at fiestas, and above all, expenses of *cargueros*, are very considerable, though any estimate would involve so much guesswork as to be worth almost nothing.

It is interesting to compare these figures with those for municipal government. In 1944 the total income of the *municipio*, of which the town itself accounts for only about one-fifth of the population, was \$2,675.70. Rural lands belonging only to Tzintzuntzan are assessed for \$556.48 in taxes, although somewhat less than this sum is collected. Urban property brings perhaps as much, in addition to which there are taxes on stores and bars. It is probable that the total amount spent on civic improvements and government, apart from the school, is from

¹³ It must be remembered that perhaps a half or more of this total is contributed by the inhabitants of the neighboring *ranchos*, which do not have churches of their own.

a tenth to a twentieth of the income of the Church itself, not counting other religious expenses of the population.

It is apparent that the Church is of tremendous importance. Nevertheless, it must not be assumed that all individuals react to it in the same manner, nor to the same degree. Probably the range of religious emotion is less in Tzintzuntzan than in the United States, or than in larger Mexican centers of population. I doubt, for example, that there is a real atheist in the village. On the other hand, inspection of the work charts reveals a surprising number of people who are by no means regular in their attendance at Mass. And there are a few individuals who have not confessed for many years, though they will expect to die in the arms of the Church. *Comadre* Carmen confesses at least once a year, but except for fiestas rarely goes to Mass. Her infant daughter Lupe once cried a great deal during Mass and the priest verbally chastised her; now she does not want to risk another similar experience. Juan M. is one of the few men who can really be called bigamous, since he has lived with a mistress for years and had several children by her, in addition to children by his legal wife. Because of this relationship the priest cannot receive his confession, and he does not go to Mass. Yet during Mass on Good Friday I note that he enters the church and gives money to his legitimate children for the collection plate. And several days later he chats amiably with Father Tovar while the latter waits the arrival of the *flecha*, the bus for Morelia. Juan has been to the United States as an indentured laborer, a *bracero*, and among his most treasured souvenirs are pictures of the Catholic churches in the towns where he worked. At the same time, he is impressed with the religious tolerance of the United States. "There, anybody goes to the temple he prefers, and nobody criticizes him for it; it would be better for us here in Mexico if we did the same."

Vicente Rendón is a good Catholic, a former *carguero*, and a faithful churchgoer. One afternoon he thinks out loud. "They say that the *evangelistas* ('evangelists', i. e., Protestants) are more Catholic than we, that they are the real Catholics, that they really feel their religion. Sometimes I think that we are simply Catholics *con los labios para afuera*, Catholics on the sur-

face." Knowing Vicente well as a religious man I suspect that his musings are prompted by a feeling of false guilt, that he should be an even better Catholic. Vicente and Nati once accompanied me to Mexico for several days. Their first act was to visit the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe; after that they were ready for sight-seeing. Doña Andrea is the best of all possible Catholics. When her grandchildren come in to receive her blessing each morning before going to school, she kisses each, making the sign of the cross over him. One June day when I am headed for Mexico City she comes to the highway to say good-by, and to bring a parting request. "One day, *señor*, when you go to Tepeyac, please ask the Virgin of Guadalupe to remember us here in Tzintzuntzan. Lightning has already killed several people; please ask her to spare us."

During *pozoles* and at other gatherings men inevitably tell stories and, curiously, these are in the best smoking-room tradition, centering about the activities of the priest. Many are variants of stories equally well-known in the United States. Perhaps they represent a subconscious resentment of the power and position of the priesthood. By and large, the word of the priest is law. When the former priest declared the Government school off bounds, with the penalty of excommunication for parents who sent their children to it, its attendance dropped almost to zero. Yet there are limits, and even good Catholics stood up against some of the extreme dictates of this man. One father, after seeing his children drift through a year of the priest-sponsored *Sinarquista* school, decided that education was so important as to justify flouting the ecclesiastical order. "They had not even learned the alphabet in an entire year, so I sent them to the Government school. Then I wondered if the priest had excommunicated me, since he had never said anything. I knew that an excommunicated man could not confess, so I decided to try to confess. If the priest accepted my confession, then I would know I was still in good standing." With fear in his heart the father waited in line to confess, the priest heard him (he omitted from his confession the fact that his children were in the Government school), assigned penance, and the father knew that he was still a good Catholic.

All evidence indicates that Tzintzuntzan is

as thoroughly Catholic as any Mexican village. All during the religious persecution of the late 1920's, when priests were forbidden to say Mass, and when many churches were closed, Tzintuntzan succeeded in hiding a priest who said Mass regularly in private homes, and attended to the spiritual needs of the parishioners. Although a few persons temporarily considered themselves

communists and actively supported the agrarian movement, the *Cristero* activities of this period found scant support. Government plans for programs of economic and social reforms probably will succeed only when predicated on the assumption that the town is thoroughly Catholic, and changes must not do too great violence to the established religious order.

THE LIFE CYCLE

PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

Child bearing is the accepted lot of the girl who marries, and in the absence of general knowledge of contraceptives, pregnancy is expected within a few months of marriage. Lack of appetite, morning sickness, a persistent bitter taste in the mouth and, above all, cessation of the menses, are the common signs. During the fourth month the services of a midwife are sought. She comes to the home of the expectant mother and rubs her abdomen with oil, repeating the treatment in 5 days. Sometimes no further attention is given, and in other cases the midwife comes every 2 weeks until delivery. The latter is preferable, since she should be on the alert for possible breech delivery, which she is said to be able to recognize. If this condition is discovered in the early stages of pregnancy, a good midwife is believed to be able to turn the foetus so that birth occurs in the normal fashion. Tzintuntzeños share the common Mexican belief that a first pregnancy lasts 9 months while subsequent ones last only 8 months.

A number of restrictions govern the actions of a pregnant woman and, to a lesser degree, those about her. Most important is that she not be unhappy or worried, and that her food cravings be satisfied. It is the foetus which really is asking for special foods, and if not satisfied it will emerge as a miscarriage. She should avoid venison, on pain of a difficult delivery, must not drink alcoholic beverages, nor eat *brevas*, the season's first figs from a tree. If chiles are eaten after the first 3 months the child will suffer from *chinkual* (T.), cutaneous eruptions which last several months after birth. If other persons eat in the presence of a pregnant woman without offering her food, the child will be born with its mouth open.

The woman must avoid falls and frights, not lift heavy objects, and not remain in one position too long. She must be particularly careful not to urinate in the same spot as an animal; this causes the baby to resemble the animal. For families without privies and with roving dogs and burros this would seem to present well-nigh insurmountable difficulties. Bathing should be done every third day, instead of at the usual weekly intervals. A pregnant woman who tries to cure boils or doctor wounds merely makes the sick person worse. She should not hang a thread or string around her neck—a common action in sewing—for fear the umbilical cord will strangle the child. For the same reason, the husband should not hang a sash around his neck. Heated kilns should not be approached closely for fear the heat will injure mother and child.

The pre-Conquest Mexican belief in the danger of an eclipse to a pregnant woman is manifest in the superstition that the eclipse "eats" a part of the child's body, that it is born with a harelip, or lacking a foot or hand. This danger is avoided by wearing a red petticoat or red sash beneath the skirt or by putting a metal object such as a needle or pin in one's clothing close to the body. Since iron was unknown in pre-Conquest Mexico this second precaution appears to be European.

Women say they prefer girl babies, since when grown they will help around the house; most men express a preference for sons, to help them in the fields or in other chores. Few parents want twins, simply because they mean more work; there is no belief that they are unlucky. Twins are thought to result from careless food habits: a married woman of child-bearing years should not eat paired fruits, such as mangoes, chayotes, or bananas. The

restriction applies only to individual specimens which clearly are pairs, and is not generic. Twins are also thought to be a punishment of God; if a woman admires twins He will see to it that her next children are twins. There are few prognostications about sex and appearance of unborn children. It is said that a woman who clearly shows her pregnancy will have a daughter, while one less evidently pregnant will give birth to a son. Bitter saliva of the mother-to-be forecasts a child with thick hair.

Miscarriages are so common that almost all women probably experience them at one time or another. "There are a few women," says Carmen, "who miraculously have not suffered miscarriages." Probably the heavy pummeling of the abdomen given by the midwife is a contributing factor in this high incidence. One case was noted immediately after this treatment. Popular belief attributes miscarriages to a fall or blow, a fright, an eclipse, lifting heavy objects, or failure to satisfy the whims of the expectant mother. An infusion of rotted oak, a piece of cowhide, and the coral purchased in markets is sometimes taken to prevent miscarriages.

Abortions are sometimes produced, both by unmarried girls and by women who feel that they already have enough children. *Lejía de jabón*, purchased in drug stores in Pátzcuaro, is the most common method, though infusions of ordinary soapy water are also said to produce the desired results. Urban practice reaches as far as Tzintzuntzan; there a professional abortionist plies his trade by means of pills. He is also rumored to have pills which aid women to become pregnant.

The same restrictions which govern pregnant Mestizos in Tzintzuntzan are generally observed by the Tarascans, who have a firmer belief in the necessity of strict observance, and who add a number of other taboos. The parents-to-be must not eat rabbit for fear the child will have big ears, nor do they eat squirrel for fear it will have big teeth and a long nose. They do not kill rabbits or snakes or look at lizards; to do so would cause the child to suffer *teronen* (T.) or *uitsaman* (T.), a chest or heart ailment.

Before parturition the midwife cautions the father to have ready cooking oil, brandy, al-

cohol, and chocolate. Vicente Rendón, before the birth of his first child, was the typical anxious father-to-be. He laid in his stocks well in advance of the anticipated day, with the result that small daily inroads completely exhausted the supply, and at the last minute he had to rush out to make new purchases. When labor pains begin older children are sent to the homes of relatives and the midwife is summoned. She is aided, normally, only by the husband and perhaps by the girl's mother or some other older female relative. A few children are delivered with the mother lying in bed or reclining in a chair. Customarily, however, when pains become severe the woman kneels on a petate and supports herself on her husband who kneels opposite her and holds her around the waist. The midwife gives her a drink of chocolate mixed with pepper and a local, unidentified herb, *chopaskle*. Often a stew of deer snouts and opossum, lard, or children's urine, or all three are given. Sympathetic magic may be invoked by folding a "doll," a wad of rags, in a sash tied around the woman's waist.

A number of techniques are used to facilitate difficult births, most common of which is massage and abdominal pressure. Or the woman may be placed on a blanket held by midwife and husband and rolled back and forth for a few minutes. Sometimes a small fire is built in the room, on which is placed a casserole containing sugar and alcohol. The laboring woman straddles the fire, covering it with her voluminous petticoat, so that the vapor moistens her lower extremities, and turns around three times. A mixture of heated lard and onions is used to anoint buttocks, stomach, and vulva, and sometimes tortillas smeared with onions and oil are placed on the thighs and hips. Hot, steaming cloths may also be placed on the abdomen. To help produce muscular contractions to expel the infant, vomiting is caused by forcing a woman's braids down her throat.

When the infant finally emerges it is turned over to the other female to hold, and the midwife directs her attention to receiving the after-birth. When it is slow in appearing, a ground prickly pear cactus leaf is boiled and given to the woman to eat. Walnut blossom tea may be given to stimulate the flow of blood following birth, and infusions of sugarcane and *epa-*

zote are given to cleanse the alimentary tract. Normal births are said to take a couple of hours, and difficult deliveries a day or a night or longer. In such cases it is becoming increasingly common to send for a doctor in Pátzcuaro.

Treatment of new-born babies is fairly uniform. The umbilical cord is measured off three or four fingers and cut with scissors, tied with thread, rubbed with onion, burned with a candle, and annointed with burned tules and tallow. A special pad with a hole for the stump is placed over the navel and a sash tied to hold everything in place until the stump drops off after 3 or 4 days. Oiling of the navel continues for 3 weeks and a tight sash is used for 3 months to minimize danger of rupture. New-born babies occasionally are washed with warm water and soap, but oiling is more common. In any event, the midwife opens the mouth and pushes up on the hard palate to strengthen the *mollera* to avoid possible illness from this cause.

Potters bury the afterbirth in the firebox of the kiln. Other families follow the older Tarascan custom of burying it under the *paranguas* (T.), the three stones of the hearth. Through contagious magic the heat prevents the child from catching cold or having a chill. But the disposition of the afterbirth is much more than a simple superstition. In a sense it represents a link in the chain that emotionally binds the individual to his home and his land. A house becomes a home to a new wife when the first placenta is buried, and as others follow the bond grows stronger and stronger. Doña Andrea reminisces about her 40 years in the same house and patio. They have been happy years and she has much for which to be thankful. Coming as a stranger from Quiroga she had to adjust herself to the ways of a smaller and more primitive community, to leave her family to live with that of her husband. Now, there is no one who is more a part of Tzintzuntzan than she. In an expansive gesture she sweeps her hand toward the kiln, "Why, the placentas of all of my children are hurried in that very spot." Yes, this is her home. Some questions have a way of backfiring. "And what do you do with the placenta in your country?" Mary, who is quizzing, is momentarily struck speechless. But Doña Andrea, never one to let

conversation lag 5 seconds, continues, "I understand they just flush it down the toilet. Is that right?" And Doña Andrea thinks she understands why the gringos have so little attachment to their homes that they willingly come to live in a strange country.

The umbilical stump of boys is saved for several possible uses. That of the first-born is valued for its medicinal properties; dried and boiled, it is good for many kinds of internal disorders, and particularly the *empache* or complications believed to result when a new father insists on his sexual privileges with the mother before the expiration of 40 days. Such stumps sold to *curanderas* are said to be worth up to \$5. Stumps buried with chayote seeds are believed to cause the vine to produce abundantly. In former days muleteers carried their stump with them to the *tierra caliente* on their first trip, burying it under a tree in a town where they hoped to come regularly to sell pottery. This act, it is said, was believed to ensure good sales and protect one from illness in that town. Perhaps, in view of the foregoing data, it was thought that in this way a little bit of home could be carried to a distant village. Often the stump is buried in the coffin with a young child.

Immediately after birth the mother is given a sprig of mint to eat and a cup of water to drink. Many women are said to be able to nurse before the birth of their child, in which case the baby is given to the mother as soon as it has been wrapped in cloths. If the breasts have not yet filled the baby is allowed to nurse to stimulate the flow of milk, and is given drops of honey as nourishment. Formerly a salamander, the *achoke* (T.), was boiled and fed the mother to increase her milk. In recent years this animal has all but disappeared from the lake and *atole* of chickpeas has been substituted. In recent years, with the advent of the highway and the nearness of doctors, some children have been raised on formulas. Food for the mother consists of light meals of chocolate, *champurrado* (*atole* made with chocolate instead of water), coffee and milk, spaghetti-type soups, bread, and tortillas. Broth of the meat of the female of cattle and chickens is given (but not of the male). Theoretically only "hot" foods are given, though in practice

there is some disagreement as to what a "hot" food is, and lists often disagree. Beans, said to be "hot," are nevertheless forbidden until the umbilical stump falls off. Especially bad are rice, pork, and fish. Fathers, to a lesser extent, are expected to observe the same taboos, especially avoiding the meat of male animals.

Each day the midwife visits the mother, to massage her and observe the child. After 3 days the mother may sit up if she wishes, and after 10 days she is bathed. At the end of 3 weeks she may leave the house, first rubbing herself with cooking oil and then soaping and washing herself in cold water to which alcohol has been added. Many women share the general Mexican belief (in cities as well as country) that a new mother should not leave her home for 40 days. Particularly, the husband should not have intercourse with his wife during this period. One wife who died of complications a few weeks after childbirth is believed by her family to have been "murdered" by the husband, who insisted on his sexual privileges before the end of this period.

The Mongolian spot is common, and perhaps almost universal among both Mestizos and Indians. Carmen discusses the children whom she knows who were so born, holding her daughter, 2-month-old Alicia, on her lap. "And Alicia," I ask, "does she have it?" Carmen turns her surprised and protesting child bottoms up, and sure enough, there is the purple spot at the base of the spine, standing out plainly against the brown skin. The mark is due, says Carmen, to the custom of carrying money in one's waist sash during pregnancy. But since the spot always goes away, no special attempt is made to avoid it.

It is said that when a baby is blond or reddish in color it will be very dark when grown, and, conversely, a dark child will be light-complexioned.

There are four recognized midwives in Tzintzuntzan between 55 and 60 years of age, and a younger woman of 40 who is still an apprentice. All are married, with children of their own, but none has had any real medical instruction. Pre- and post-delivery visits are charged at the rate of \$0.30 to \$0.50. First births, because of greater difficulties, cost \$5 to \$7, and subsequent births \$3 to \$5. In addition to these, a few other women, such as Doña Andrea,

may act as midwives from time to time, though they do not consider it a profession.

Data on Tarascan birth customs as they prevailed at the end of the 19th century are given by Nicolás León (1910, pp. 71-76). The most important points are abstracted in the following paragraphs.

The midwife came at frequent intervals to massage the woman's abdomen to give "good posture" to the foetus. A pregnant woman ate no fish or meat in *mole* sauce, and very little salt. Should she eat meat cooked in sauces containing chile the child would be born *lazarino*, leprous. Otherwise, she should satisfy all food desires. Pregnant women hid themselves under mats in the innermost recesses of the house during an eclipse, or put a metal key in direct contact with their bodies to prevent the child from having a harelip. During a difficult delivery the midwife would ask her what desires she had not satisfied, so that the food could be brought to her during delivery.

Abortion occurred in some cases. León states that he witnessed one produced by the seeds of the *Purénchequa* tree (*Erythrina coralloides*, identification by León), which caused severe vomiting. Infanticide, particularly in pueblos with Mestizo contact, is said to have been frequent.

During delivery a woman kneeled, supporting herself on a rope, hung from a rafter, in which knots had been tied, and which terminated in a small cross bar. Until pains became frequent the woman was obliged to walk around the house. Then she kneeled, holding the rope, supported by female assistants of the midwife. The umbilical cord was cut with flint and the stump tied with black cotton thread which was considered to be a "hot" color. Any other color would not do, since only black is "hot." A "cold" thread would cause the child to catch cold. Meanwhile, the cord was tied around the left thigh for fear that it might reenter the woman's body. The afterbirth was not buried, but simply placed in the fireplace to be burned. The midwife herself kept the umbilical stump of a first child because of its medical and magical properties.

The stump was anointed with tallow from a burning candle and covered with black wool. Next the palate was properly formed by introducing the index finger greased with olive oil and pressing upward.¹ Then a gourd cup was placed on the head like a skull-cap to give it the right form, and the nose and ears rubbed with fingers covered with tallow to "fix" them. Before doing all this the child usually was bathed in nearly cold water. If the child had difficulty in getting its breath the midwife blew into its mouth, and if this did not work she placed it under a wooden tray on which she beat incessantly with a stick.² As

¹ This is connected with the present-day belief about the *mollera*, p. 266.

² In Veracruz I have seen sick or dying chicks placed under a *sirián* tree gourd which is tapped with a corncob. Sometimes the chick appears to revive.

a last recourse a small chicken was beheaded and the bloody neck inserted in the infant's anus.

In case of slow deliveries the midwife's assistants raised the woman and shook her, "as one does to a sack to fill it completely." Meanwhile pressure was exerted on the abdomen while the midwife inserted one hand in the vagina to feel for the child. The woman was tossed on a sheet only in difficult cases. Slow expulsion of the afterbirth was treated by forcing the mother to drink warm salty water to cause vomiting.

A new mother remained in bed from a few hours to several days, taking care to avoid any drafts. *Atole* was the food for the first days, after which she ate normally. No bathing or changing of clothes was allowed for the 40-day period of *puerperio*, or time after childbirth. Inexplicably, León says then the mother bathed in the *temascal*, an impossibility since the Tarascans were, at least at this date, unacquainted with this custom. The husband did not cohabit with his wife for some weeks for fear she suffer and die from *empacho*.

STATISTICAL DATA ON BIRTHS

The municipal birth records of Tzintzuntzan were examined from 1931, the first full year of the *municipio*, through 1944, a period of 14 years. These records have been well kept, and when checked against grown children appear to be almost 100 percent accurate for live births. Some stillbirths are entered, but these have been disregarded since they represent but a small fraction of the total number of this class. Until 1934 the data include a guess as to whether the parents are Indians or Mestizos. Mode of marriage of the parents is given: civil and Church, civil only, or Church only. If the parents are not civilly married, children are not technically legitimate, though this means very little. Among older parents there are quite a few cases in which marriage by the Church only is recorded. Almost all younger parents have been married in both fashions. Very few civil marriages to the exclusion of Church marriages are listed. Recorded data also include the names and ages (largely guesswork) of the parents and grandparents, number of previous births to the parents, religion (invariably Catholic), occupation of the parents (mothers always listed as "no occupation, on account of her sex"), together with the names, nationality, age, domicile, and occupation of two disinterested witnesses.

Female births are more numerous than male

births; for the 14-year period an average sex ratio of 91.1 is indicated. The sex ratio of the living population in 1945 was 85.8. This lower ratio probably is due to more men than women moving away from the village, and perhaps to slightly greater female longevity. Male, female, and total births, together with the sex ratio, are given in table 37.

Total births for 1944, when checked against the population of 1,231 recorded in the census of February, 1945, indicate a crude birth rate of 45.5. Official government figures for the cen-

TABLE 37.—Total registered births in Tzintzuntzan, 1931-44

Year	Births			Sex ratio
	Male	Female	Total	
1931.....	30	21	51	142.9
1932.....	28	23	51	121.3
1933.....	19	33	52	57.6
1934.....	42	31	73	135.5
1935.....	17	21	38	80.9
1936.....	21	34	55	61.8
1937.....	32	24	56	133.3
1938.....	30	29	59	103.4
1939.....	23	41	64	56.1
1940.....	29	30	59	96.6
1941.....	22	32	54	68.8
1942.....	28	22	50	127.3
1943.....	24	28	52	85.7
1944.....	22	34	56	64.7
Total...	367	403	770	.....
Average.....	.....	.....	.....	91.1

sus of 1940 (1,077) and 1930 (1,003) are probably somewhat smaller than reality. Subsequent rechecks of our census added about 50 names overlooked on the first day. Adding this rough correction to the 1940 census, and assuming a population of 1,127, and figuring an average of 54.3 births for the 10-year period 1935-44, a crude birth rate of 48.2 is indicated. If the population for each year were calculated, it appears that there would be a slight but hardly significant downward slope in the birth rate trend for the 14-year period under consideration.

A count of births for each month for the 14-year period gave the following totals:

Month	Births
January.....	62
February.....	78
March.....	61
April.....	65
May.....	70
June.....	78

Month	Births
July.	54
August.	71
September.	63
October.	55
November.	55
December.	58

Though the sample is small it is apparent that, in spite of great irregularities in the curve, births are less numerous during the second half of the year than during the first half. A graph by months of the entire 14-year period failed to reveal any significant patterns. Two pairs of twins, all females, were born during this period.

An attempt was made to determine the average interval between marriage of parents and birth of first child, and intervals between births of succeeding children. This meant the tedious process of recording marriages and hunting through all succeeding birth registration books for possible children. Many records had to be thrown out because children were marked as second or third who appeared to be first, and vice versa. Also, some people had not registered some children, so these cases also had to be eliminated. This reduced the Tzintzuntzan sample to such small size as to be virtually worthless, so it was decided to include cases from among the Mestizo villages of the entire *municipio* to contrast with those from the Tarascan communities of the *municipio*. The resulting sample is small, including 41 Mestizo families and 26 Tarascan families, but does give a general idea.

Table 38 shows by half-year periods the time between marriage and first births, and the intervals between births of subsequent children. Miscarriages and stillbirths, which obviously could not be traced, undoubtedly greatly affect the statistics. Almost exactly half of the Mestizo couples had children by the end of their first year of married life, and only two had children after less than 9 months. Over 80 percent had had children by the end of 18 months. The Tarascans, on the other hand, show the greatest percentage of first births during the period 1 year to 18 months, and only about 60 percent had had children by the end of the first 18 months. The average period between marriage and birth of the first child among Mestizos is 15 months, while among Tarascans it is 23 months. For both groups the greatest number of second children came 18 to 24

months after the birth of the first child. Third children among Mestizos are born most frequently 24 to 30 months after the second, while among the Tarascans they are born after an interval of from 18 to 24 months. The later birth of first Tarascan children may reflect the fact that Tarascans marry at somewhat earlier ages than Mestizos, in some cases before full sexual maturity. More Mestizo boys marry at 20 and girls at 18 than at any other age, while

TABLE 38.—Intervals between marriage of parents and first child, and between subsequent children

Years	First child		Second child		Third child		Fourth child	
	Mestizo	Tarascan	Mestizo	Tarascan	Mestizo	Tarascan	Mestizo	Tarascan
0.5-1..	21	6	..	..	..	2	1	1
1-1.5..	13	10	6	1	2	3	..	1
1.5-2..	3	3	13	9	7	5	..	..
2-2.5..	1	4	5	7	9	4	..	1
2.5-3..	1	..	4	1	1	1	..	..
3-3.5..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
3.5-4..	1	2	4	1	1	1	..	..
4-4.5..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
4.5-5..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
5-5.5..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Totals.	41	26	34	23	20	16	1	3

more Tarascan boys marry at 18 and girls at 16. The median for Mestizo boys is 22 and for girls 21. For Tarascan boys it is 20, and for girls 18.5. Ages at marriage, in the cases which could be checked, proved to be correct within 1 year. The youngest Mestizo boy at marriage was 17, and the youngest girl 15. The youngest Tarascan boy was 15, and the youngest girl 12. She bore a child 19 months later, while he did not become a father until over 4 years later. Table 39 shows the age at marriage of 46 Mestizo men and women, and of 25 Tarascans.

In an attempt to determine the relative fertility of Tzintzuntzan mothers, 70 married women of 45 years of age or older were either personally interviewed or the data filled in by their children or other close relatives in a position to know the number of children given

birth to, and the approximate ages at time of death of deceased children. Table 40 shows the results of this survey. The 70 women have given birth to 354 children, an average of 5.0 per woman. The highest number of births per

TABLE 39.—Comparative age at marriage of Tarascans and Mestizos¹

Age	Mestizos		Tarascans	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
12.....	..	.	..	1
13.....	..	..	..	..
14.....	..	..	..	..
15.....	..	3	1	2
16.....	..	3	1	7
17.....	1	10	1	1
18.....	4	13	8	4
19.....	2	1	..	3
20.....	15	6	3	4
21.....	2	..	1	2
22.....	6	3	7	1
23.....	6	1	1	..
24.....	3	..	..	..
25.....	1	1	1	..
26.....	1	2	..	..
27.....	1	1	..	..
28.....	1	1	1	..
29.....	1	..	..	..
30.....	2	1	..	..

¹This table is compiled from the list of parents with children taken from marriage and birth records in the *presidencia*. With several exceptions they are the parents of children listed in table 38. Age at marriage given in table 45 is that of all recorded marriages without regard to race, for a 6-year period.

woman is 13 and the lowest 1. Of these children, 274 are either living or reached maturity (18 years of age or older) before death, giving an average of 3.9 per woman. Eighty died in infancy or before reaching maturity, an average of 1.1 per woman. (Table 50, page 271, reveals that nearly half of all children born die during the first five years of life. This indicates that the average number of births per woman is considerably higher than 5.0. Particularly in the case of older women there is a tendency to overlook children who died in infancy.) Infertility of women seems to be relatively rare. Five women were recorded who, after 12 or more years of married life, had given birth to no children, and who were believed to have had no miscarriages.

Infanticide occurs occasionally, though it is apparently not common. One unmarried mother is said to have dashed out the brains of her new-born child against the house wall, while a married mother is said to have thrown her

TABLE 40.—Fertility of Tzintzuntzan women

Number of births per woman	Number of women in each category	Total births in each category	Living children per woman	Number of women in each category	Deceased children per woman	Number of women in each category
1	3	3	0	4	0	24
2	9	18	1	6	1	20
3	10	30	2	11	2	14
4	12	48	3	14	3	2
5	10	50	4	7	4	6
6	4	24	5	9	..	..
7	10	70	6	9	..	..
8	4	32	7	7	..	..
9	5	45	8	..	..	..
10	1	10	9	2	..	..
11	1	11	10	1	..	..
12	0	0	..	..	..	..
13	1	13	..	..	..	..
Total	70	354	(¹)	..	(²)	..

¹274 living children.

²80 deceased children.

infant to the hogs "in order to be free of the nuisance." Much speculation surrounds such subjects, and accurate statistical information is unobtainable.

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

NAMES

The new infant's social and religious participation in the life of the community begins from a few days to a month after its birth, when the baptismal godparents are selected and the baptism carried out. Forty days after birth, when the mother makes her official exit from confinement, the parents and godparents again go to the church for the presentation. Descriptions of these ceremonies are given in the discussion of other types of godparent relationships. At baptism first consideration must be given to the naming of the new child. In other parts of Mexico in pre-Conquest times a horoscope was cast to determine the fate of the child and to determine a suitable name. This custom appears to have been lacking among the Tarascans; in any case, there is no modern trace in the form of nagualistic beliefs such as survived in Oaxaca and other parts of Mexico. The belief, or perhaps better, saying, that children born on Tuesdays (*Martes*) will be martyrs (*mártires*) appears to be Old World alliteration. No indigenous given names survive in Tzintzuntzan, though a few Tarascan surnames are found.

Nombres de Pila, baptismal names, are often

determined by the saint's day upon which the child is born. Since each day has several saints, a certain amount of choice is permitted. In many cases, however, parents simply select names which they like, often giving them the names of deceased relatives. Guillermo called his daughter Lupe, after his dead sister, and a son Manuel, after a great-grandfather. Sometimes parents change the name of a child already several years old, calling it after an older sibling who died. Needless to say, this causes great confusion to the ethnologist who tries to trace genealogies in the municipal register. Ignacio Estrada's son, Alfredo, was baptized Antonio. When he was a year old an older brother named Alfredo died, and his grief-stricken parents decided to strengthen the memory of the older boy by transferring his name to the younger. Adolfo Peña was 3 years old when an older brother, Rudolfo, died. His mother started calling him Rudolfo, while the rest of the family kept the old name. As a result, he scarcely knows who he is.

Lucía Peña was registered in the *municipio* books as Gloria, simply because her parents liked the name. But when the priest, upon baptizing the child, was told of this choice, he flew into a rage. "What, name the child Gloria ("Heaven")?" he stormed. "You'd just as well name a child Infierno ("Hell"). I'm going to baptize the child Lucía," and before the startled parents could recover their wits the act was done. And Lucía it is, to this day. Doña Andrea named her first son Jesús just because she liked the name. Twenty years later another male child was born to her at midnight on Christmas Eve. This posed a problem. Obviously, a child born on the day of Our Lord could have no other name, whatever the other members of the family were called, so she decided to call him Jesús. José María, the husband, grunted his objections. "We already have one Jesús, and one Jesús is enough in any family." But Doña Andrea won the day. Logic and the priest were on her side, and the new baby was duly baptized Jesús. "We'll just call them Big Jesús and Little Jesús," she announced, and so it was, *Jesús el Grande* and *Jesús el Chico*.

Having a long list of saints from which to choose appears to result in greater variety in names than one would find in an American town of the same size. The 1,200 odd inhabitants of

Tzintzuntzan have, collectively, nearly 400 different names, aside from secondary names which are less frequent than in larger Mexican cities. Likewise, the fact that most names serve either for males or females, such as Guadalupe, or can be slightly altered by the final vowel, such as Antonio and Antonia, makes for greater variety. A few names for each sex are as popular as John, Robert, or Thomas in our own society, though in most cases an individual's name will be unique, or at most he will share it with one or two other persons. Examination of the census reveals the following name frequencies; common nicknames follow in parenthesis.

Males: José, 35; Jesús (Chucho), 31; Francisco (Pancho), 25; Juan, 20; Ignacio (Nacho), 15; Luis, 15; and Antonio, 11. Lesser frequencies are: 10 each, Miguel and Salvador; 9 each, Fidel, Nicolás, Pedro, Rafael; 7 each, Agustín, Guadalupe (Lupe), Vicente; 6 each, Felipe, Félix, Genaro; 5 each, Abel, Baldomero, Bonifacio, Maximino, Pablo; 4 each, Adalberto, Adolfo, Alfonso, David, José María (Chema), Manuel, Paulino, Ramón, Sacramento, Santiago; 3 each, Alfredo, Amador, Daniel, Delfino, Domingo, Eleno, Eliseo, Enrique, Epigmenio, Gilberto, Gregorio, Leandro, Medardo, Melesio, Moisés, Nazario, Primo, Rubén, Salomón, Samuel, Sebastián, Victoriano, Zeferino; 2 each, Agapito, Benito, Benjamín, Bernabé, Cirilo, Damián, Ednardo, Efrén, Emilio, Encarnación, Ernesto, Eugenio, Faustino (Tino), Feliciano, Gabino, Gerardo, Guillermo, Hilario, Ismael, Jaime, Leopoldo, Marciano, Margarito, Mariano, Martín, Maurilio, Melquiades, Natalio, Pascual, Roberto, Rodolfo, Rogelio, Rosalío, Santos, Severiano, Silviano, Teófilo, Ventura, Wenceslao; 1 each, Abraham, Alberto, Alejandro, Ambrosio, Andrés, Angel, Anselmo, Arcadio, Aristeo, Arturo, Ascensión, Atanasio, Audón, Bardomiano, Bartolo, Benigno, Bernardino, Bernardo, Brígido, Bulmaro, Cándido, Carlos, Celedonio, Conrado, Cruz, Donato, Eleuterio, Eligio, Emiliano, Epifanio, Esiquio, Eucario, Eulalio, Eusebio, Ezequiel, Federico, Filemón, Filiberto, Filomeno, Florencio, Gabriel, Gaspar, Gaudencio, Germán, Gildardo, Gustavo, Héctor, Hilo, Hipólito, Ireneo, Isaac, Jerónimo, Joel, Julián, Julián de Jesús, Julio, Inventino, Ladislao, Laureano, Leobardo, Leonardo, Librado, Lino, Lucas, Luciano, Lucio, Magdaleno, Marcial, Marcos, Mariano, Marino, Mario, Mateo, Matías, Modesto, Nabor, Narciso, Nepomuceno, Norberto, Odilón, Patricio, Píoquinto, Ponciano, Porfirio, Prisciliano, Reynaldo, Rogelio, Rómulo, Rosendo, Sabino, Saúl, Serapio, Silverio, Silvestre, Simón, Sixto, Tiburcio, Tomás, Ubaldo, Valentín, Víctor, Zenón.

Except for Hilo, of unknown origin, all names appear to be either those of saints or of standard Spanish origin. No trace of Tarascan influence remains in given names.

Of female names, Guadalupe (Lupe) is most favored, with 40 individuals so called, due doubtless to veneration of the Virgin of Guadalupe. María follows with 33, and then Salud, 25; Juana, 13; María de Jesús, 13; Carmen, 12; Teresa, 12; Anita, 11. Lesser frequencies are: 10 each, Margarita, Rosa; 9 each, Concepción (Concha), Esperanza; 8 each, Consuelo (Chela), Josefa, Natividad, Sara; 7 each, Amparo, Celia, Dolores, Elena, Francisca, Josefina, Marcelina, Petra, Soledad; 6 each, Angela, Julia, Leonor, Ofelia, Trinidad (Trini); 5 each, Eustolia, Filomena, Magdalena, Mariana; 4 each, Andrea, Artemia, Aurelia, Crescenciana, Damiana, Encarnación, Eulalia, Herminia, Isabel, Lucía, Paz, Socorro, Susana; 3 each, Amalia, Antonia, Asunción, Bartola, Beatriz, Benita, Delfina, Felicitas, Genoveva, Gregoria, Imelda, Leonila, Macaria, Melania, Micaela, Modesta, (María del) Refugio, Sofía; 2 each, Abigail, Agripina, Alicia, Cayetana, Cipriana, Clara, Cleotilde, Daria, Domitila, Eloísa, Elvira, Ema, Emclia, Ester, Eva, Florencia, Fortuna, Gertrudis, Glafira, Gloria, Graciela, Gudelia, Herlinda, Ignacia, Inés, Isaura, Juliana, Leovigilda, Lorenza, Mercedes, (María de las) Nieves, Paula, Plácida, Romana, Sabina, Sebastiana, Silveria, Teodomira, Teodora, Ursula, Valeria, Zenaida: 1 each, Adela, Agapita, Alberta, Albina, Amada, Anastasia, Angelina, Anselma, Agustina, Aurea, Aurora, Basilia, Belén, Bonifacia, Camila, Caritina, Carlota, Catalina, Cecilia, Celedonia, Celsa, Cleofas, Cristina, Cruz, Dionisia, Elodia, Elpidia, Elvia, Emericiana, Emilia, Epifania, Ermenegilda, Erminda, Ernestina, Estela, Eufrosina, Eurígenes, Evangelina, Feliciano, Fidelia, Gabina, Gracia, Graciana, Guillermina, Hermelinda, Higinia, Hilaria, Irais, Irma, Isidora, Jovita, Laura, Leonicia, Lidia, (María de) Lourdes, Lucina, Marta, Martina, Matilde, Maura, Maurilia, Meda, Miguela, Mireya, Natalia, Nicolasa, Oliva, Otilia, Pabla, Petrocina, Piedad, Pomposa, Práxedes, Prudenciana, Rafaela, Ramona, Raquel, Rita, Romualda, Rosalía, Rufina, Salvadora, Severiana, Taidé, Teófila, Tomasa, Vicenta, Victoria, Virginia, Zenobia.

All name appear to be those of saints and virgins or other standard Spanish names except Petrocina.^{3 4}

As modes of address and salutation, given names are often replaced by kinship terminology, particularly the fictionalized *compadrazgo* terms. Adults of roughly similar ages who are so related call each other *compadre* or *comadre* as the case may be, while children say

padrino or *madrina*. Unrelated adults simply call each other by their first names. Children, if well brought up, usually address a much older person who is not covered by a kinship or *compadrazgo* term by the respectful *don* or *doña* followed by the given name. By and large, the adult status pretty well eliminates the necessity of calling members of the village unrelated to the speaker by anything more than the first name. Last names are never used, except as a means of identification. Toward strangers, either of the same apparent rural category as the villagers, or obviously of the city, due respect is shown by using the forms *señor* or *señora* in address.

As in most American villages, Tzintzuntzan families show some surnames that predominate, which are the most common. Here, everyone seems to be either an Estrada, a Morales, or a Villagómez, or be married or related to someone with this name. All persons with the same names are not of the same family, and there is no restriction on intermarriage.

A second category of names is composed of those which are fairly common, and shared by a number of families, but which lack the universality of those in the first category. These names are Aparicio, Calderón, Calvo, Chichipan, Domínguez, Felices, Gillén, Huipe, Molinero, Peña, Picho, Ramos, Rendón, Reyes, Rojas, Urbano, Urbina, Zaldívar, and Zira.

A third category of names is that of families or individuals who have been born or resided for a long time in Tzintzuntzan, but are limited to an individual or a family so that mention of the name is enough to identify the family or individual in question. These names are, Alba, Alonso, Alvarez, Angel, Arriaga, Barriga, Campuzano, Cananeo, Carrasco, Cervantes, Cornelio, Corona, Cortez, Cuiríz, Escandón, Farías, Flores, González, Hernández, Huetzen, Jiménez, Lara, López, Marín, Márquez, Matolino, Medina, Medrano, Melchor, Mondragón, Monroy, Ortiz, Pérez, Qüin, Ramírez, Rangel, Rodríguez, Servín, Tiripitío, Tzintzún, Vásquez, Villieaña, Zacapu, Zamora and Zavala.

Finally, there are names found in the village, but not of it. Silvia, for example, is from Patambicho, Bailón from Uruapan, Cerda from Tancitaro, Díaz from Quiroga, and Magallán from Santa Clara. The remaining names in this

³ Local pronunciation and faulty spelling change some of the names. Thus, Paulino is shortened to Paulín, Ireneo is pronounced Irineo, and Nepomuceno becomes Neponuceno. The initial Z of Zenón and Zenaida becomes S, as does the initial C of Celedonio. The initial G of Genoveva becomes J, and the initial H of Hermenegilda and Herlinda is lost.

⁴ The sound of this name suggests that Petra may have been mixed with Patrocínio (Patrocínio de María Santísima, November 16).

group are Almazán, Avila, Corral, Espinosa, Fuentes, Gámez, García, Hinojosa, Martínez, Quiroz, Romero, Sánchez, Tovar, and Vargas.

Surnames, to a considerable extent, can be used to distinguish Tarascans from Mestizos. Thus, names belonging exclusively to Indians are Alejandra, Andrés, Avilez, Baltasar, Camilo, Campos, Cuanás, de Jesús, Domingo, Estanislao, Francisco, Franco, Gaspar, Jerónimo, Guzmán, Lucas, Nicolás, Nieves, Ojeda, Orozco, Pablo, Picho, Ponciano, Sebastiana, Seras, Teodoro, Timoteo, and Ventura. Most common of all these Tarascan surnames, in order of frequency, are Seras, Picho, Ramos, Reyes, Aparicio, and Pérez. A curious feature distinguishes many of the names limited only to Tarascans: the surname in reality is a Spanish given name. Thus, of the 28 surnames limited to Tarascans, 15 are normally given names: Andrés, Camilo, Domingo, Estanislao, Francisco, Gaspar, Jerónimo, Lucas, Nicolás, Nieves, Pablo, Ponciano, Sebastiana, Teodoro, and Timoteo. Two, Nieves and Sebastiana, are given names of women. On the other hand, of the surnames limited to Mestizos alone or common to both groups, only Alonso, Angel, and Cornelio are commonly used as given names.

Eleven surnames from the Tarascan language are found in Tzintzuntzan. These, with their meaning or derivations, are as follows:

- Chichipan—from *chichiua*. "bachelor."
- Cuanás—"frog."
- Cuiríz—"duck" (lake area): "penis" (siera).
- Huetzen—"to sprout, to emerge" (as of plants).
- Huípe—name of an unidentified black bird.
- Picho—"dog."
- Qüin—"bird" (also "penis").
- Tiripitío—"place of gold" (from *tiripiti*, "gold").
- Tzintzún—"humming bird" (also "penis").
- Zacapu—"stone."
- Zira—apparently from *sirín*. "friend of lightning." "lightning strikes."⁵

Curiously, most of these surnames are used by Mestizos. Picho and Cuanás alone are limited to the Tarascans; Huetzen is found among

both groups, and the remainder are found only among Mestizos.

Nicknames are occasionally given to both individuals and families. *Los Venados* ("the deer") is applied to a family characterized by prominent, dark, deerlike eyes. A group of ugly, quarrelsome women, widows and maiden ladies, is called *Las Changas* ("the monkeys"). Another family is called *Los Qüines* ("the birds"), a curious combination of Spanish and Tarascan linguistic mixture (*qüin* = "bird"). For unknown reasons another family is referred to as *Las Cocas* ("the coconuts"), while a man with a sugarloaf head is called *El Pilón* (from *piloncillo*, the crude brown sugar used in rural Mexico).

INFANT CARE

Infants usually wear a short undershirt and a longer cotton dress. Diapers as such are unknown, though rags are placed in the cradle or on the petate where a child lies. Often the cradle is an oblong box with crossed rope bottom, suspended from a rafter so that it can be swung, and so as to be out of the way of dogs and ground insects. When carried about, babies are almost invariably placed in the rebozo of the mother and swung over the left shoulder, head covered and completely sheltered. Fathers may spend a great deal of spare time holding the child inside the ubiquitous serape, talking to it and coddling it. Such treatment appears to result in the feeling that serape or rebozo is the safest place in the world, and often older walking children, when surprised or frightened, seek shelter with the nearest parent, trying to hide in the garment. The breast is given to nursing babies whenever they cry, and it is said that many children sleep with the mother's nipple in their mouth. Whether this is true, or possible, infants normally sleep on the same petate as the parents, often between the two. Infants ideally are bathed in warm water every 3 days. Formal toilet training is almost lacking. When children begin to understand words they frequently are told to go to the patio to relieve themselves, and often by 2 years they are well trained. Accidents are never punished.

Heredity as a factor influencing the appearance of children is recognized, and one may hear the remark that the tall stature of children comes from one grandparent, or the blue eyes

⁵ I am indebted to Pablo Velasquez, a member of the field party and a full-blooded Tarascan Indian, for these translations.

(of which there is a surprising number) come from another. The ethnologist's comment that a child looks like a parent is greeted with interest, but not with pride or particular pleasure.

It is popularly believed that the first tooth appears at the age of 8 months, and my own chance remark that my son's first tooth appeared at 4 months was greeted with polite incredulity. Ears of baby girls are pierced at from a week to 3 months after birth by the mother, godmother, or close female friend or relative. Some women are preferred for their known skill, though it is not a profession and no payment is made. The lobe is rubbed with alcohol, a steel needle held in fire and dipped in alcohol, and drawing a red silk thread, pushed through the ear. If any other color of thread is used infection is believed to follow. The thread is tied and left for about 3 weeks, the normal healing time, after which a small metal ring is inserted. A mixture of tomato and salt may be applied to the wound if it is slow in healing. If piercing is not done during the first quarter of the moon the wound is believed to heal slowly and to look ugly.

Child development seems to be considerably slower than in our own society, e. g., few children walk before 18 months, and few words are spoken before 2 years. Parents sometimes try to induce children to say *papá*, *mamá*, *tortilla*, and the names of other children in the household. But few intelligible words are common before 2 years of age. Hair of children is not cut until they are able to talk. It is believed that cutting hair of young children retards the learning process. A key is sometimes placed in the mouth of a backward child "to open the mouth; to make it talk." Parents show pride in the development of their children by pointing at their ears, nose, eyes, and so forth, and asking them what they are. Attempts to teach children to walk are rarely begun before about 18 months. At this time the mother may pass a belt under the arms of the child, holding the ends and thus giving added support to the legs. Lucía Peña was considered very advanced by her parents because at the age of 17 months she taught herself to walk. At 23 months she was saying no words that an outsider could understand.

Older children often help infants learn to walk. Guillermo's daughter Lupe, age 2, is

observed, held by one hand by brother Miguel, and by the other by cousin Teresa, age 8, who herself carries a baby in a rebozo. Together they walk the delighted Lupe around the patio shouting "*la borrachita, la borrachita*" ("the little drunkard, the little drunkard"), all of them obviously enjoying the sport. Thumbsucking is relatively rare, perhaps owing to the common use of pacifiers and to ready access to the breast. Miguel, age 5, is told by Guillermo one morning to stop sucking his thumb. When asked why he does not want him to do so the father gives an unexpected answer, "*Por los microbios*" ("on account of microbes"). Among infants diarrhea (*posiciones*, from *deposiciones*) is the most feared of all diseases, probably followed by whooping cough and other respiratory ailments and stomach upsets. The fearful toll of these illnesses is indicated in table 51 (p. 272).

Weaning, done at about 2 years of age, usually is accompanied by few difficulties. From about a year on children are accustomed to solid foods such as *atole*, bread, bananas, beans, and milk. When the time comes for the formal break the infant is sent to sleep with its grandmother or some other female relative, and usually 1 to 4 nights is sufficient. In stubborn cases the bitter juice of the unidentified *sábila* plant is smeared on the nipple. Nursing sometimes continues for 3 years, but should the mother again become pregnant she must quickly wean the infant lest it become *ético* ("consumptive").

Tzintzuntzan parents generally are more tolerant of the meddlings of their young children than parents in our society, and voices are raised in anger with relative infrequency.

One day Lucía Peña, age 23 months, was watched while the members of her family were glazing pottery, preparatory to firing it. First she walked over to her father and smeared the white pottery which he was painting. He quietly picked her up and set her down a few meters away. Soon she was back doing the same thing. Again he picked her up and set her down a bit farther away. Again she came back, and this time he called his 12-year-old niece, Celia, to take her and entertain her. Celia casually picked her up each time she drew near to her father, and allowed her to wander around, breaking a few small pots. No attempt was made to tell her she should not break them or to keep her where she could not do it. Never was she made to feel

she was a nuisance. Presently her 14-year-old uncle, Gabino, called her to help carry small dishes, which she did with obvious pleasure.

When children cry they may be told to hush, "the coyote is coming." Often in our visits to homes a crying child was told that "the *señor* and *señora* will take you with them if you are not quiet."

Small children are allowed to nibble continually between meals. If a mother decides a child finally has had enough she will show it an empty dish saying that now there is no more.

This relative tolerance may be due, in part at least, to the fact that Tzintzuntzan children are much less active than those in our own society. Since they walk much later, and are content to be quiet over longer periods of time, there are fewer situations in which a parent is driven to distraction. I have often marveled at the apparent contentment with which small Tzintzuntzan babies remain quiet over long periods of time in the cradle or on a petate. Older children too, at Mass or at a fiesta, are able to be quiet for periods of time impossible for American children. My observations in other parts of Mexico as well lead me to believe that there is a very real difference in the amount of energy burned up by the two groups. I have been particularly impressed on those few occasions when I have seen American children of a year or two or three in small Indian or Mestizo villages, by the fact that they are in constant motion and activity, while the native children move more slowly and are content to sit quietly for long periods of time.

Corporal punishment is, of course, present, and is applied when children are fighting among themselves or when they are disobedient. Natividad, generally the most placid mother in the world, occasionally strikes Gaudencio when he does not eat well. Tzintzuntzan children are surprisingly fickle in their food likes and dislikes, and many mothers will prepare special dishes for children which are not eaten by the rest of the family. Hence, after striking Gaudencio for not eating a certain dish, his mother may prepare him something entirely different for his next meal. Children, in general, are fairly obedient and willingly run errands when asked to do so. One day Natividad was observed to ask Gaudencio to fetch water. He objected, saying he had done so once already. Natividad

said nothing and a few minutes later went for the water herself. The amount of corporal punishment depends to a considerable degree on the temperament of the parents, and in many cases severe beatings with firewood and straps were noted, even to stoning fleeing children. One adult informant complains of a kidney ailment due, he believes, to a severe beating in childhood by his stepfather. The wicked stepfather theme is not limited to north European cultures, it seems. Generally signs of affection between parents and children, up to 10 or 12 years of age, are common and uninhibited.

Church behavior is stressed from the earliest days. Babies are carried by their mothers, and from the time they can walk they accompany their parents, who enter and kneel, cross themselves, and then take the right hand of the child and put it through the same motions. Thus, from the age of 2 or 3 a child automatically crosses itself at the proper time in Mass.

Loss of milk teeth is accompanied by a formalized saying and special disposition. The child throws the tooth on the house roof saying.

Luna, luna, dame una tuna.

Yo te doy mi diente, para que me dés una tuna.

("Moon, moon, give me a *tuna* [prickly-pear cactus fruit].

I will give you my tooth so that you will give me a *tuna*).

Or,

Luna, luna, dame una tuna.

La que me diste cayó en la laguna.

("Moon, moon, give me a *tuna*.

The one you gave me fell in the lake").

The Tarascans say,

Hirasangakin nanakuku khuaniparatačin sani tejaru

Te voy madre luna arrojarte diente en la teja

Pararin prontu jaičkuntak'a

Para que pronto me los pongas.

("I am going, mother moon, to throw you a tooth on the tile roof so that soon you will give me more").

I am unable to say whether these sayings are indigenous (and translated into Spanish) or whether they represent Spanish folklore transplanted to the Tarascans.

By the age of 7 children are expected to

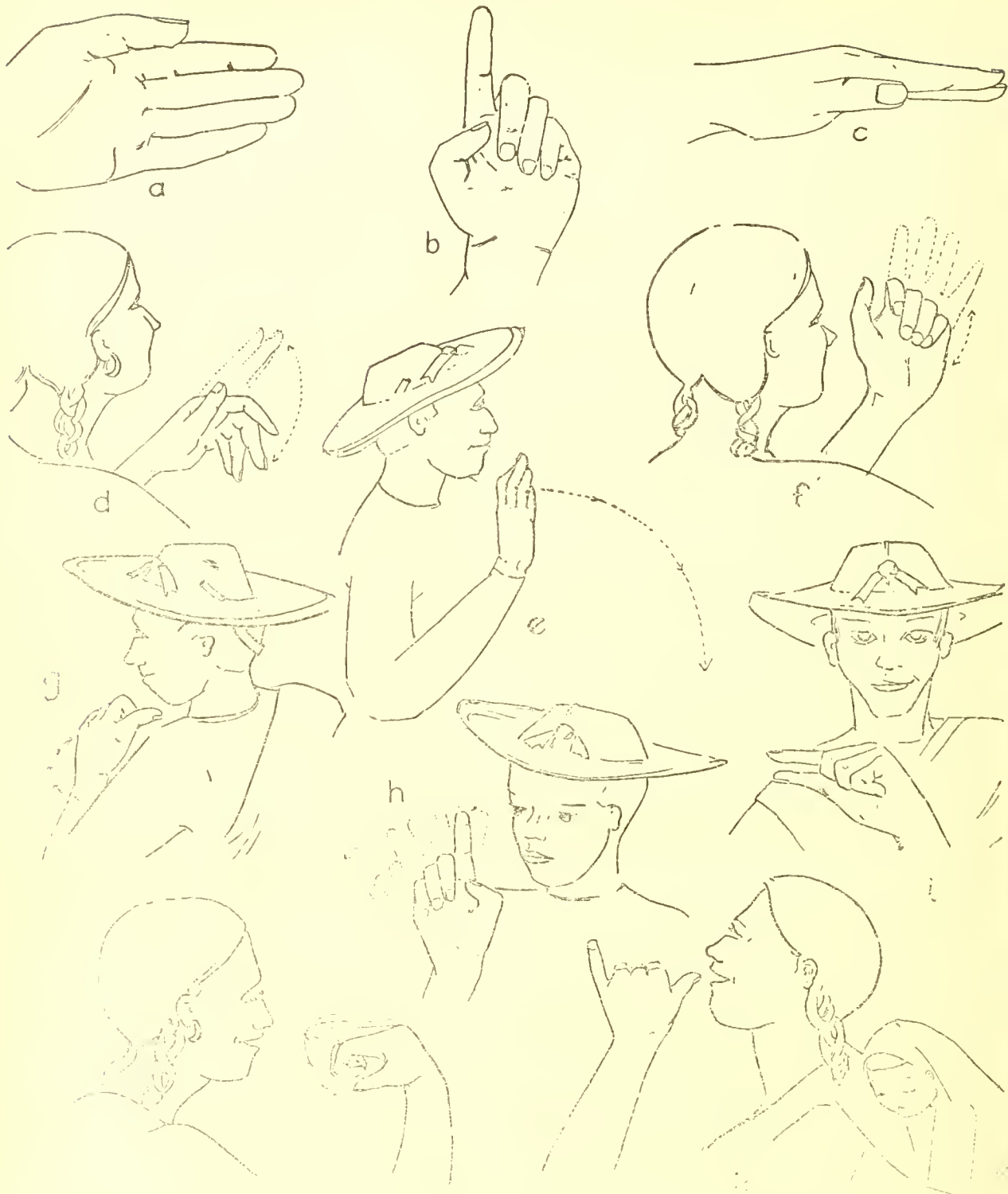


FIGURE 33.—Gestures. *a*, Height (nonhuman animate object). *b*, Height (human being). *c*, Height (inanimate object). *d*, "Come!" *e*, "Go!" *f*, "Good-by." *g*, "Come on, let's go!" *h*, "No!" *i*, "Be with you in a second." *j*, To eat. *k*, To drink liquor.

know the rudiments of Christian doctrine and the catechism. It is the duty of the baptismal godparents to make sure the parents are instructing them, and to take charge if they should fail. In practice, indoctrination once a week in the convent, taught by the priest's nieces, suffices to teach what is necessary. The baptismal godparents take the children for their first confession, and purchase a candle and orange-blossom crown to be worn at their first communion the following day, after which the child is given bread and chocolate and then delivered to its home.

An unconscious, but very important part of child education is the mastering of the series of expressive gestures without which speech would be almost impossible. These gestures are in general use in most parts of Mexico, cities as well as villages, and appear to have no derivational relationship with things Indian.

Height.—One indicates by the position of the hand whether the object referred to is human, animal, or inanimate. The hand on edge (fig. 33, *a*) is used for nonhuman animate objects, the tip of the right-hand index finger upright (fig. 33, *b*) for humans, and the hand flat (fig. 33, *c*) for inanimate objects.

Come!—The hand is held in much the same position as for waving good-by (American style) and the fingers are wiggled toward the palm. There is also a slight amount of wrist motion (fig. 33, *d*).

Go!—The right hand is swept down and away from the chest, palm out (fig. 33, *e*).

Good-by.—The hand and forearm are held at the level of the head, palm toward the face. Fingers are wiggled toward the palm, or the wrist is slightly revolved (fig. 33, *f*).

Come on, let's go!—The hand is held in about the same position as to say good-by, palm inward. Then it is swept toward the chest, rising over the shoulder (fig. 33, *g*).

No!—The hand is held in the same position as used to indicate height of a human, and the finger is moved back and forth in a slightly menacing fashion (fig. 33, *h*).

Be with you in a second!—This most useful of all gestures is used by a person who is occupied to tell another person or a new arrival that he will speak to or attend to him just as soon as he has finished whatever he is doing. The thumb and index finger are held a couple of centimeters apart and shaken slightly (fig. 33, *i*).

To eat.—The hand is held somewhat in the good-by position, but with the fingers bunched together, and the hand moved back and forth toward the mouth (fig. 33, *j*).

To drink liquor or to indicate a drunk.—The little

finger is out straight, the thumb toward the mouth, the other fingers bent toward the palm. The wrist is moved to make a series of short, quick motions imitating the downing of a "shot" of hard liquor (fig. 33, *k*).

ACTIVITIES OF OLDER CHILDREN

Older children play with and amuse younger children a great deal, and take their duties so philosophically that they do not appear to feel abused. It is no disgrace for a 9-year-old of either sex to have to mind a younger sibling, and often young friends of the nurse join in the fun. A 5-year-old girl is seen bathing her 2-year-old brother. He squats in a tray of warm water while she mercilessly soaps him from head to foot. Presently he can stand no more, lets out a cry of anguish, and the mother gently pushes the girl to one side and washes the soap from his eyes. Five-year-old Miguel plays a great deal with 2-year-old Lupe, his sister, in the patio of the house. He taps her lightly on the head with a stick, she sits down looking startled, then decides to laugh. Later, bitten by Lupe, he gives her a swat and tells his mother he is going to live some place else where he won't have to be bitten. An 8-year-old girl amuses two younger siblings, seating them on a ladder in the patio. "Please come this way, please sit down, all aboard." Her courtesy as conductor of the train toward the passengers is the only thing out of keeping. Up until the age of about 10 both sexes play together with relatively little fighting in spite of age differences. Twelve-year-old Celia is apparently perfectly happy in the company of 5-year-old Consuelo and 7-year-old Adolfo, but Gaudencio, age 11, is already very jealous of his possessions, which he forbids to his younger sisters. Particularly attractive to them is his new stereoscope which they take with their mother's tacit approval when he is gone. Gaudencio gives vent to righteous indignation upon returning home, grabs the box, and a fight ensues. The girls appeal to their parents, who take no sides and tell them to go away and settle it themselves. Presently the scuffling ceases and the affair is over. Teasing of girls by older brothers is a common pattern.

The children of Tzintzuntzan, in common with those of other towns in central Mexico, enjoy a good many more toys than one normally finds in truly primitive communities. Fiestas and

markets afford a ready supply of cheap playthings—papier mâché dolls and masks from Celaya, and tin rattles, horns, wooden trucks, men in rowboats, and the like, all from towns in Guanajuato, the toy-making state of Mexico. Besides a few dolls, made from rags or corn husks with corn-silk hair, few toys are of local manufacture. The daughters of Natividad are favored beyond other girls of their ages; their mother models large clay dolls for them, which are fired with the regular pottery. Though this could be done by any pottery-making mother, apparently none of the rest have the ability or interest to see the possibilities.

To a considerable extent girls' play is imitation of their future duties as mothers and wives. Girls of 6 or 7 years begin to putter around the kitchen, making tiny tortillas to give to their rag dolls, serving them on toy plates — of which in this pottery-making town there is never a shortage — and keeping them for supper in miniature tortilla baskets. A year or two later they may bring *nixtamal* to the mill, and begin to make purchases of simple things for the kitchen. Playing baby with younger siblings is a favorite occupation. Natividad's 8 and 5-year-old daughters wish their mother would have another baby — one that cries and talks, but does not urinate — so that they can take care of it. As next best they go to Pachita's house and bring 2-year-old Lucía home to play. One of the few strictly girls' sports is bubble blowing; a small casserole filled with soapy water and an old spool or a wheat straw as pipe are used.

Small boys play in the dirt, or kick a ball aimlessly around the patio, or one may seize one end of an old rebozo and run screaming, while another tries to grab the free end. In such simple games the idea is to shout and make as much noise as possible.

GAMES

Boys engage in formal games far more frequently than girls, and many games are not played at all by girls. There is a tendency for games to correlate with seasons, but no hard and fast rules are observed. Most popular in spring is *la patada*, a crude type of soccer in which a rubber or tennis ball is kicked back and forth in a narrow street by two opposing teams of 3 to 6 boys each, from 10 to 18 years of age.

Projecting stones in the street make each bounce unpredictable and add to the excitement; an arbitrary goal line is marked behind each team's position. Top spinning, attempting to split the opponent's top, is popular all year round, as are marbles, though the latter game is played especially during the rainy season. The most common form of marbles consists of making a square (never a circle) and throwing at a line to determine order of play. Each player places several marbles in the square, which are knocked out. Each player keeps his turn as long as he continues to knock out marbles, shooting each time from where the shooter lies. When a triangle is used instead of a square the form is called *pagavidas* ("pay with your life"). *El matatiro* is "follow the leader."

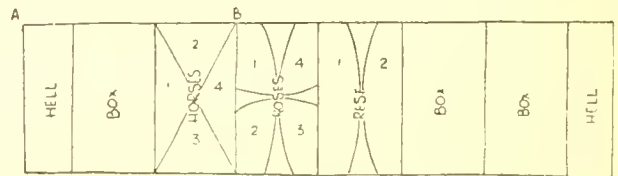


FIGURE 34.—*Peleche* game.

Peleche is a type of hopscotch played by two or more persons. The illustrated plan (fig. 34) is drawn in the dirt or on the road in chalk. Standing at line *A* the players throw potsherds or pebbles at *B*, taking turns in order of nearness. The first player throws his pebble in the first "box," then hops in on one foot, turns around, places the pebble on the raised toe of the other foot, tosses it out over "hell," and then hops out himself, touching no lines. If successfully done he then throws to triangle 1 of "horses," hops on one foot into "box," then "horses," turns, places the pebble on his free toe, and kicks it out as before. This is repeated in the other three triangles, the order for 2 and 3 being optional. When triangle 4 is successfully reached the player can place both feet on the ground for a rest before continuing. This privilege continues for all other places. A player loses his turn if he steps on a line or puts down both feet when forbidden, if the pebble does not fall in the proper place, or if it touches a line. His pebble then remains in the box tried for, from which point he again takes up after the other players have lost. The game

continues by throwing in all four sections of "roses," both sections of "rest," and the last two "boxes." Then he begins from the opposite end to return, a slower and more difficult procedure since the small areas are now more distant and require better marksmanship. If a pebble falls in either "hell," the player must start anew.⁶

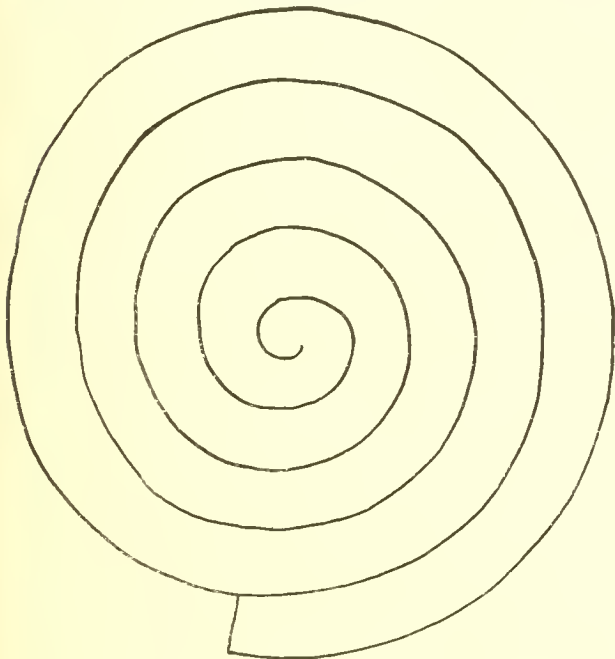


FIGURE 35.—*Caracol* game.

Caracol ("snail") is played by drawing circular lines 15 cm. apart leading to a central point (fig. 35). The player who hops to the center, around and around without touching any line, is the winner. Both this game and *peleche* are played by boys only, usually at the beginning of the rainy season.⁷

Arrancacebolla ("pull an onion") is played by a file of boys grasping each other around the waist tug-o-war fashion. "It," the *cebollero*, or onion man, begins the words:

⁶ Starr describes two games that are almost identical. One, called *bebeleche* ("drink milk"), has compartments labeled hell, crown, *bebeleche*, face, *bebeleche*, rest, box 1, box 2, and hell. Mode of play is not described. The other, called *gigante* ("giant") has a slightly different diagram, representing a giant with a stockingcap standing on a roof. The spaces have labels such as stockingcap, ear, head, stomach, and so forth. Method of play is almost identical to that of *peleche* (Starr, 1899, pp. 38, 40-41).

⁷ Starr describes a *caracol* game which differs from this in that the diagram is divided into sections, and the players throw pebbles which are kicked, apparently in much the same manner as for *peleche* (Starr, 1899, p. 33).

Cebollero: "¿Hay cebollas?" ("Are there onions?")

Line: "Sí, hay." ("Yes, there are.")

Cebollero: "¿A cómo las da?" ("How much are they?")

Line: "A diez centavos." ("Ten centavos each.")

Cebollero: "¿Están sazonas?" ("Are they ripe?")

Line: "¡Aténtalas." ("Try them.")

The *cebollero* then taps each on the head saying "Sí, están sazonas. Las voy a arrancar." ("Yes, they're ripe. I'm going to pick them.") Then he begins to pull the boys off the line, beginning at the tail, while the line moves about in an effort to avoid him, and the leader whips at him with a *rebozo*.⁸

Coyotito ("little coyote") is played by either boys or girls, but never by mixed groups. The children form a circle and revolve in either direction. These children are called *borregos* ("sheep"). "It," the *coyotito*, stands outside.

Coyotito: "Cacabú, cacabú." (the coyote's howl.)

Borregos: "¿Qué quiere ese coyotito?" ("What does this coyote want?")

Coyotito: "Carne asada." ("Roast meat.")

Borregos: "Escoja el más gordito." ("Take the fattest one.")

Then the *coyotito* tries to break the players from the line, while they kick backward with their feet to make it more difficult. Those who are pulled out must join the *coyotito* in his attempt to break up the circle.⁹

A los encantados ("To the enchanted ones") is a form of tag. Players divide into two teams, and select a large open area with several good bases. The open churchyard with its old trees to serve as bases is ideal. One team is on base, with no limit to the number of players using a base. The players try to get to other bases without being tagged by the opponents. Tagged players are "enchanted" and must remain motionless until released by the touch

⁸ Starr describes a similar game: "Cebollita: The players sit on the floor, in a line, near together, each between the legs of the one behind; each clasps the waist of the one before. One speaks to the front one in the line and says:

El padre quiere una cebollita.

(The priest wants a little onion.)

Si puede arránquela.

(All right if he can pull it.)

He must then try to pull the first one up. If successful the onion so pulled is out, and the second is tried, and so on. Failure to pull up anyone gives this one his turn to be puller." (Starr, 1899, p. 43.)

⁹ Starr describes the same game as "coyote and hens" (Starr, 1899, p. 36).

of one of their own team, or until all players have been tagged.

El coyote ("the coyote"). This game, known in many parts of Mexico and commonly called *coyote y gallinas* ("coyote and chickens"), is a kind of checkers. A square 30 to 60 cm. in diameter is drawn on paper, on a board, or in the dirt, and the coyote and 12 chickens, represented by beans, corn, or beer-bottle tops, are arranged as indicated (fig. 36). The idea is to crowd the coyote into the "prisons," either of the two corners behind him. Coyote has the

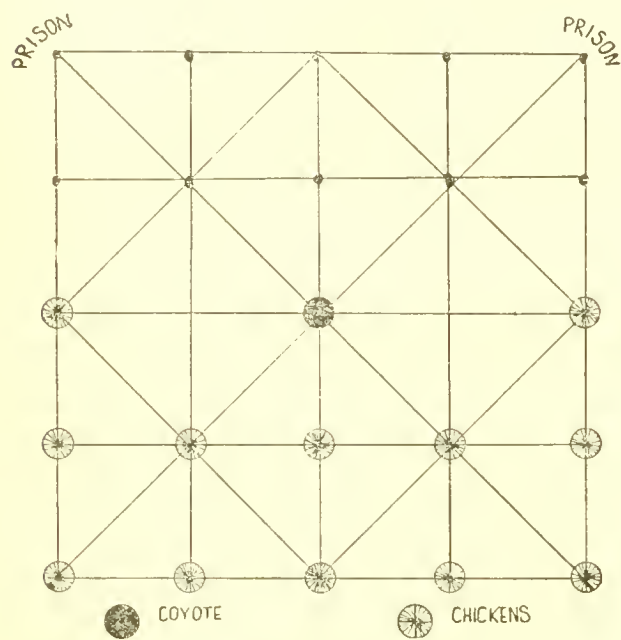


FIGURE 36.—*El coyote* game.

first move, followed by alternate single moves. Coyote "eats" a chicken by jumping it when a vacant cross is directly behind it. Unlike checkers, only one "chicken" can be jumped at a time. If the coyote manages to eat three "chickens" it is almost impossible to corner him. This game is played by men and boys of all ages. As a test of wits it compares favorably with checkers, and when watched it very quickly shows up the slow brains and the quick brains of the community.

El burro (leapfrog) is played in American fashion with the rear boy jumping over the line to the head position. The near-nonsense dialog follows:

Crouched boy: "*Chinche al agua.*" ("Bedbug to the water.")

Jumper: "*¿Cuánto pesa?*" ("How much does it weigh?")

Crouched boy: "*Una arroba y una pesa.*" ("An arroba and a weight.")

Tontorrón, played with a metal disk 5 cm. in diameter with two holes through which strings pass, and which after the initial wind continues to revolve by pulling the strings, was introduced in 1945 from an unknown source, and quickly became the rage for most boys.

Toy bows, and arrows with nail points, are played with by many boys. Vicente forbade Gaudencio to use one, with the well grounded fear that an eye might be put out.

Both the aboriginal maguery fiber "David's" sling and the forked stick *resorte* sling made from an old inner tube are used to kill birds. The latter have very tiny forks, from 3 to 5 cm. across.

Stilts are made from *colorín* wood, because of its light weight. Foot rests are made by leaving a stub branch on each stilt. They are used, by boys only, at the end of the dry season and the beginning of the rains.

Wrestling is done by boys, though without formal rules.

A few boys are skillful in making *globos*, Fourth of July type balloons of *papel de china*, colored tissue paper, which carry an oily rag burned to make heat and lift the balloon. They are released just at dusk during the spring, when light airs blow them over the town.

For older boys, basketball has become the favorite sport, and three courts are in use almost every evening. Play is very clean, and a sharp-eyed referee calls every possible foul. It is hard to overestimate the importance of this new game in the community. In a society where being beaten in any way means loss of face and desire for retaliation, an entire new generation is growing up with the idea of clean sportsmanship, fair play, and taking defeat gracefully as part of the game.

SCHOOLING

Tzintzuntzan has enjoyed schools of a kind since at least 1869, so that in contrast to many Indian villages a tradition of literacy has persisted. The period of modern schools started in

the early 1930's when Lázaro Cárdenas, then governor of Michoacán, founded an *Escuela Industrial*, a trade school. In addition to the usual basic grammar-school subjects, masters of local industries, such as pottery making, tile making, fish net weaving, and petate making, were hired to teach in this school. A master potter came from Tlaquepaque, near Guadalajara, to teach the use of the wheel (unsuccessfully) and to introduce new decorative techniques (which also failed to take hold). When Cárdenas became president he could no longer devote personal time to the school, and the new governor allowed the industrial aspects to lapse, with little if any permanent effect on the community. This school functioned in what is today the municipal building.

Subsequently an elaborate new school, the *Escuela Semiurbana Federal 2 de Octubre*, was built as a part of the project to beautify the old Tarascan capital city and lift it above the level of surrounding villages. President Cárdenas himself attended the inauguration on October 2, 1939, of the new structure, which was named in commemoration of the date of the founding of the *municipio* of Tzintzuntzan in 1930. A complete 6-year primary curriculum is taught. The building is admirably designed, with six large class rooms, an auditorium and stage, a large kitchen, a carpentry shop, and living quarters for the director and his family. Shower-baths and flush toilets, the first of their kind in town, were installed. Few rural schools in Mexico have as fine a physical plant. It functions directly under the Ministry of Education along the same lines as all other Federal schools. The school calendar, curriculum, and holidays are determined by the Federal *calendario escolar* sent out to directors at the beginning of each year. December and January comprise the long period of vacation, and school continues throughout the remainder of the year. The calendar for 1945 showed registration beginning January 31 and examinations over November 30. Nine official holidays are recognized: February 5, Constitution Day; May 1, Labor Day; May 5, Anniversary of the Battle of May 5; May 15, Teachers' Day; May 28, Day of National Solemnity; July 18, Anniversary of the death of Juárez; September 1, Opening of Congress; October 12, *Día de la Raza* ("Day of the Race," Colum-

bus Day); and November 20, Anniversary of the Mexican Revolution. Wednesday through Friday of Easter Week was vacation, as were the periods May 19-28 (spring vacation) and September 17-26 (fall vacation). The school year is not divided into semesters. A total of 187 days of school was listed officially, though in practice this number was somewhat reduced. Thus, registration in 1945 was delayed 2 weeks, until February 15, because it was impossible to think about school during the fiesta of Rescate.

Nine teachers, including three women, were on the rolls, as follows:

Monthly

Three Federal teachers, category B.	\$110
Three Federal teachers, category C.	\$100
One State teacher, category C.	\$ 90
Federal manual training teacher.	\$100
Federal lacquer-work training teacher. . .	\$100

For comparison, the caretaker of the *yácatas*, whose principal duty is to keep sightseers from walking off with the mounds, and who can barely read and write, receives \$120. These very low salaries illustrate one of the principal educational problems which Mexico must face. Such salaries are simply inadequate to attract many competent teachers. Tzintzuntzan is fortunate, in spite of its low salaries, in having remarkably well-prepared teachers, men and women with amazing devotion to the task of educating young Mexicans. This is all the more remarkable in view of the odds they labor against: indifference on the part of many townspeople, active opposition of the fanatically Catholic population, and lack of means to enforce attendance. Though the law requires all children to complete 6 years of school, in practice there is no mechanism to enforce it. Hence, cajoling and threatening are the only techniques available to the school teachers, and attendance in large part depends upon how attractive they can make school to their wards, and their ability to convince parents that children will learn nothing bad.

The former priest actively opposed the Government school and threatened to excommunicate parents who allowed their children to attend. During this period attendance fluctuated around 50, remarkably high in view of the seriousness of his threat. He offered as a substitute an *escuela particular* ("private school"),

the *Sinarquista* Catholic school which occupied the old convent building. This school violated Mexican law in that it did not follow the curriculum required by the Ministry of Education.

Father Tovar, a much more enlightened man, refused to allow the *Sinarquista* school in the convent, and advised parents to send their children to the Government school. It was not, he said, communistic, and it was the patriotic duty of each family to observe the law. Many sincere Mexicans have opposed Government schools for fear of socialistic and communistic teachings, which undoubtedly occurred in many towns. All evidence in Tzintzuntzan, however, including examination of texts, failed to disclose any particular partisan bias in teaching, and all teachers were at least nominal Catholics, regularly going to Mass. In spite of this situation, in 1945 there were two private schools, one in Ojo de Agua, each with about 25 students, as compared to 175 in the Government school. These schools were maintained by the most ardent *Sinarquistas*, and conflicts between students of the schools occasionally occurred. Children in the *Sinarquista* schools were taught to shout *comunista* ("communist") at Government school children, while the latter retaliated by shouting *santuchos* (from *santos*, "saints"), or *cagadiablos* (from *cagar*, "defecate" and *diablos*, "devils," hence "one who defecates devils"). One day little Adolfo, age 7, came running home to his mother in terror; one of the *Sinarquista* children had told him that if he went to the Government school he would be carried away by the devil. Sheer weight of numbers tended to silence the *Sinarquista* children, many of whom, I suspect, secretly envied their more fortunate companions with all of the excitement of school fiestas and activities. The *Sinarquista* schools teach little more than elementary reading and writing, and are no match for the Government school.

The daily school schedule follows prescribed Government rules, with a few modifications for local conditions. School officially begins at 9 o'clock in the morning, but in a clockless town in a country where promptness is not a recognized virtue, it is virtually impossible to maintain this schedule. In practice, teaching begins about 9:30, following approximately this order. Subjects are the same in all grades:

- 9:30-10:15—*Lengua Nacional*, reading, writing, grammar.
 10:15-11:00—Arithmetic.
 First, second grades: Addition, subtraction.
 Third, fourth grades: Division, multiplication.
 Fifth grade: Fractions, decimals.
 Sixth grade: Practical problems—calculating areas of fields, rates of interest, speeds of trains, and so forth.
 11:00-11:30—Recess.
 11:30-12:30.—Natural Sciences.
 First, second grades: Simple botany, names of plants in patios, animals.
 Third, fourth grades: Cell life, different plants and animals found in world, climate and vegetation.
 Fifth, sixth grades: Simple biology. Meteorology in which temperature is taken during day and record kept of rainfall.
 12:30-3:00.—Lunch period. All children go home.
 3:00-3:30.—Review of morning's work.

Late afternoon schedules depend on the day of the week.

Monday, Wednesday, and Friday:

- 3:30-4:00.—Geography.
 First grade: The four cardinal points, orientation of school with the town and town with directions.
 Second grade: Study of *municipio*. Pueblos included, location, relationship of local government to State government.
 Third grade: Geography and government of Michoacán.
 Fourth grade: Geography of Mexico, its railroads, agricultural products, industries.
 Fifth grade: The Americas. Same points.
 Sixth grade: The world.
 4:00-4:30—History.
 First, second grades: Legendary history of Mexico, arrival of the Aztecs. (But nothing on the Tarascans.)
 Third grade: History of Michoacán. (Teachers consider texts and data inadequate.)
 Fourth, fifth grades: History of Mexico.
 Sixth grade: "Universal History," ancient, medieval, modern, by main countries.

Tuesdays and Thursdays:

- 3:30-4:00—Civics.
 First grade: Respect to home, to parents, to older brothers. Good behavior on streets.
 Second grade: Obligations to fellow students and the necessity of sacrifices as members of a social group.
 Third grade: Legislation. Organization of State government, branches of government.

Fourth grade: Same for Federal government.

Fifth, sixth grades: The constitution, what it means and what it guarantees to the individual.

4:00-4:30—Caligraphy, drawing.

In all history classes a "civic calendar" is kept which lists and notes all important historical dates, battles, births of heroes, and national holidays.

All afternoons from 4:30 to 5:30 or 6:00 are dedicated to manual training. This includes modeling in clay, making of lacquer trays and boxes (open to both sexes, but attended mostly by boys), sewing, carpentry, cooking, and agriculture. Agriculture consists of sowing small plots in the school yard under the direction of the school caretaker. Actually very little agriculture is learned that boys do not learn in the course of helping their fathers.

Special activities are numerous. Each Monday before classes begin the entire school assembles in the auditorium to sing the national anthem, and to salute the flag, which is carried around the room. It is a great honor to be flag carrier and to march, and is permitted only to those who have not been absent the preceding week, and whose conduct has been model. It is a good device to help keep up attendance and deportment. On Thursday from 5 to 6 all students take part in "physical culture" which consists of marching around the school. Older boys play basketball. The "Society of Students" has a president, secretary and treasurer, elected by the student body at large. It functions through

commissions, of which there are five, consisting of a member from each grade. These are:

"Order and discipline." To maintain same in school and town.

"Civic action." To organize school fiestas.

"Decoration." To decorate school rooms, keep potted plants and flower beds watered, and the school yard clean.

"Promptness." To get students to school on time, and to visit homes where habitual tardiness is the rule to find out why.

"Hygiene and health." To instill habits of cleanliness, tell dirty students to wash their faces, and to remind parents to have habitual offenders do the same.

The basic idea of the commissions is to instill the idea of civic responsibility in the students, so that they will carry the habit into later life.

School examinations are marked following the Mexican custom of 1 to 5 flunking, and 6 to 10 passing, the latter mark being the highest. These examinations are sent home with the students, but there are no formal report cards. Since many of the parents cannot read, the effectiveness of this system is doubtful. Unlike the larger Mexican cities, coeducation is the custom, and boys and girls study in the same classrooms, with equal rights to hold class offices.

The initial 1945 enrollment, which later grew to 175, is indicated in table 41. Children are recorded by age and sex for five grades. This year there was no sixth grade, due to the fact that 2 years earlier the fourth grade was so small it was combined with the third, so that

TABLE 41.—Enrollment of students in the Tzintzuntzan Federal school, 1945

Age	Grade										Total
	1st		2d		3d		4th		5th		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
5.....	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
6.....	7	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
7.....	5	4	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
8.....	11	9	12	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
9.....	4	3	1	2	4	2	..	1	..	..	17
10.....	4	3	4	7	2	4	1	1	..	..	26
11.....	2	2	1	2	4	3	2	2	3	1	22
12.....	..	1	3	3	1	4	..	..	2	5	24
13.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	3	2	10
14.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
Total...	34	36	14	19	11	13	15	4	8	3	162

a few students repeated a year. In 1946 all grades functioned.

Table 41 illustrates how quickly students drop out after the first year, and also the relatively great age differential of students in all grades, with resulting difficulties of social adaptation in addition to the mere learning process.

Table 42 shows the day-by-day attendance for the month of March 1945. Poor attendance during the last 3 days is due to their falling in Holy Week, at which time there was little interest in school.

TABLE 42.—*School attendance, March 1945*

Date	Boys	Girls	Total
Thurs., 1.....	60	64	124
Fri., 2.....	48	61	112
Mon., 5.....	58	70	128
Tues., 6.....	65	62	127
Wed., 7.....	63	70	133
Thurs., 8.....	62	71	133
Fri., 9.....	60	65	125
Mon., 12.....	67	68	135
Tues., 13.....	69	71	140
Wed., 14.....	75	67	142
Thurs., 15.....	72	65	137
Fri., 16.....	74	63	137
Mon., 19.....	51	50	101
Tues., 20.....	59	59	118
Wed., 21.....	68	67	135
Thurs., 22.....	68	67	135
Fri., 23.....	68	67	135
Mon., 26.....	49	50	99
Tues., 27.....	46	40	86
Wed., 28.....	46	40	86

In addition to the formal school curriculum the teachers are almost constantly occupied with training students for special acts, such as recitations and dances for all town holidays, and for special presentations in the school itself, such as Mothers' Day. Such programs are among the best ways to reach and influence rural Mexican adults, who lack almost all other forms of nonreligious group entertainment.

Evaluation of the effect of the school in community life is not easy to make. This is undoubtedly one of the model schools of rural Mexico, and even though most pupils never finish all six grades, a considerable imprint must be left upon them. Literacy is essential to an informed and intelligent public, and though most Tzintzuntzeños will have little occasion to read in later life, mastery of the art must be considered a distinct advantage. Vocational training, particularly agriculture, would probably be the

greatest step forward in a modified curriculum, but such forms of modern education are barely getting underway on an experimental stage in Mexico, and necessarily a number of years must elapse before this knowledge can be applied to each rural area. Generally speaking, the curriculum is much more logical and sound than some people might think. For most children it is adequate. The great shortcoming is for the few really superior students, like my young friend Gabino, who are capable of advanced work, but for whom opportunities are slight. Most of these young people, their appetite for learning whetted, must necessarily drop back into the routine of daily life in the village, without even as much as a new book to look forward to. For a few children, gifts of books were the most appreciated of all offerings which I distributed in Tzintzuntzan.

Government *internados*, of which the closest is at Pátzcuaro, are open to a few students, if proper contacts can be made. And scholarships are available in small numbers for students at the university in Morelia. But, by and large, advanced educational facilities are not yet ample for the demand, small as it is. In spite of the handicaps, in 1945 about eight students were taking some form of higher training, in addition to two youths sent to a priests' seminary by the former priest. Three girls will become rural school teachers, and another a stenographer in Morelia. Two boys studying tailoring in Morelia probably will remain there, and one now at the university hopes to take engineering. Those who make good, needless to say, will not return to Tzintzuntzan (except possibly a school teacher, or the son of a storekeeper who may wish to follow his father).

In most cases parents are not anxious to have their children leave town for advanced schooling. Six years is enough for anyone, they feel, and children are more useful in the milpa or helping with the pots than away from home. And, if the parents' wish is to keep their children at home—a strong desire on the part of most—they are quite justified. Doña Andrea is an exception: she was delighted to have Jesús *el chico* go on to Morelia, when a scholarship was secured for him, and indicated her hope that Gabino could follow a year later. She, like most other parents, is dependent on outside help for board and tuition; only a very few fathers

can afford to send their children away from home for schooling.

LITERACY

An attempt to determine literacy was made by asking in the census if the individual were able to read. Since there was no easy way to check the veracity of answers, the word of the person in question was accepted at face value. Subsequent more intimate knowledge of the village suggests that the resulting figures, given in table 43, are somewhat too high.

Of the total of 726 persons of both sexes 11 years and more of age, 472, or 65.3 percent,

TABLE 43.—*Literacy in Tzintzuntzan*

Birth years	Present age	Number of literate men	Percent of all men in this age bracket	Number of literate women	Percent of all women in this age bracket
1931-35.....	11-15	44	77.2	58	73.4
1926-30.....	16-20	41	68.3	37	56.9
1921-25.....	21-25	34	60.7	27	50
1916-20.....	26-30	19	46.3	17	39.5
1911-15.....	31-35	16	55.2	14	34.2
1906-10.....	36-40	22	45.8	20	46.5
1901-05.....	41-45	18	54.5	15	38.5
1896-1900.....	46-50	14	63.6	15	39.5
1891-95.....	51-55	13	68.4	4	30.8
1886-90.....	56-60	9	50	10	55.5
1881-85.....	61-65	8	80	2	20
1876-80.....	66-70	5	62.5	4	50
1871-75.....	71-75	1	100	3	75
1866-70.....	76-80	1	50	1	50
Total (or average)	.....	245	70.8	227	59.7

claim to be able to read and write. Of the 346 men in these age brackets, 245, or 70.8 percent, and of the 380 women, 227, or 59.7 percent, claim to be able to read and write.

Significant literacy differences between Tarascans and Mestizos came to light. Of Tarascans of 11 years and more, 38.2 percent claim to be literate; 52.6 percent of Tarascan men, and only 25.8 percent of Tarascan women, fall into this category. Of the Mestizo population

in these age brackets 70.6 percent claim to be literate. Sex division shows 74.4 percent of the men and 66.9 percent of the women as able to read and write.

It thus appears that not only do Mestizos enjoy a two to one superiority over Tarascans, but that Mestizo women are particularly favored. This lack of opportunity for Tarascan women is gradually being remedied. Male Tarascan superiority is due to the fact that of all Tarascans over 41 years of age, 14 males and only 2 females are literate. Of those of 40 years of age and less, 16 men and 15 women can read and write. If this ratio is maintained, the Tarascan percentage will be much higher in the coming years. Within Tzintzuntzan, Tarascan children go to school in about the same proportion as Mestizo children. In the neighboring Tarascan *ranchos* there are, unfortunately, no schools, owing in part to opposition to Government teaching on the part of parents.

PUBERTY AND YOUTH

Between the ages of 10 and 12 the mixed play of childhood ends and the sexes are more carefully segregated. In the case of youths this is, during the earlier years, largely a question of choice. Girls are now watched over much more carefully by their parents, and admonished to have nothing to do with boys. There is a rather strongly developed pattern of parental antagonism to marriage of daughters, and mothers spend much time telling their daughters how wicked men are and advising them to remain at home and avoid the trials and tribulations of married life. Girls may be beaten by their fathers when found talking with boys.

Girls' transition to maturity is marked by the first menstruation, which in many, if not most cases, comes as a fearful surprise to the girls. Mothers are said to conceal successfully their own periods from their daughters, and for reasons of shame tell them nothing. Hence, girls often go through agonizing hours of fear before their condition becomes apparent to their mothers, who then explain to them the nature of their illness and the proper means for dealing with it each month. There are few real food restrictions, though some say it is had to eat bananas, oranges, and *quite*, the *mezcal* cactus stalk, all of which are thought to produce colic.

It is believed that drinking little water during the period reduces the flow.

First menses normally appear during the fourteenth or fifteenth year. Occasionally there are abnormal cases, as that of one woman who began having severe stomach cramps at the age of 14, but no flow. Her mother explained that she would shortly menstruate, and that it was a normal experience. Not until she was 20 was she finally taken to Pátzcuaro where a doctor pronounced her anemic and prescribed medicine which quickly normalized her periods. Normal periods last 3 to 4 days, during which time heavy underpants are worn which are washed each day. This relatively short period, coupled with the fact that even without sanitary pads of any kind mothers can conceal their condition from their daughters, suggests that the menstrual period among Tzintzuntzan women may be less severe than among women of our own society. Apparently not uncommonly after the birth of a child menstruation is delayed from 1 to 2 years. Though no regular count of days or weeks is made between the onset of periods, women may note the position of the moon so as to know approximately when the next period can be expected.

The objections of parents to marriage of daughters in many cases causes severe strains within the household. Natividad, the oldest daughter in her family, grew up expecting never to marry. After puberty she was seldom permitted out of the house, not even to go to Mass. For fear of her father's anger she was very submissive and led a secluded and unhappy life. When friends gave a *pozole* or other fiesta he permitted her to help only on the condition that she keep her eyes to the ground, not look around when grinding corn on the metate, and above all not go out to fetch water, the classic time for making contacts with boys. When there was dancing she shrank miserably into the corner hoping not to be seen. When she was 18 years old Vicente asked her parents' permission, and was refused. Later he was refused another girl in a different family, and then left to work in another town for 6 years. During all this time Nati was not permitted to go out of the house, and if she talked with other girls, her parents would ask, "What were you talking about just then?" She decided that going into the service

of a priest was the only way out. Subsequently Vicente returned and began secretly hanging around her house, throwing pebbles over the wall to attract her attention. Still, for fear of her father, she refused to speak to him. Finally he threatened to kill her if she would not elope with him, so terrifying her that she was afraid to go into the patio at night to draw water for fear she would be shot. Finally, in desperation, she agreed to go with him, but stalled him off with the plea that she was needed a short time to help with a new baby, and this, that, and the other thing. Finally she could stall no longer, and, torn between fear of Vicente and her father, she eloped, still convinced that her father would kill her on sight.

However, at the Church wedding her mother received her kindly, and her father accepted the *fait accompli*, though with a few grumblings. Curiously, in spite of the fact that she is one of the most happily married women in Tzintzuntzan, Nati unconsciously has absorbed so much of this philosophy that she hopes her daughters will set their minds against marriage.

This case history, though extreme, illustrates a common pattern for adolescent girls. Sexual matters are never discussed by the mother—"the mothers would be ashamed to tell their daughters"—so that most girls enter marriage with very little understanding of its biological aspects.

For boys there is no sharp transition between childhood and maturity. More subtle changes mark the relationships between the adolescent boy and members of his family. There is a marked tendency to avoid confidences with the parents; a youth would never think of telling his father that he had a sweetheart, unless he were ready to marry her and were sure his father would approve and help him. Younger sisters become anathema to boys, particularly if they are forced to take them some place through the streets, to be jeered at by their age mates. Likewise, one's friends are limited to almost exact age categories. Older brothers are avoided. Sexual talk and off-color stories embarrass one in the presence of older siblings, and first attempts at smoking and drinking must be concealed from them. At a small reunion of masons two unmarried brothers came. The father, hearing that drinking was to take place,

with more understanding than is often the case, sent word that one of the boys — they could decide — should come home. And in spite of all pleas to the contrary, the younger seized upon this excuse to extract himself from a potentially embarrassing situation. The older brother also was relieved; he could now freely tell stories and drink. In general, speech and drinking patterns of a youth are strictly limited in the presence of any older relative — brother, father, uncle, or grandfather. Needless to say, he would be even more careful in the presence of female relatives, though social patterns do not frequently present occasions when care is necessary.

A short time later at another get-together a father and son of 20 were both invited. The son failed to show up, and in spite of the ethnologists' entreaties that he come, failed to put in an appearance. Fathers and sons, it was explained, are never at ease with each other at a drinking bout. Much later a younger son of 17 years appeared outside the door. In spite of sincere invitations to enter, he remained outside for over an hour, and finally, by means of messengers, persuaded his now staggering father to accompany him home. One filial duty of unmarried sons is to watch out for father on fiesta nights, and to help him to bed if necessary. Godfathers and uncles as well may expect the same consideration if the youths are aware of their condition.

Generally speaking, fathers are the most respected and feared individuals for children of both sexes. Fathers may strike their sons, even after marriage, if they feel justified, and the son has no recourse. The strictness of this rule is only emphasized by a single exception, in which a married youth was severely censured by public opinion for striking at his father. Mothers cease attempting corporal punishment when their sons are big enough to defend themselves, and after puberty obeying the mother is largely a question of choice on the part of a youth. Formerly any older man of the community, relative or otherwise, was privileged to strike a youth whom he thought was acting badly. Now, the younger generation is going to the dogs, and respect for age, so say the oldsters, has largely disappeared.

After puberty, boys tend to stroll the streets

in groups, smoking and often drinking. Customarily, two youths will amble, arms about each others necks, or street-corner groups will almost resemble a football huddle from the standpoint of physical contact. This behavior pattern is generally Mexican, and is probably one aspect of the general Latin tendency to show more openly affection and friendship between males than is the case in Anglo-Saxon society. Certainly it is no indication of sexual or homosexual tendencies. Sex is a popular item of conversation, and one brags of one's sweethearts or pokes fun, often by means of limericks, at the bad luck or lack of ability of another. Plans for stealing girls may be perfected, or a harmless looking street corner group may be watching for the returning father of a girl who stands half a block away talking with her *novio*, her sweetheart, one of the members of the gang.

It is difficult to tell to what extent premarital sexual unions occur in Tzintzuntzan. With the careful guarding of the girls it would seem to be very difficult, yet illegitimate children are born — in 1945 about six unmarried mothers lived with their parents — and occasionally, though apparently not often, girls are pregnant at the time of marriage. Local folklore says that most illicit relationships occur during the rainy season, when the dense growth of corn and beans makes every nearby milpa a convenient refuge. During the dry season one has to go much farther, with resulting increased difficulties. Sexual play, which sometimes results in intercourse, takes place while boy and girl stand in the shadows of her door. A good many youths, particularly those who are late in marrying, visit houses of prostitution in Pátzcuaro or in other towns through which they pass on trips to the *tierra caliente*. Cases of homosexuality are reported among both males and females, but the practice is not common. Masturbation is common among boys and youths, though discreetly done.

MARRIAGE

COURTSHIP

Marriage is considered to be the normal state for an adult individual, though as is shown by an examination of the statistical data, which follow the descriptive account, a surprising

number of individuals have never married. Nevertheless, after puberty most persons begin to show a decided interest in members of the opposite sex. This interest usually develops into a more or less formal courtship (with or without the knowledge and consent of the parents) which culminates in marriage.

The traditional Tarascan way for young people to talk together is to arrange a tryst when the girl goes to carry water from a spring or well. Installation of running water in Tzintzuntzan has nearly eliminated this custom, though it is still not uncommon to see a youth talking to a girl standing beside a public water tap, her filled jar on the ground. Coeducation in school brings young people together much more than formerly, though most of them have finished school before a serious interest in the opposite sex has been aroused. Fiestas, when the band plays in the evening and people walk around the plaza, afford an opportunity to salute one's love interest with the slow, provocative *adiós*. Following traditional Mexican custom, men and boys walk in a clockwise, and girls in a counterclockwise direction. Much less frequently than in the larger cities does a boy, after a few rounds, break away from his fellows, join the girl, and walk in a counterclockwise direction. Often, groups of boys gather on moonlight nights to talk and to walk past the homes of their sweethearts, singing in unison the favorite popular song of each girl.

But above all, young people meet at night at the door or window of the girl's home. A saunter through the village after dark will reveal many a slightly opened door, with a figure standing in the shadow, and low voices, scarcely more than whispers, reveal that two persons are present. The culture pattern calls for the girl's parents to express great rage should they find their daughter at such a meeting. The boy would be chased away with stones, and the girl not allowed out of the house for several days. Actually, the girl's mother, at least, is often, if not usually, well aware of what is going on, and of the identity of the visitor as well. Not uncommonly she will herself be posted within ear-shot, and if she approves of the boy will make no attempt to disrupt the affair. Only in cases of disapproval will she appear with a light, ostensibly making the rounds to see that every-

thing is closed up. By no means are all mothers so favorably inclined to tolerate their daughters' meetings, but the percentage is high enough so that the outward pattern of preventing contact at all costs must be considered in part, at least, a social fiction.

Tzintzuntzan is sufficiently sophisticated so that love letters form a part of the courtship of better educated persons. The following two samples were written by a 20-year-old Mestizo to the girl who subsequently became his wife. The first letter reads as follows:

My beloved Trine:

Not for a single instant can you imagine why I write you these few lines. Should they be well received, how much pleasure it will give me; but what sorrow and deception if the fate of my affection be adverse. How terrible this would be, how intolerable, for my affection tells me not to leave you. It is only that I love you with a maddened soul; continually I carry your name engraved in my soul. I think of no other thing, nor do I think I could ever forget you. It is the very truth that I love you, and because of this I have decided to write you with vehement eagerness and longing to show you that I do not forget you and that I will never forget you. Not even in death will I forget you, for while I am in my tomb I will have in my spirit the love which in life you showed me. And this strong love will mean that you will remember me and experience a revelation each day, until you come to the place where you will find me and be reunited with me, as in life, never again to be separated. There you will share with me, as you shared in life, the same joys and sorrows as when we lived together so content, filled with an infinite love.

Trine, I love you so much I am unable to deny it. I love you greatly; don't deny me your love, don't deny me your caresses, don't deny me your kisses. Believe me, Trine, that I love you; my affection is yours.

I await your affectionate letters which will come to console me. *Adiós* my Trine, *adiós* my little *güare*, *adiós*.¹⁰

The second letter reads as follows:

Trine:

I must speak with you either next Sunday the 14th after the lights are turned out, or early Monday morning at 2 o'clock. I await your reply, and if it is possible wait for me in the door so that your sister doesn't see us. We'll see if this letter is accompanied by good luck, for I have had to tear up three which I have written because I was not able to deliver them to you.

¹⁰ This letter probably was copied from one of the booklets of etiquette which are sold in all Mexican markets. These guides to successful courting are a characteristic part of the culture of the lower strata of towns and cities.

You can't imagine the longing I have to be beside you to tell you many things, for I see that my life means nothing to you from the slight appreciation which you show, and which I see in many things. That which you have promised me you have already forgotten, and thus you forget me, for I am of no importance to you, but never mind.

Güare, many kisses from he who loves you.

Kinship, real or fictitious, is the only marriage restriction which must be taken into account. No persons closer than third cousins may marry, nor would one marry an individual directly related through the *compadrazgo* system. No cases were noted of individuals of the same surname marrying, though there is no real reason why they could not, according to informants. Most marriages among Mestizos take place within the village, though a fair number are with individuals from other towns of the *municipio*, and even from beyond. Ideally the boy is a couple of years older than the girl. In rare cases, he may be a good many years older, though few real June-December matches exist. Rarely a boy marries a girl a number of years older than he. Timidity, says *compadre* Guillermo, is the reason. Some boys are so frightened by girls that they dare not steal them, and fall easy victims to older designing women.

The qualities which one seeks in a spouse are a combination of physical attractiveness coupled with a known reputation for work and sobriety. Carmen states her preference for a man of average stature and good build, but never fat. "Much better that he be skinny than too fat." He should have a brunette complexion, but not too dark. A man with much beard or long hair is out, and a man with heavy body hair—a rare thing in Tzintzuntzan—is very undesirable. On the moral side he should be serious and hard working, and not inclined to drink, and his family should have the same reputation. Preferably his parents should have been married by the Church and not subsequently separated. The latter point, it seems, is rather for what others might say than from any particular feeling on her part.

Apart from physical attractiveness the qualities a boy looks for are lack of argumentativeness, i. e., willingness to recognize the man's dominant role in the household. The girl should not be a flirt, let alone have questionable morals, and after maturity she should not leave

her house except in the company of her parents or other girls.

TYPES OF CEREMONIES

There are two socially recognized ways by which a boy may take a girl as his wife: he may ask permission of her parents, or he may elope with her. The latter is far more common, in spite of the fact that, on the surface at least, it is always frowned upon. Probably 90 per cent of all marriages are of this type, in which the boy "steals" the girl at night. Carmen discusses marriage, and feels that the local custom is rather shameful and should be abolished. "And how were you married, Carmen?" I ask. "*Pues, me robaron*" ("I was stolen, of course"). And so it was with her sisters, and with nearly all of her friends. In this pattern we see an Indian survival from pre-Conquest times. The *Relación* mentions this as one of the most common forms of marriage for commoners, and today in purely Tarascan communities it is the rule.

Formal "asking" takes place only when the young couple is convinced that there will be no parental opposition, generally among the upper or more *catrín* classes. The boy's father, usually with the baptismal godparents and other interested persons, may visit the home of the girl, taking presents of food and liquor. Usually such a request will be immediately accepted or rejected; the series of formal visits characteristic of some parts of Mexico is here not the rule. If the boy's father is not living, an older married brother or friend may take the part. Since engagement by this means is so rare it is hard to tell how standard the procedure is. A case history will illustrate how it may be done.

Moisés Ramos, a widower of 30, wished to marry Rosita Farías, a girl of 16. He talked to the girl and was accepted, but her mother and also the priest objected. Finally, however, Rosita, in the presence of both priest and mother, insisted that she wanted to marry Moisés, and received their grudging permission. The same night Moisés, accompanied by his baptismal godmother and several other relatives and friends, carried a tray of bread worth about \$4 to the home of Rosita, destined for the mother, and another tray with less bread for the sweetheart herself. Other trays included one with \$5 of silver, a serape, and two bottles of cane brandy. Moisés deposited the trays on the floor and then left. They then went to the house of Rosita's baptismal god-

mother and left another tray with bread. The godmother then divided this bread among all those who were present, by which action they considered themselves invited to the wedding, and obligated to help by contributing brandy, cigarettes, or food for the wedding feast. The following day the mother of the bride-to-be sent pieces of the bread she had received to the houses of friends, similarly inviting them and asking their help. Thus the proposed marriage was formally accepted and plans could continue.

In other cases the family of the boy has been known to ask the active intervention of the priest to strengthen its cause, particularly if relations between the two families are not too cordial. In each case the actual procedure of asking probably varies a good deal owing to special circumstances. The fundamental aspect which sets it apart from the "stealing" is that the girl's parents signify their formal approval of the proposed match, and cooperate in all details of the wedding.

Stealing, on the other hand, is resorted to when there is little hope of parental approval, or when it is feared that parents may propose a long delay before the wedding. The boy, who has previously arranged the details with the girl and obtained her consent, takes advantage of any opportunity which may present itself to get the girl away from her home or parents at night. He may run with her to his own home, or that of a godfather, or in extreme cases flee to the hills for the night. He will almost always count on the cooperation of his age mates to carry out the robbery successfully. They will be expected to inform the boy's father, in case he does not return home, of what has happened so that the father can carry out his part of the sequence. Next night the father is expected to go to the home of the girl, accompanied by the boy's baptismal godfather, and, taking brandy and cigarettes, to ask pardon for what the boy has done and to obtain permission to continue with the wedding. Customarily the girl's father will appear to be very angry, but finally he accepts the *fait accompli* and gives his consent.

Sexual relations normally begin the night the girl is stolen, and, should the girl remain thenceforth in the home of the boy, continue during the period preceding the religious ceremony. Should the girl return home after the civil marriage the youth is allowed to visit her only

during the day, and when others are in the same room.

The next act in the sequence is to arrange the civil marriage, which takes place as soon as possible, often the Sunday following the elopement. Ideally, parents of both young people should come, as well as all of their godparents, and especially the baptismal godparents. In some cases, however, if the girl's parents have actively opposed the elopement, they will not come. The ceremony itself is prosaic. The municipal president reads a standard civil act, the data are recorded, and the couple and two disinterested witnesses sign the register. Highlights of the civil acts are the statements—in large part in opposition to the teaching of the Church—that marriage is a social (as contrasted to religious) contract, that it is dissoluble either through death or divorce, that it is the only moral way of establishing a family and of propagating the human species, that the husband must protect and care for the wife who, in turn, owes him obedience and must treat him with veneration.

After the civil ceremony the couple must visit the priest in the company of parents or godparents for the "presentation," or announcement of intent to wed, to receive formal Church approval for the new union (since they are not yet considered married by the Church) and to arrange for the banns. Banns must be read on three consecutive Sundays during Mass before the religious ceremony can take place.

Sometime during the interval between the civil and religious ceremonies the boy's father or godfather will ask a friend to serve as marriage godfather to the new couple. Also during this period the couple will go to Pátzcuaro with the boy's parents and, perhaps, the baptismal godparents to buy wedding clothing and foods for the wedding feast.

The formal blessing of the union by parents and godparents may take place on the day of the civil ceremony, if there is a fiesta afterward. Often, however, it will occur during a small gathering on the night before the Church ceremony. Parents and baptismal godparents of both young people ideally should be present. Lacking any of these, other close relatives, or godparents of confirmation may substitute. Boy and girl kneel together on a petate in front of

each older person, who makes the sign of the cross and gives a few words of advice or warning. Then the *compadres* kneel and embrace each other, first the boy's godfather with the girl's mother and then her father, and then the others in turn until the new bonds have been sealed.

Sunday is the most common wedding day, followed by Saturday and Wednesday in that order of preference. Tuesday is said to be a bad day; the couple will be martyrs (from *Martes*) during all of their lifetimes, and the marriage will be unsuccessful. Usually bride and groom go to church to confess the afternoon before their marriage. The wedding itself takes place early in the morning, usually after Mass, and can be performed only if the couple presents a civil marriage certificate to the priest. The actual acts are described in the case history which follows. After emerging from the church, where the bridal party is met by a band which the boy's godfather has engaged, all go to the godfather's house for a simple breakfast of chocolate, milk, and bread. Later in the day the party goes to the house of the boy where his father has prepared an elaborate wedding feast. Dancing takes place afterward, either in the patio or in the street, with the young couples today dancing "sweeng" as well as more traditional Mexican numbers. After dinner the newly married couple retires to a room where their new marriage godparents give them advice and warning about how to treat each other, to be tolerant of one another's shortcomings, and to work to make a success of the new union. This admonition is suggestive of the pre-Conquest custom whereby the priest counseled newlyweds of noble blood to be good and faithful to each other. Among the commoners, the parents took the place of the priest.

The system of "stealing" has certain hazards for the girl. Occasionally, though not frequently, a boy will reject a girl after he has stolen her, and refuse to go through the ceremony. At worst he will be put in jail for a few days and then set free. The girl, now "damaged goods," will have a black mark on her reputation and find it hard to find a husband, particularly if pregnancy should ensue. Great emphasis is placed by men on the desirability of premarital

chastity of their brides-to-be, at least as far as relations with other men are concerned.

Likewise, in rare cases, parents refuse to accept an elopement and bring the girl back to live with them. Eulalia F., in Ojo de Agua, the most beautiful Tarascan girl of the area, was stolen at the age of 14 by a boy whom her family considered unacceptable. She was returned home after prolonged negotiations, and 3 years later continued to live with her family, still, because of her beauty and intelligence, very much sought after.

A MARRIAGE CASE HISTORY

A case history observed over a period of several months illustrates a number of aspects of courtship and marriage. The principal characters are Isaac M., age 20, who wishes to marry Lucía, M., age 15, Isaac's older half-brother, Gildardo, a municipal official, their hard-working mother, María F., who deserted her lazy and drunken husband 21 years earlier, and who has lived ever since with Agustín U., Andrés D., Isaac's rival and nemesis, Jaime M., the girl's father, Julián D., the father of Andrés, and Laura C., age 15, the girl Isaac marries on the rebound. The part played by other characters is apparent from the context.

At the beginning of the account, Isaac was courting Rufina F., and had already exchanged photographs with her, which is tantamount to a formal understanding. But Andrés, who thought he had a way with women—and perhaps he did—began also to court Rufina, and Isaac, who at best was short on initiative, soon dropped out, transferring his attentions to Fidelia C. Presently Andrés was on his trail again, and so Isaac deserted Fidelia, thinking the coast was now clear, and returned "to talk with," i. e., court Rufina. One morning at the *nixtamal* mill Fidelia accused Rufina of stealing her sweetheart, and was slapped for her pains. Both mothers arrived on the scene and took their daughters to the *juzgado*, the court, to denounce both the slapping and Isaac, for *mancornando*, keeping company with two girls at the same time.

Rufina's mother proposed that Isaac be brought and asked which of the girls he wished to marry, and that if it were her daughter, she would pay the costs of civil marriage imme-

diately, and if it were Fidelia, the mother of the latter should do likewise. Fidelia's mother refused, and then both mothers insulted each other until asked to leave the courtroom. Isaac continued to court Rufina until she suddenly informed him that Miguel R., a widower of 30, had asked for her hand, and she had accepted.

Isaac was badly upset by the event and became very sad, returning daily directly from his work on the highway and going to bed early. Presently he began to court Lucía M., and his affair seemed to be going well until Andrés again appeared on the scene with similar ideas. Nevertheless, Isaac's suit seemed to prosper, and for 3 months he worked like a beaver at his job, saving every centavo possible, so as to be able to marry Lucía. Then Lucía turned cold and appeared to have no interest in Isaac, though he continued to come daily, and devoted her attention to Andrés. Just as Isaac was about to give up she suddenly changed, said that she was through with Andrés, and that Isaac was her only interest. He then proposed that he should "steal" her the next Sunday night, taking advantage of the relative freedom allowed her at the *kermés* (p. 187), and she accepted. Delighted, Isaac asked two of his friends to help him, and to fortify their courage they drank freely all Sunday afternoon. Apparently they spoke too freely of their plans. All went well during the *kermés*, and Isaac and his friends seized Lucía and made off with her to the house of Gildardo, she apparently putting up no more than the formalized protest. But in midroad they were surprised by a large gang of young men who seized Lucía and drove off Isaac and his friends. In the ensuing scuffle the girl broke away and ran home.

Gildardo, who had been informed of the plan, first learned of the result when he returned home at midnight and asked if the young couple had arrived. His mother, María, surprised, was then told of the plan. From here on the succeeding events will be told in diary form.

Monday, April 16. Isaac returned home very late last night. This morning his mother counsels him, though he says nothing in response. "Isaac, you mustn't be such a fool, you mustn't let them take the girl away from you. I like her, and I'll help you all I can. You can give her all my clothes that I don't actually need, and I'll make some pots which you can have at cost to take to sell in another town.

Lots of young fellows make their living that way, and I don't know why you shouldn't too". Isaac says nothing and in sullen silence goes off to work on the highway. By afternoon the town is alive with rumors. Andrés, it seems, has announced that he is going to "steal" the girl that very night. Isaac is preoccupied, but can't decide what to do. "If Andrés takes her," he says, "I won't be responsible for what happens. She doesn't care for anyone else, and our plans are all made. Last night she saw me standing with my friends in the shadows, and voluntarily left the other girls to come to us. I told her it was the hour of which we had spoken, and she replied, 'You really want to carry me off now?' I said 'Now is the time,' and she came willingly with us, I on one side of her and a friend on the other. At a corner a group of boys came up to us, and while three of them grabbed me the others took her, and when my friends tried to stop them it was too late, because they thought the others were also friends who were going to help". Isaac goes off to keep vigil over Lucía's house so that his rival will not be able to steal her unnoticed. Next door, Eleuterio Melchor opines that Andrés will carry her away this very night, and Elena Molinero believes that she will go willingly with the first to come, since her parents will be dealing harshly with her and her position at home will be desperate.

Tuesday, April 17. The first news today is that Lucía must have fled last night, since she didn't come to the mill at dawn, as is her custom, with her mother. Carlota P., Gildardo's wife and Isaac's sister-in-law, says that Isaac and Gildardo had planned to carry her away at that time, but luck was not with them, for only the mother appeared. Isaac again goes off to work in sullen silence, while Gildardo goes to bed to make up for the night. Then the news arrives that Lucía has not been taken, that she is still in her house. This is cheering information, and again a new plan is hatched. Lucía goes to the convent each afternoon to reading class, and since she lives on the same street as Gildardo, she can be expected to pass the very door of the house. Another attempt is to be made to capture her as she goes by. Isaac says that during all last night Andrés and several friends were outside her house, watching *him*. But Lucía does not go to reading class. Andrés' friends pass the day trailing Isaac's friends, and vice versa. Both groups are very nervous. It now appears that the original attempt miscarried because Isaac's friends are from a nearby ranch, and they did not know all of the youths of Tzintzuntzan, hence the ease with which Lucía was seized by the others. Isaac decides again to pass the night guarding, and all the next day if necessary, in the hope of finding Lucía alone.

Wednesday, April 18. Isaac has asked Inés Chávez, a close friend, to go to Lucía and find out what the situation is. Inés is a good go-between, but comes back with bad news. "I asked her if she really intended to go with Isaac, and she replied that she would never go with that 'mule' who had managed

things to badly on Sunday night. I told her that the situation was very grave and that she should go with Isaac, since she had promised to do so, and furthermore, since Isaac's brother is a municipal authority, the affair already is being taken up in Pátzcuaro, and that she would be taken to the women's prison if she refused. Lucía replied that it would be better for her to go with Andrés, that her aunts had advised her to do so, since Isaac's mother was living with a man other than her husband, and that he was illegitimate himself. At that moment Lucía's mother called her and I wasn't able to talk longer." Carlota, with a malicious gleam in her eye, announces to her husband that the thing that has most prejudiced Isaac's case is that the boys' mother is living in sin.

Again it is decided to await Lucía's return from reading class, and this time friends are stationed in all possible streets. But she fails to put in her appearance. The strain is beginning to tell on all participants, and finally Inés agrees to go with several other friends and try to lure her onto the street with any pretext early in the morning.

Thursday, April 19. The breathtaking news of today is that Lucía fled last night with Andrés. No one knows yet how it was arranged. Gildardo sits in silent anger, shaking his head. Carlota again reminds him that his mother is to blame. Isaac seems hardly to realize what has happened. María is heartbroken. "There is nothing left for me to do but leave this village with my boy. Rufina is the one who is to blame for all of this bad luck." No one is ever to blame for a misfortune—it is always the fault of someone else. What worries María now is that Isaac will be considered the town's worst fool, and adverse public opinion is what she fears most. She continues, "I have been the most unfortunate woman of this town. Don't think when you see me working so hard with the pots and making bread that I like it. But my spirit and my muscles make me do it, and in this poor pueblo there is nothing else one can do. I have suffered much, and as you see, I have worked hard. I had no help when I married Gildardo's father. I was the one who got the earth, made the pots, and on foot carried them to Pátzcuaro, and everything I earned was for food for the family, that my children should be strong and healthy. My husband never worked, and I had to give him everything, even to his pants. He appreciated nothing, sleeping all day and drinking all night, returning late to find me firing the kiln or grinding earth for pots. Thus I passed 15 years, and finally becoming tired, with my children I continued to work alone until necessity made me go to live with Agustín U. But he also does little work, and you see how I have to continue struggling. Knowing how a woman can suffer, I never want the wives of my sons to have to work so hard. So, although I am old I am still strong, and I will continue working until my son has money and can earn a living without having to work so hard. If the girls knew my thoughts and my struggle, I am sure Isaac could have any girl he wished."

Friday, April 20. Margarita H. is baptismal godmother of Andrés, and has been told how the flight occurred. Lucía was at supper with her parents and other members of the family, under careful surveillance. Pleading need to relieve herself, a younger sister was assigned to go with her to the patio. Once outside, she told her sister to wait a second, that she wanted to say a word to someone who was just outside the low wall of the street. Before the startled sister could think, Lucía had jumped the wall and was running off with Andrés through the dusk. The sister rushed inside and informed the father, who grabbed his machete and set out in pursuit, but the lead was too great and the couple disappeared in Andrés house and slammed and bolted the door. Jaime, the father, returned home, left the machete, and without a word went to the nearest *cantina* where he got drunk, in which condition he remained for the next 36 hours.

At 7 o'clock in the evening today a group of persons presents itself at the door of Jaime's house to ask pardon for the youth, and to obtain the consent of the parents. Included are the father of Andrés, his marriage godfather Pablo G., the boy's baptismal godfather Matías H., and a couple of other close friends. Jaime opens the door and the party enters. The room is empty except for a *compadre* of Jaime, but through the door in the next room one sees the mother and grandmother of Lucía. Jaime's face is hard and unsmiling, and he can scarcely bring himself to answer the salutations of the visitors. At the invitation of the *compadre* the visitors seat themselves, but the father refuses to do so until urged several times. Finally Pablo G. begins to speak. "My godson and all those here assembled in your good house have come in the hope that you will have something to say about the flight of the two young people. You must realize that my godson knows nothing, and that youths do these foolish things because they are so inexperienced. And since there is no other solution it is best not to oppose ourselves to the will of God who wished it thus. So we come to ask your consent that the marriage take place." Then Julián, father of Andrés, speaks to Jaime. "*Compadre*, now you know the business that brings me and these good people who have had the kindness to accompany me to your house. We wish to ask your consent and obtain your pardon for what my son has just done. I did not know that my son was courting the daughter of my *compadre*; I thought he was courting Rufina. Early this morning my son-in-law informed me what Andrés had done, and immediately I went to talk with the young people, asking if it had been done by force, and if they realized that such a thing was to be for life. They bowed their heads in silence, and there was nothing I could do. I had not advised my son to do it, and it appears that it was not done by force. As father of the boy I have to come to you in shame to ask your pardon."

Jaime continues to look sullen, and asks that the girl be brought home while they continue the discussion. At this moment Pablo produces a bottle of

brandy which he hands to Jaime, who returns it to him with instructions to pass it. While drinks are being poured Matías tells the story of how his daughter was stolen and how the boy's father's friends had come to reason with him and plead that he not become angry at the will of God. Then the *compadre* of Jaime tells a similar story, and Pablo still another. These accounts, plus the liquor, little by little have the desired effect, and Jaime becomes slightly more mellow. The conversation shifts to general topics, and soon another bottle is produced, which is also consumed. Presently all wish to talk at the same time, and the original purpose of the mission appears lost in good fellowship. At 2 o'clock in the morning Julián returns to the original theme. "Now that evening is drawing to a close," he says, "I wish, *Compadre* Jaime, that you tell me what you think of the matters we have discussed." Jaime replies, "Now there is no other way out. If my daughter wished to run away, what could I do. I only beg that you ask the girl if she wishes to come home while the arrangements are being made. She is a girl without experience and knows nothing. I don't want you to come to me later saying I didn't tell you. She is not used to housework, for I have not wanted her to do hard labor. I don't want her to start learning these things in another household; it's best that she come here while arrangements are being made."

Julián replies, "*Compadre*, rest assured that my thoughts are the same as yours. I see no reason why she should not live with you as soon as the civil marriage has taken place, until the time of the ecclesiastical marriage. I suggest that we go to the municipal building Sunday, and she will return home with you immediately after the ceremony. My boy also is young, and I would not have wished that he marry so soon, since I find myself at this time in a difficult financial position. Nevertheless, he is my son and it is my obligation to see that he is properly married."

Goodnights are said all around, and the mission leaves, well satisfied with the results of its work.

Saturday, April 21. Today Julián has dunned all his creditors, tried to sell an ox, and asked the president to omit the usual marriage fees. In the evening he gleefully announces that the wedding will be gratis, but an offer of \$300 for the ox has been turned down as insufficient.

Sunday, April 22. At noon today the civil marriage takes place in customary fashion. Then all close relatives and friends of both families adjourn to the house of Julián for the wedding meal. Lucía is grinding *nixtamal* in a corner, and Andrés is carrying water in a jar. Inside we seat ourselves on low beams which serve as benches beside raised planks which serve as tables. As usual, the women sit on the floor on the far side of the room. Brandy is served, and then the food, consisting of rice, meat, beans, and tortillas, appears. Presently the women leave, and the men begin to tell off-color stories. Between stories and drinks the afternoon quickly passes, and upon the insistence of the women, it is de-

ecided to have the ceremony of asking pardon. A petate is placed on the floor, and Jaime stands to one side while the boy and girl kneel before him. Andrés speaks first. "I ask you to pardon me for what I have done." He takes his father-in-law's hand and kisses it, then kneels and kisses his right foot. Lucía, her face almost covered with her *rebozo*, does likewise. Jaime extends his hand to be kissed, but says nothing. Then the bride's mother takes the floor, and without waiting to be asked, launches into a speech directed at Andrés. "Understand, youth, before pardoning you and giving you my blessing, I wish to tell you that you are taking a girl who knows nothing of the duties of housekeeping. She is young and often very stupid. Nevertheless, you have wished to take her, and it is entirely your responsibility. I do not wish that you ever say that we influenced you in your marriage: I warn you in advance you will have to pardon all the foolish things the girl does, for she is without experience." Then each of the young people asks pardon and kisses her hand and foot.

Then the grandmother of Lucía stands up. "Children, God wishes that you should be happy. Now that you have decided to marry, you must resign yourselves in case you do not always find that happiness. When you have difficulties, don't blame your parents. You yourselves will have to solve your problems." She then gives her blessing and they kiss her hand and foot.

Jaime reminds Julián that Lucía is to come home with him until the Church wedding a month hence, promising that Andrés can come to see her during the day. The others agree that the arrangement is fair, and that the young people subsequently will have time to talk secretly. Well after dark the party breaks up.

Three weeks later, in the company of his son, Julián went to the house of José V. to ask him to be godfather of the marriage, which José, in spite of the considerable expenditure involved, accepted. It was decided that the wedding would take place on the last Sunday of May, a little more than a month after the civil marriage. This gave time to read the banns during Mass on three successive Sundays, with a week to spare in case of unforeseen emergencies. For Julián, this arrangement meant more time to raise money for the wedding feast.

The wedding itself was a gay occurrence, though the Church ceremony was shared with two other couples from the neighboring ranches who had selected the same day to be married.

After early Mass the church tower bells ring, indicating to the pueblo that the event to take place is not of general community interest. The three couples stand at the front of the church, surrounded

by parents, godparents, and friends. The brides wear satin dresses, two of them pink, and one blue. The boys wear their new trousers and jackets, but do not appear to be any more dressed up than, for example, on the first day of the Rescate fiesta. Father Tovar gives a short talk, stressing the reciprocal implications of marriage, and points out that it is an indissoluble contract having as its first purpose the procreation of children. The sacristan then hands him a silver plate with three pairs of rings and three piles of silver money, the *arras*, to be aspersed with holy water. Three rings are given to the boys, who put them on the fingers of the girls, and the priest himself puts the other rings on the fingers of the boys. The onlookers are asked if anyone has any objections, or knows if there is any reason why these couples should not be united in holy matrimony. Again Father Tovar passes down the line of couples, giving to each in turn the *arras*—seven *tostones*, \$0.50 silver pieces—aspersing the money and telling the boy to say to the girl, "I give you these *arras* as a sign of matrimony," to which the girls reply, "I accept it." The *arras*, which are furnished by the grooms' families, are later collected by the priest for his own use. Mass is said, the couples partake of communion, and the sacristan places a white cord around their necks symbolically binding them together.

The strain of the wedding over, the couples adjourn to the homes of the new godparents for the wedding breakfast. José has contracted for Pascual's band, which has taken its place in a corner of his large living room. The rest of the room is occupied by an improvised table of planks on saw horses, covered with a white cloth and heaped with piles of bread. José takes his place at the head of the table, Andrés on his right and Lucía on his left. Standing he apologizes for the humble fare, says he is a poor man (not at all true), reminds the diners that the town is poor and has little to offer, and adds that nonetheless he is glad they are all there. Then cups of chocolate and glasses of milk are brought in by the women and everyone eats heartily, after which the table is cleared to make room for a second group. Pascual fills the room with din, and presently he and the musicians also are fed. After breakfast the parents of both newlyweds, and José and his wife gather together. They are now to formalize the new relationship by which they all become *compadres* to one another. Each embraces the other, saying, "We are going to be *compadres*. First we were friends, and now, in the presence of God, we become *compadres*."¹¹ Later in the morning everyone goes to the house of Jaime, where an enormous banquet has been prepared. Lucía sits at one end of the table beside her new godmother, and Andrés sits at the other end beside José, his new godfather. In

the patio, Pascual plays for the meal. Three times the table is cleared, and three times new diners enter. The wedding party has now increased fivefold, and it is to be a day of great celebration. After eating, the newlyweds adjourn to a semiprivate room—in which many adults and children enter and depart—for the marital advice of the godparents. José looks embarrassed, coughs, and reminds them of the seriousness of their action, that they must be faithful, try to help each other, and understand the faults of one another. Bartola, his wife, adds a few words, but everyone is obviously glad to have the affair over and be outside in the fresh air. Now Pascual's band goes outside into the street. There is little room in the patio, and for dancing, more space is desirable. The bride, in the momentary absence of her husband, is seized by another youth and whirled away. Andrés presently emerges, looks a little piqued, takes his wife, and dances away. All afternoon and into the night the dancing continues.

Meanwhile, the position of Isaac, the jilted suitor, was unenviable. Everyone in town knew the story, and he was the butt of jokes on the part of all his erstwhile friends. His reaction is quite understandable in terms of our own society.

A week after Andrés stole Lucía, he suddenly appeared at his home one night with Laura C. in tow, and announced to his mother their intention to marry. The marriage was ill-fated from the first act. Isaac's family was scarcely on speaking terms with that of Laura, and all the first night his mother stayed up, expecting a possible attack to carry the girl home. This did not occur, but members of her family were seen spying on the house to determine if the girl really were there. Next morning Isaac, exhausted by events of the preceding 2 weeks, went to the hills and slept all day, leaving Laura to aid his mother with the housework.

Old Don Bernabé, father of Isaac's mother María, as baptismal godfather had the task of trying to conciliate the irate parents of the girl. Being old and sick, he asked two of his oldest *compadres*—and note that *compadres* and not blood relatives are asked—to do the unpleasant task for him. At dusk the same day Norberto P. and Eleno M. came to Don Bernabé's house where he offered them *caballito*, raw alcohol mixed with soda pop, to nerve themselves for the ordeal. It was decided first to seek out old Natalio E., grandfather of the girl, in the hope that he could be persuaded to accompany the party, thus facilitating the work. Francisco C., father of Laura, had the reputation of being a difficult man at best, and the situation was one which called for every possible precaution. Upon arrival at Natalio's house, loud knockings were met with a sullen female voice announcing that Natalio was not there and, *quién sabe*, who knows where he might be. Subsequently the party went, somewhat dejectedly, to the house of

¹¹ The parents of the boy and girl refer to the parents of their son- or daughter-in-law as *compadres*. Hence, usually three married couples are united in the new relationship: the parents of the boy, the parents of the girl, and the couple asked to be *compadres*.

Francisco, and was not too upset to learn that he had been drinking since early morning and was wandering in the streets completely drunk. "Well," said Norberto, "we have made the attempt to comply with custom. Tomorrow we will try again, and if we don't find Francisco, the president himself will have to take a hand."

Next afternoon Francisco appeared at the house of María, completely drunk and very angry. After stoning the house he entered the door without being asked—the latter act a far worse breach of good manners than the former—and came face to face with María. She tried to calm him, explaining that the young people had eloped of their own accord, but Francisco merely cursed and shouted that his daughter should come home. When he tried to throw stones at María, she seized him by the wrists and literally threw him out into the street, where he was taken in hand by his wife who had been searching for him. Meanwhile, Laura, at the approach of her father, ran to a neighboring patio and hid herself, and when he had been thrown out, returned to the door and burst out laughing, "Ay, there go my drunken father and my mother."

In spite of the inauspicious start of the day, Don Bernabé decided in the night that another attempt should be made to ask Francisco's pardon for the theft of his daughter. So the same party of the night before again set out, to be told at Francisco's house that he was not at home. In a desperate but fruitless effort to comply with custom the members of the commission split to visit all *cantinas*, hoping to encounter Francisco. Thoroughly dejected they met later in the evening and consoled themselves with the *caballito* which was to have consoled Francisco.

It was now decided that further dealings with the family of Laura were out of the question, and that the civil marriage should take place the following Sunday. After this was done, Isaac's brother Gildardo went to see the priest to ask about the time of "presentation" and publishing of the banns. The priest replied that Laura's mother had come to see him, saying that María had not wished the young people to be married by the Church, but only by the civil authorities. Gildardo assured the priest that this was erroneous, and arranged to bring Isaac and Laura immediately. But the comedy of errors was still underway. Isaac had gone on foot to Quiroga to buy meat for dinner, and María set out, also on foot, to try to catch him. Several hours later they both returned, exhausted, and meanwhile the priest had sent word that he was still awaiting them. Finally they all assembled, Laura solemnly swore she had eloped of her own free will, and both said there were no reasons why they should not be married. The data were recorded and signed by witnesses, and everyone went home.

Laura was now to live under the watchful eye of Carlota in her house, and Isaac was not to enter except during the daytime. The Church marriage was delayed for more than 3 months because of the poverty of María and her inability to borrow suffi-

cient money from her friends to attend properly to the wedding. Meanwhile, Isaac continued frequently to visit Laura at night, in spite of the decision that he was to remain away, until by the end of the period they were openly living together.

The wedding took place early in August, and Vicente and Natividad, as godparents, outdid themselves to give the young couple a good start. But the family disputes with the parents of Laura were never patched up, and they took no part in the ceremony.

Marital discord between Isaac and his wife was probably largely the fault of Laura. In the words of the town, *no respetá*, she did not show deference to anyone, least of all her parents-in-law, and this is the worst sign of bad breeding. Even before the Church wedding there were several arguments, and several times Laura returned home to be advised by her mother to insult Isaac's family. Five days after the Church wedding she blandly refused to make tortillas for the house, a direct insult to Isaac's mother, and then began to chant *groserías*, ugly things, at her husband himself. He in rage slapped her, and she again went home. Presently she returned, resolved to carry off her clothing, but found Isaac standing in the door. She struck him, and he countered with blows and kicks. While the scuffle continued Laura's mother arrived, and she began also to hit Isaac. Presently María arrived, a big stone in each hand, which she threw at Laura's mother, and when a younger sister of Laura appeared, Don Bernabé emerged from the house with a knife and threatened all with death unless they stopped. Both sides willingly agreed to go to the court to try to settle the argument, but by bad luck the typewriter had been broken, and since it was impossible to continue work, the judge had locked the door and gone home. Both parties went home, but later the grandparents of Laura appeared, determined to beat María, but, encountering only old Don Bernabé, they attacked him instead. Gildardo came running to defend his grandfather, livid with rage, and the attackers fled. But since the court was closed it was impossible to take immediate legal action. Meanwhile, Natividad and Vicente arrived, hoping to settle the dispute. Vicente declared he would have one more try and then wash his hands of the whole thing. Natividad, as guardian of the family budget, simply lamented the great expense they had gone to as godparents, and the lost time in giving advice to the young couple.

Yet 2 days later Laura was back in the house living with Isaac, and Gildardo was feeling very sorry for her. With variations this theme continued over the next year, Laura living part of the time with her family, and part of the time with Isaac. The birth of a child temporarily reconciled them, but soon again they were separated. As this paper goes to press domestic harmony has not yet been achieved, nor does it appear probable that it will be.

STATISTICAL DATA

Tzintzuntzan marriage statistics have been more carelessly kept than birth registrations.

Records for 1935 and 1936 are entirely missing, and those for 1941 stop in June. The following discussion is based on the records for the years 1937-40 and 1942-43. Only those cases in which one or both persons are from Tzintzuntzan have been used; local records, of course, are for the entire *municipio*. In addition, a number of marriages of persons from outside the *municipio* are listed. Lower fees charged by the municipal president as compared to larger towns is probably the reason for making the journey to Tzintzuntzan from Morelia or Pátzcuaro.

Of the 95 cases listed, 18, or about 20 percent, are between persons (mostly males) from Tzintzuntzan and persons (mostly females, who come to live in their husband's home) from other towns, most of which are within the *municipio*. In spite of a considerable amount of traveling, opportunities for courtship at a distance apparently are unfavorable. In eight additional cases the girl left Tzintzuntzan after marriage to live in another town within the *municipio*. An unknown, though probably small number of individuals from Tzintzuntzan, were married in other *municipios*, and hence no record is found of them.

Because of their small numbers Tzintzuntzan Tarascans more often are obliged to seek mates from other places. Actually the entire cluster of water front settlements from Ojo de Agua to Ihuatzio, i. e., the eastern peninsula of the lake, including the island of La Pacanda, forms a unit in which intermarriage is the rule. Cultural bonds are much closer within this group than between Tarascans and any geographically nearer Mestizo neighbors.

In spite of certain antagonisms between the Tarascans and Mestizos, intermarriage is fairly common. Table 4 shows the composition of homes in which Tarascan is spoken. It will be seen that 20 Tarascan women are married to Mestizo husbands, and 10 Tarascan men have Mestizo wives. As has been pointed out, this intermarriage is one of the main factors which is destroying the use of the Tarascan language in Tzintzuntzan; nearly always the children of such unions grow up speaking Spanish only.

Table 44 shows the total number of marriages divided by years, and indicates the relative ages of the spouses as well as their previous civil

TABLE 44.—Crude data on marriage in Tzintzuntzan, 1937-40 and 1942-43

Year	Total marriages	Groom older	Bride older	Same age	Groom widower	Bride widow	Both widowed	Both single
1943	13	9	2	2	0	1	2	10
1942	17	12	2	3	1	1	0	15
1940	19	16	3	0	3	0	2	14
1939	19	17	2	0	3	1	1	14
1938	13	12	1	0	0	1	3	9
1937	14	10	4	0	0	0	2	12
Totals.....	95	76	14	5	7	4	10	74

state. It is seen that in 80 percent of the cases the husband is older than his wife; in 15 percent the wife is older; in 5 percent both are the same age. Relatively few marriages between old men and young women occur, though not uncommonly a man marries a girl 15 or 20 years his junior. One exceptional case was that of a 75-year-old widower who married a 17-year-old girl. In 22 percent of all marriages, either the bride, the groom, or both have previously been married.

Table 45 shows the presumed ages of all persons at the time of marriage, separated for first marriages and subsequent marriages. No attempt has been made to distinguish between Tarascans and Mestizos in this table, since so few Tarascan marriages took place within the town during this period. Unlike the marriage ages given in table 39, cases outside Tzintzuntzan but within the *municipio* are not given. It is seen that the average age for first marriages of males is 23.8 as contrasted to 20.2 for females, a difference of 3.6 years. For subsequent marriages the average age for males is 42.8 as contrasted to 37.6 for females. Noteworthy is the fact that almost exactly two-thirds of all girls are married by their 20th year while less than one-third of the boys are married by that time.

Table 46 shows the civil state according to age groups of the entire population of Tzintzuntzan in February 1945.

A count of marriages by months shows a decided preference for November and December, while the summer months are least popular. No informant ever ventured an explanation for this phenomenon, and probably most if not all Tzintzuntzeños are unconscious of it. The summer months are those of the hardest and most con-

tinual work, and also the period of lowest income. Conversely, November and December are months of less work, for farmers at least, and with the harvesting of crops comes the greatest income. Potters' incomes are also high during

TABLE 45.—*Ages at first marriages and remarriages in Tzintzuntzan*

Age	First marriages		Remarriages	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
12	...	1	...	...
14	...	1	...	...
15	...	6	...	...
16	...	7	...	...
17	2	10	...	...
18	8	20	...	...
19	7	9	1	...
20	12	9	...	...
21	5	...	...	...
22	13	3	...	1
23	10	2	...	1
24	5	...	1	...
25	2	3	...	...
26	1	1	...	...
27	1	2	...	1
28	2	1	2	...
29	1	...	...	...
30	2	1	...	...
32	...	...	...	2
35	1	...	1	1
37	1	1	1	...
39	1	...	1	...
40	...	1	2	1
41	1	1	...	...
42	...	...	...	1
43	1	...	...	1
44	...	...	1	1
45	...	1	...	...
46	...	...	...	1
47	...	1	1	...
48	1	...	...	...
49	...	...	1	...
50	...	...	1	...
55	...	...	1	2
56	...	...	1	...
59	...	...	1	...
61	1	...	...	...
62	...	...	...	1
75	...	...	1	...
Total	78	81	17	14
Average age	23.8	20.2	42.8	37.6

this period. Since a wedding is an expensive affair it seems probable that financial considerations are largely responsible for seasonal variations.

Although it has been said that marriage is the normal state for adults, there is a surprising number of individuals, particularly women, who have never been married and who, according to village gossip, have never been known to have sexual relations with anyone. According to local speculation, at least five men and nine women between the ages of 30 and 70 have never had

relations at any time. Apparently they are otherwise normal persons. Table 47 shows the age distribution of unmarried persons of 20 and over.

The table, which substantiates observations, indicates that most of the men between the ages of 20 and 30 eventually will marry, whereas a considerable number of women in this age bracket will remain single. The relatively large number of women who will never marry is doubtless due in part to the surplus of females over males and the Church stricture against plural marriage. There is no apparent indication that less attractive females are those that

TABLE 46.—*Civil state of population of Tzintzuntzan, 1945*

Age group	Male				Female			
	Single	Widowed	Married	Total	Single	Widowed	Married	Total
0-5	82	..	..	82	117	..	..	117
6-10	84	..	..	84	88	..	..	88
11-15	57	..	..	57	79	..	..	79
16-20	51	..	9	60	38	..	27	65
21-25	21	..	35	56	12	2	40	54
26-30	6	..	35	41	9	4	30	43
31-35	5	2	22	29	3	4	34	41
36-40	2	3	43	48	2	4	37	43
41-45	..	..	32	32	2	2	35	39
46-50	..	..	22	22	3	14	20	37
51-55	1	..	18	19	..	6	7	13
56-60	..	1	17	18	4	4	10	18
61-65	2	3	5	10	1	7	2	10
66-70	..	2	6	8	1	6	1	8
71-75	..	1	..	1	1	2	1	4
76-80	..	2	..	2	1	1	..	2
81-85	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Total	311	14	244	569	361	57	244	662

go husbandless; parental opposition seems to be the principal determining factor as to who marries and who does not. This antagonism may be interpreted at least in part as due to jealousy on the part of parents, and particularly fathers, at the thought of having their absolute control over families begin to break down. Although mothers often tell their daughters that all men are bad, and that the grief associated with them can be avoided by refusing to marry, the factor of continued help around the home is probably much more important. Thus, eldest daughters particularly have pressure put on them to prevent development of romantic attachments.

Otilia Lara's case is illustrative. She was

the eldest of eight children, and because of her mother's ill health, was particularly useful around the house, helping with the younger children and even often going to the fields to help plant and harvest. She was formally requested in marriage on three occasions, but each time her mother cried and put on such a scene that she decided against the logical alternative of elopement. Her father likewise opposed all three offers. Finally her mother died and she accepted Wenceslao Peña's offer of marriage, her younger sister having just died leaving Wenceslao a widower with two small children. Her

TABLE 47.—Age distribution of unmarried males and females of 20 years of age and more, 1945

Age	Number of males	Number of females
20.....	6	5
21.....	3	0
22.....	7	1
23.....	1	1
24.....	3	3
25.....	3	6
26.....	2	2
27.....	1	0
28.....	2	1
30.....	2	4
31.....	1	0
32.....	1	0
33.....	0	2
34.....	1	0
35.....	2	3
38.....	1	1
40.....	1	1
44.....	1	0
48.....	0	2
50.....	0	1
57.....	0	1
58.....	0	1
60.....	0	2
73.....	0	1
78.....	0	1
Total.....	38	39

father died while arrangements were being made, upset, it was said, by her decision to defy family will. Thus, Otilia was 38 at the time of her first marriage, and after 6 years has had no children of her own. Though Wenceslao's new wife is *ya muy grande*, older than he, their marriage has been happy and successful, and she has been an ideal mother to her nephew and niece.

Fourteen men live with women other than their legal wives, although of this number, less than half can be said to maintain dual households. In the remaining cases the new relation-

ship approximates divorce and remarriage in societies where such is permitted; a complete and permanent break between a couple has been followed by new and lasting alliances with other individuals.

A relatively large number of unmarried women and a pattern against marriage, i. e., recognition that many women will go through life unmarried, may represent an unsatisfactory adjustment of Tarascan culture to modern reality. Though of course no statistics are available, it may be assumed that by means of polygyny or concubinage any female surplus was taken care of in pre-Conquest times. From the *Relación* we know that members of the nobility took numerous additional women, presumably the more attractive ones, so that even were this not the custom for commoners the supply would have been so reduced that even less desirable women would not have had involuntarily to forego marriage.

THE ADULT STATUS MARITAL RELATIONSHIPS

In the case of individuals who marry at a reasonably early age the transition from youth to the adult status is clearly marked. Newlyweds do not immediately have the same privileges and duties as older persons, but the significant step has been taken, and little by little they must accept their new responsibilities. Persons who do not marry gradually acquire adult status as they become economically self-sufficient, though it is significant that public and Church officials almost invariably are married men. Consciously or unconsciously, marriage is recognized as the normal adult state, and to such individuals one automatically turns to entrust positions of responsibility.

Marriage, obviously, establishes a new set of relationships and obligations between the couple and their families. Of greatest concern to the newlyweds are the personal relationships, and these are of an economic, social, and sexual nature. Both now have the opportunity, usually for the first time in their lives, to satisfy the sexual urge as often as desired, and during the first months after marriage intercourse takes place almost nightly, except during the wife's menstrual periods. It is believed that relations with a menstruating woman cause *purgación*

(gonorrhoea). After several months of marriage, or after the birth of the first child, relations take place two or three times a week. Many women rather grudgingly give themselves to their husbands, feeling that the latter are too demanding, but that it is better to satisfy them than to give them an excuse to seek other women. The sexual act, which normally takes place in the prone position with man superior, is done primarily for the satisfaction of the man. Apparently very few husbands try to see that their wives get maximum satisfaction out of the relation, and in many cases cohabitation leaves the woman unsatisfied. Thus, from the very beginning the relationship of the husband as the dominant marriage partner is emphasized.

Fidelity is expected on the part of a wife, but the husband is free to seek other women if he so desires. Although there are probably some cases of mutual faithfulness over long periods of years, most men at one time or another seek other companions. Muleteers are said, without exception, to visit houses of prostitution in Pátzcuaro, Ario, Tacámbaro, and other towns visited in the course of their travels. In Tzintzuntzan itself there are no prostitutes in the sense of women who can be visited by any man with ready money. But informants named about 10 local women who were felt to be rather lax in their morals, and about 8 more who formerly had been so but who had now settled down. Surprisingly, and contradicting other data, some in this latter group are among the most respected and happily married of all women. Perhaps such talk is just gossip; in such matters one never can be sure. All informants insisted that girls of doubtful virtue had affairs with men simply *por cariño*—for affection—and that they would be scandalized at the thought of accepting compensation. Lack of formal houses of prostitution is probably more a function of the small size of Tzintzuntzan than of any innate moral quality in the men of the town.

Figures for illegitimacy are surprisingly low. Legally, an illegitimate child is one born to parents who are not married civilly. Practically, they are those born to parents not also married by the Church. Though it is impossible to tell about intentional abortion to avoid illegitimate births, Tzintzuntzan records during the period 1931-44 show from three to six illegitimate births annually, or 5.7 percent of all reg-

istered births. A half or more of these were born to couples who had formed permanent unions, but who, because of Church prohibition and the practical problems connected with divorce, were unable legally to dissolve the union with first spouses. This low illegitimacy figure indicates that basic sexual morality of women within the village is amazingly good. I suspect that the ratio of illegitimacy for Tzintzuntzan is considerably lower than that of Mexico as a whole, and far lower than that of the large cities.

Illegitimate children are for the most part little handicapped, at least as far as social acceptance is concerned. Indirectly they may suffer somewhat in that, for their parents' indiscretion, they may be accused of coming from a low-class family. By and large, however, it is recognized that an accident of birth is not their fault, and that they should not be stigmatized.

The success of marriages is difficult to estimate. Most seem to result in stable unions, though few are without rather serious tensions. I have never seen Nati and Vicente angry with each other, nor have Faustino and Paehita quarreled seriously, to the best of my knowledge. Carlota P., on the other hand, has been less fortunate. She was married at the age of 15 and her first two children died, one a late miscarriage and the other a stillbirth. Gildardo M., her husband, felt this to be a personal offense to him, and beat her unmercifully, saying that it was all her fault. Often she went home weeping, and several times he was called to court to explain his actions. When a live child was born and continued to thrive his attitude softened, and he is now, as the father of three children, much less tyrannical. Nevertheless, he continues to be very stingy with money, and Carlota usually does not have enough clothing. Once her mother gave her money to buy a ready-made dress in Pátzcuaro, but Gildardo beat her badly afterward, saying that people would talk, that they would accuse him of not providing for his wife—which was absolutely true. To a considerable extent, though documentation is difficult, domestic tranquillity seems to run in families from one generation to the next. Sons of wife-beaters are apt to be wife-beaters, and sons of non-wife-beaters will likewise follow the father's example.

Though signs of outward affection between spouses are few, it is not difficult to tell when a couple are content with each other's company. Teresa is seated beside her husband, Rómulo, and in an affectionate manner tries to feed him a piece of sugarcane. He at first rejects the offering, then acquiesces while she giggles, very satisfied with the outcome. Mariana seats herself at the feet of her husband Severiano and turns her face up in an affectionate manner. He, embarrassed, pushes it away, but a moment later, when he thinks he is not being seen, lays his cheek against hers. Kissing is used but rarely as a demonstration of affection, except toward infants. A quick smile or a few words which might pass almost unnoticed are much more frequent.

Philandering and drunkenness on the part of a husband are frequent causes of discord. A reasonable amount of both are expected and accepted by most (but not all) women, but when the former is too open, and involves a local woman as contrasted to visits to prostitutes in other towns, and when the latter becomes too frequent, the family situation may become unbearable. Undue laziness on the part of a husband may also be a cause of friction, and in some cases, coupled with other causes, has led to separation. Likewise, mistreatment at the hands of a husband's family has been known to cause a wife to desert him. Shrewish tempers of wives, and their failure to pay proper respect to the husband's relatives, and, of course, infidelity, put a severe strain on any union. Since the local culture pattern does not provide for divorce, and since unions without benefit of clergy are severely condemned, mismatches, in most cases, continue through the years, with an armed truce at best and open fighting at worst the rule. The picture is rather like that of our own country during the 19th century where mismatched people simply made the best of a bad situation. In a few cases, however, a situation becomes so intolerable that separation followed by realliance takes place. It is not surprising that often this is done by individuals distinctly above average in strength of character, for actually pulling up stakes, deserting one's wife or husband, and going to live with any other spouse means arousing the antagonism not only of the Church but also of the holier-than-thou

element of the population, which at such times comprises most of the adults. If such new unions endure, little by little they come to be accepted, but the stigma never quite wears off.

María F. deserted her first husband when she had two children, because he was continually drunk and refused to work. She was quite self-sufficient with her potter's trade and felt that, alone at least, she would not have to support an indolent husband in addition to children. Subsequently she went to live with Agustín U. by whom she had two more children. Her eldest son Gildardo is very critical of her, not so much because she deserted his father as because her new partner is as lazy as the first; it shows, he thinks, very bad judgment on her part. Bonifacia E. lived with her husband who shared a house with his mother and a sister. The latter continually made life miserable for her, and after they beat her — while the husband stood by and watched — she ran to the house of a friend who later went with her to Morelia and helped her obtain work as a domestic.

Men, on the other hand, tend more often to desert their wives because they find other women sexually more attractive. Often such separations begin when a man tries to set up a second household, hoping to continue with the first as well. Jaime P. has lived for the past 10 years with María L. by whom he has had three children. For the first years he continued to visit his first wife, who continued to live with his mother, but gradually he shifted his attentions to his mistress and now never visits the wife. Yet he continues to contribute to her support and takes a keen interest in his two children by her. It is hard to tell how much his legal wife's inability to have more children, the result of a difficult childbirth, had to do with the change. Jaime is a man who likes women as such, and probably never would be content with one. Parenthetically it may be said that the mistress is a woman of much stronger will and far more interesting than the legal wife.

Though such generalizations are difficult and dangerous, an impressionistic estimate would place the number of stable unions at about the same level as in our own society, and the amount of discord about equal.

Most widowers except the very aged remarry, as do a surprising number of widows as well.

Marriage records show an average interval for men of perhaps 2 years between death of the first wife and remarriage; the shortest interval noted was 3 months. Widows usually wait a longer time, though it is hard to tell whether this is due to respect for their deceased husbands or whether they simply have fewer opportunities. Many widowers take second wives a number of years their junior, though not infrequently they will take a widow in their own age class or even a bit older.

Marriage, as contrasted to birth, involves or affords the opportunity to enter into kinship relationships which are voluntary and not determined by blood. Among the Mestizos kinship terminology is practically the same as that for urban centers. A significant difference, however, has to do with the change, or rather the lack of change, of the bride's surname after her marriage.

In urban Mexico, as in Spain and other Hispanic countries, the bride does not forego her surname for that of her husband. Rather, she henceforth is called, for example, Mary Doe, (wife) of Jones. Thus, María Méndez marries Juan Morales and becomes María Méndez de Morales, Mary Méndez (wife) of Morales. After his death she legally becomes María Méndez *viuda de* Morales, Mary Méndez, widow of Morales. But her own surname continues to be that which she had as a single person. Children acquire a double surname which incorporates those of both parents. To illustrate, Roberto, son of Juan Morales and María Méndez, becomes Roberto Morales y Méndez. His children, in turn, bear the surname Morales plus that of his wife. In Tzintzuntzan these sophisticated technicalities are unknown. After marriage a wife retains her own family surname, and no one would ever think of adding the "of Morales" or whatever the husband's name might be. Likewise, children take only the surname of their father; compound surnames incorporating that of the mother are never found.

THE COMPADRAZGO SYSTEM

Tzintzuntzan participates in the Mexican complex of formalized friendships and fictional kinship known as the *compadrazgo* or godparent system. In outward appearance this takes the form of a godparent-godchild relationship.

Actually, the bond is almost if not quite as strong between parents and godparents, for the new godparents, by acquiescing to the request of the parents, publicly proclaim their friendship with them. No two major Mexican areas have quite the same combination of *compadrazgos*, and even within the Tarascan area there are slight differences. Those of Tzintzuntzan are:

1. Baptism.
2. Confirmation.
3. Marriage.
4. *De la corona* ("of the crown").

Relative importance of the four types varies, as will become apparent from the discussion of each.

Compadrazgo of baptism.—Baptismal godparents of a child constitute a sort of insurance; should the parents die they must assume all responsibility for raising the orphans. Their obligations transcend that of siblings or parents of the deceased parents, and in turn they expect exactly the same affection and respect that children give to their real parents. Since no two children in a family usually have the same godparents, death does not mean the added responsibility of half a dozen children for godparents. The drawback to the system is that, in case of death of both parents, the children are separated and distributed among the homes of the several godparents. Though a married couple usually will be asked to serve as baptismal godparents, this is not obligatory and unrelated persons of the opposite sex may be asked. If the persons asked accept, the father takes brandy and cigarettes to the new godfather and bread to the godmother to seal the agreement.

Baptism takes place a few days to a month after birth, unless it is feared a sickly newborn child may die, in which case the act is performed immediately. The priest, clothed in his black cassock, white rochet, and stole, faces the godmother who holds the child's body, the godfather who supports its head, and the parents who stand to the rear. After reminding those assembled that it is a mortal sin not to present one's children for baptism, that only Catholics can be godparents, that the new godparents are acquiring life-long obligations to their spiritual children, and that they have contracted spiritual kinship with the child's parents, the priest places a pinch of salt in the child's

mouth, touches the nose and ear lobes with his saliva-dipped fingers and sprinkles water from the baptismal font on the tiny head. Finally, holy oil is placed on the child's breast, neck, and armpits. For this act the priest receives \$1.50. The sacristan who has aided receives some small change, and a *bolo* of a few centavos is distributed to each of the children who, hearing what is under way, gather at the church door. The father invites all who have participated to his house for a meal of chocolate, bread, and *pozole*, and later he gives a tray of bread, chocolate, and sugar to the new godparents. A week or two later the godparents respond with a gift of a chicken, a little bread, and a pot of *atole*.

For the presentation 40 days after birth the godparents present the child with a complete outfit of white dress and cap, sash, and cloth shoes. If they are wealthy they may hire an orchestra to accompany them to the house of the child the night before its presentation, where the parents greet them with a small fiesta. Usually only the godmother and child's mother go to the church where, with the priest, they kneel in the presbytery. With one end of the stole in the child's hand and a large candle in the other, the priest says the Benediction and tells the women that the child is now entitled to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. He receives \$ 0.50 from the godparents for this service.

Compadrazgo of confirmation.—A single godfather is selected for boys and a godmother for girls. The archbishop is expected to visit each parish at least every 2 years, and only on those occasions can children be confirmed. The godparent is obliged to buy a ticket for \$ 0.25 which entitles the child to join the others who are confirmed during the service. No significant obligations are incurred.

Compadrazgo of marriage.—These godparents are selected by the father of the boy with the concurrence of the girl's parents. The father takes a bottle of liquor when making his request, and if accepted tells the date of the festivities. Marriage godparents are expected to serve a wedding breakfast of bread and chocolate after the Church ceremony, and to provide music during the entire day for dancing. Likewise they are expected to give advice to the newlyweds, to tell them to be faithful to each other, not to fight, and to work hard to make

the new union a success. In case of serious disputes the godparents are mediators, and the couple is expected to follow their advice. An example of this participation is described in the section on marriage.

Compadrazgo of the crown.—Though moderately important among the Tarascans, this *compadrazgo* often descends to the level of a joke among the Mestizos. The relationships usually are formed during the fiesta of Rescate or Easter Week celebrations. For the former a special crown known as that of Nuestro Señor del Rescate is used, while for the latter, that of the Santo Entierro is taken. Sometimes in advance, but often on the spur of the moment, parents may ask individuals to be their *compadres de la corona*. Usually no attempt is made to find a married couple, and a man more often than a woman will serve. Parents and prospective godfather go with the child or children to the church, where an *encargado de la corona* ("one charged with the crown") holds the "crown," a small tin object of the size and form of a cookie cutter fastened to a short handle, over the head of the child who is held by the godparent. While an assistant rings a small bell a lighted candle is held in the child's hand and a prayer is said, after which the *compadre* drops a few centavos in a nearby plate. At the door of the church the new *compadres* may embrace each other, though this is not obligatory. More important is taking the children to a stand to buy them a small trinket — earrings for girls, a rattle for a small boy, and perhaps a wooden truck for a slightly larger boy.

Compadres may be selected in various manners. Usually persons of the same economic category are chosen, since intimate relations between families of widely differing economic status almost invariably are strained. Relatives may be godparents, and among the very poor this is quite common, since it involves less financial outlay on the part of the godparent. At the same time another force mitigates against this becoming a rule; people are afraid others will burlesque them, saying that they are trying to avoid spending money. A godparent of one type never becomes godparent of another type to the same person, but a godparent of marriage may be, and sometimes is, baptismal godparent of a child of his married godchildren. Baptis-

mal godparents of a child who dies may not become godparents of a subsequent sibling in the family. *Compadres* are expected to be unusually polite and considerate to one another, to invite each other to all of their family fiestas, and to help each other in time of need. They address each other as *compadre* or *comadre*, as the case may be, rather than by given names. No special terminology is required between godparents and godchildren, though children usually say *padrino* or *madrina* to the individuals occupying this relationship. Baptismal godparents must pay for the burial of an unmarried godchild, and the godfather must go with the real father to ask the girl's father for permission to marry. Sexual relations between *compadres* or godchildren and godparents are considered especially reprehensible, and one known case of an affair between a man and his marriage godmother was considered an unusually choice bit of gossip.

Functional importance of the compadrazgo system.—Though religious in form the *compadrazgo* system has more far-reaching implications. In a community where formal law and order are relatively poorly developed, it has the effect of strengthening the position of the individual. He has not only the support of his blood relatives, who may or may not stand with him, but also that of all his *compadres*, who are bound to do so. Obviously, *compadres* of two quarreling persons or families will be particularly interested in helping them to reach an amicable settlement, since they are torn between two sets of conflicting obligations. Godfathers have the right, and are expected, to intervene when any of their godchildren are found fighting, telling them to stop. Only a very badly brought up youth would continue to disregard the word of his godfather, who only need remind him that "I am your godfather." At the same time the sword is two-edged. A youth who finds his godfather fighting, if words are necessary at all, reminds him that as godfather he is setting a very poor example, and that the youth is very much ashamed to see the man whom he respects in a street brawl.

On the economic level the *compadrazgo* system forms a kind of social insurance. Few are the families which can meet all emergencies without outside help. Often this means manual help at the time of a fiesta, or the responsibility of a *carguero*. Sometimes it means lending money,

which near blood relatives do not like to do, because of the tendency never to repay a debt. But *compadres* feel obliged to lend, and no one would have respect for a man who refused to repay a *compadre*.

For persons who travel, having *compadres* in all regularly visited villages is a matter of primary importance. It means a place to stay on trips, and obviates the necessity of carrying large quantities of food, or money to buy it. And always, when one goes to another town for a fiesta, it is convenient to have "relatives" with whom one may stay. Thus, the *compadrazgo* system gives the individual greater support and strength than he could obtain from his family alone, and facilitates commerce and trade over a wide area.

An interesting speculation—and it can be no more than a speculation—is to what extent the *compadrazgo* system may be compensation for a former extended family or other kinship grouping. Its great importance in all aspects of life suggests that it may fulfill the function of some previous complex now disappeared. Parsons believes that the *compadrazgo* system among the Zapotecs may replace a former "more comprehensive category of relatives," though she does not equate this "category" specifically with a clan or lineage organization (Parsons, 1936, p. 70). I suspect that lineages may have been the rule among all pre-Conquest Tarascans. If this supposition is correct, it is by no means improbable that the *compadrazgo* relationship is the functional equivalent of one aspect of pre-Conquest social organization.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

Marriage raises the problem of residence of the new couple. Ideally, each family consisting of a married couple and children should have its own house with small yard, and a few of the wealthier fathers are able to provide a separate home for their sons, which is lent or given outright to them. In most cases, however, such arrangements are impossible. Renting of houses is not uncommon; 13 family heads rent homes, paying from \$3 to \$11 monthly, except for two men who pay \$20 and \$25 respectively for larger quarters used as stores. In addition, six family heads live for nothing as caretakers in homes belonging to other individuals. In-

spection of the lists, however, reveals that very few are newlyweds. Most commonly, then, a newlywed couple continues to live in the home of the father of the boy, which needless to say lengthens the process of emancipation for the young man, and brings the girl into a new and usually not too pleasant relationship with her mother-in-law. Less often, the boy goes to live in the home of his bride's parents. Only when sufficient capital has been acquired, or when older relatives die leaving a vacant house, is it possible to set up independent housekeeping, which is the almost universal desire on the part of new couples.

Joint households, then, are characteristic of a good many families. Inspection of the census reveals the following frequencies and combinations. This analysis is limited to cases in which two or more family heads are involved. Many more, of course, are characterized by the presence of an aged grandparent, an unmarried sister, an aunt, or some other relative who does not qualify as a family head.

- 25. married sons living with parents.
- 5. widowed parent plus married sons.
- 4. married men living with parents-in-law.
- 2. two married brothers with children.
- 1. spinster with nieces, nephews, and married nephew and children.
- 1. couple plus married illegitimate son of wife, and grandchildren.
- 2. miscellaneous unrelated families.
- 1. couple, married son, unrelated widow (3 heads).
- 1. two sisters and husbands.
- 1. priest and nieces plus married sacristan.

43 joint households representing 87 heads of families.

In addition to joint households one frequently finds clusters of close relatives living either in adjoining lots or in houses opening into the same patio. Doña Andrea, who lives with her youngest son, Gabino, shares her kitchen—which is also workshop—with her married son Faustino, her daughter-in-law Pachita, and her infant granddaughter, Lucía. Both of these "families" have separate, though adjoining houses in which they sleep. Macaria, a second daughter-in-law, has her own kitchen in which she cooks for herself and her two children, Adolfo and Celia, but the three of them sleep in the same room with Doña Andrea and Gabino. Son Wenceslao and wife Otilia, and their two chil-

dren live in an adjacent house and patio, while next to them live Vicente and Nati and their three children. Continual visiting back and forth produces, of course, or is the result of, a strong feeling of family solidarity.

The economic organization of the households, apart from the social arrangements, is interesting. Vicente and Nati are one unit, characterized by an independent work schedule and separate financial arrangements. Otilia makes pots apart from the others, though she glazes and fires them, aided by Wenceslao, in company with Doña Andrea, Pachita and Macaria, in Doña Andrea's kiln. She and Wenceslao maintain their own financial independence, and eat in their own kitchen. Doña Andrea and Pachita work together in potmaking, and all profits are put into a common fund which buys food and other necessities for the two families. While one is cooking the other may be working, so that the functional arrangement is that of any large family. Macaria makes her own pots and keeps them separate—each potter can recognize her own work—but glazes and fires them with the other members of this work group. Since she cannot alone bring clay and wood, a part of her production goes to Faustino to carry on his trading trips as compensation for the raw materials which he furnishes. Otherwise, her income and expenses are separate. This rather complex economic integration functions without apparent difficulties, and as far as I could ever tell there was no disagreement over the relative contribution of each individual.

Other family units function in similar fashion. Generally, the basic social and economic unit of Tzintzuntzan is more extended than is the case in more urbanized groups.

It is difficult to generalize about who controls the family purse strings. Though the husband, in theory and usually in fact, is the dominant member of the marriage partnership, a clever woman and mother may often exercise more real control. The small cash surplus which most families will have at any one time may be kept in a covered dish in the kitchen, or perhaps in some more secluded place in the sleeping room. Because of the nature of household economics the woman is apt to spend more money than the man, and hence to have a better day-to-day idea of the state of the family fortunes. More im-

portant than a traditionally sanctioned pattern of behavior are the personalities of the individuals involved.

DISEASE AND CURING¹²

As an adult, and probably as a spouse and parent, the individual has more responsibilities than during any other period of his life. Most of these responsibilities are economic, and as such predictable and foreseeable. Other responsibilities are brought on by crises, predictable only in the sense that sooner or later everyone must face them. Of those that have not as yet been treated, sickness and death are the most feared and the most haunting. Both are accepted more philosophically and with more resignation than in our own society, but this in no way alleviates the responsibility upon the part of the healthy or the survivors. In a sense, sickness is a greater crisis than death, since in the latter case the course of action is determined by custom, and no important decisions as to the best plan to follow must be made.

When a person is taken ill the decision as to what must be done is more difficult to make now than at any time in the past. Formerly, when it became apparent that the matter was serious, a *curandero* or native curer was called in. He or she decided whether the illness was due to witchcraft or natural causes, and recommended the proper course of action. Nowadays, faith in native curers has broken down to a great extent, but the trained physician has not entirely replaced them. *Los microbios*, germs, are known to be a cause of illness, but there is little understanding of means by which they can be avoided. And there is always the haunting fear, when recovery is not prompt, that *perhaps* witchcraft is responsible after all, in which case a trained physician's help may not be efficacious. Hence, present concepts of disease reflect a dual origin, and the treatments administered represent a rather unhappy blending of ancient and modern practice.

In recent years Tzintzuntzan has come to rely more and more on trained doctors, the nearest of whom practices in Quiroga, 8 km. away, and the next nearest in Pátzcuaro, 16 km. away. Difficulties in transportation, and frequent inability

to pay for house calls, are two of the chief reasons which restrict more frequent recourse to professional medical advice. Probably most Tzintzunteños by now have greater faith in the knowledge of trained medical men than in that of local curers. They rely upon local advice primarily because it is less expensive, and because the decision to call a *curandera* — all are women — is more easily made than to take the patient to town or to hurry to the doctor. None of the seven local *curanderas* has had professional training. They are not shamans in the sense that they receive power from the supernatural, and their ability is simply the result of the centuries of accumulation of folk knowledge. A *curandera* diagnoses the cause of illness by examining the patient and asking about his activities during the preceding days. Though she recognizes natural causes, her diagnosis also is predicated on the possible presence of other factors, at least some of which represent survivals from pre-Conquest times.

Common causes of disease are believed to be *aire* ("air"), *susto* ("fright," here called *asusto*), *mal de ojo* ("evil eye"), and the *mollera*. The last cause is the most difficult to understand. Literally, the word refers to the soft spot on the top of the head of babies. In local belief it is a vague, indefinable "something" which is inside the head, and which can be injured by a blow on the crown or at the base of the skull; a person knocked unconscious suffers because of injury to his *mollera*. Likewise it is connected with the hard palate; one of the duties of the midwife is to place her hand inside the mouth of a newborn child to press upward to "set" the *mollera*, which otherwise might fall and make the child ill. To a certain extent the *mollera* corresponds to, or is closely connected with the soul. It cannot be jarred out of the body, but at death the head magically opens and it floats up into the air. There is no very good treatment for a person whose *mollera* has been damaged. Sometimes a curer, especially in the case of children, will press up on the hard palate and with her mouth full of water suck on the soft spot on the top of the head, in the hope that the *mollera* will return to its proper place.

To a limited extent the ideas about fright as a cause of illness may be bound up with the *mollera*. A common primitive concept of a cause

¹² This is a very summary treatment. A separate paper on disease and curing is planned.

of illness is fright which jars the soul loose from the body. The result, soul loss, is the real cause of illness; fright merely accounts for the separation of the soul. Fragmentary data from several parts of Mexico suggest that soul loss from fright was at one time a widespread superstition in the country. The superposition of European concepts of illness seems to have obliterated this belief to a considerable extent, though some traces still remain. In Tzintzuntzan it is said, only half seriously, that when one dreams the spirit leaves the body in the form of a butterfly and travels over the world, leaving the body like that of a dead person. The sleeping person should not be awakened or frightened, because if his spirit were absent it could not return, and he would die.

Today in Tzintzuntzan *susto* can be interpreted as any shock which upsets the nervous system. A surprise, pleasant or unpleasant, sudden anger, and particularly shame resulting in loss of face are recognized situations which may produce *susto*. One day Consuelo Rendón, age 5, lost all of her school notebooks and pencils, either as the result of carelessness or some prank of her fellows. This caused her to feel very much ashamed, and she fell ill of *bilis*, the most common manifestation of fright, for several days.

Bilis, correctly translated as "bile," actually has a much more comprehensive implication. It is a vague, abstract substance which is diffused throughout the human body, closely connected with the blood. It is associated with the belief that a person needs lots of blood to be healthy: when one gets sick his blood is reduced in quantity. Very old, infirm persons are described as having "no blood at all," meaning, of course, very little of the essential substance. *Bilis*, which causes a fever, "boils" the blood away, making the victim ill. Symptoms of this illness are bitter saliva, excruciating headache, pain at the base of the skull, dizziness, and nausea. *Bilis* tends to coagulate when a person is asleep or at rest; hence, it is best attacked upon awakening in the morning before it has again been dispersed through the body. Various concoctions of herbs are boiled with sugar, honey, and alcohol, and taken over a 9-day period. Natividad says that doctors simply cannot understand this illness, and that home remedies are far preferable.

Aire, here called *aigre*, is a survival of the widespread pre-Conquest Mexican belief that air in itself is dangerous. Hence, the stereotyped picture of the Mexican Indian with his serape drawn over his mouth and nose, to protect himself from sickness. Headaches, dizziness, and aches and pains in muscles and joints are symptoms of disease caused by air. *Ruda* (*Ruta graveolens*) mixed with alcohol is rubbed on the sore places, and infusions of orange blossoms and cinnamon are drunk.

Aire is also treated by *la ventosa*, cupping. A coin is placed on the sore spot, a wooden match stuck upright on it with wax, the match lighted, a glass or cup placed over it to exclude air, and as the oxygen is burned the flesh is pulled up by the partial vacuum. This European technique is the functional equivalent of the native American sucking treatment which is widespread in Mexico.

The evil eye appears to be a European belief imported to the New World. Some persons, often unconsciously, communicate illness to children simply by looking at them, admiring them, or patting them. However, in Tzintzuntzan there is little apparent reluctance to allow visitors to comment on the children of the community. The technique *curar con blanquillos* ("to cure with eggs"), widespread in Mexico, is both diagnostic and therapeutic in Tzintzuntzan. When the evil eye is suspected as the cause of a child's illness, as indicated by diarrhea, fever, and starts and frights in the night, the curer proves or disproves the diagnosis with an egg. The nude patient is laid on a bed, the *curandera* takes the egg in one hand, makes the sign of the cross, and passes the egg over all parts of the body. If, upon breaking it in a pot of water, a *bombita*, a small segment (spot of a fertilized egg?) separates from the yolk and white, it is proof of the evil eye. The use of the diagnostic egg is in itself partially curative, but probably the curer also will rub the body with chiles and herbs, throwing them, along with the egg, in the fire, covering them carefully with ashes.

The common native American explanation of toothache survives in Tzintzuntzan: a worm eats the root, causing pain. Presumably the nerve of the badly decayed tooth is interpreted as the worm. Various herbs may be placed in the cavity, though aspirin is the most common form of relief sought.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

POSITION OF THE AGED

In Tzintzuntzan the approach of old age is not marked by special crises. It is a status into which one drifts little by little, often (in the case of men, at least) scarcely conscious of the transition. As a man goes through adult life he gradually fulfills the religious and civic posts which he may feel are his duty, thereby acquiring the respect due a man of his age. As a past *carguero* he can expect to be queried on matters of religious policy, and as past town official he is exempt from the *faena*, the several days of labor given annually to the town, expected of all able-bodied men. The marriage of children, particularly when they leave home, means an adjustment in the family work patterns, but almost invariably, as long as parents are alive, at least one son or daughter will remain in the old home. As long as they are able-bodied, parents will keep their own finances apart from those of the children. When one of the two dies, the survivor will work as a member of the family of the younger generation, and most income will be pooled.

Since most families have children, few of whom leave the village, the problem of where to live in old age usually is not acute. A home with one of the children is almost always a certainty, and since most old people contribute to their own support, they are not particularly burdensome. Possibly the fact that pottery making is the basic industry influences ideas about old age and the position of the aged. Because of the many different steps in the process, involving very different expenditures of energy, there is almost always something useful that a very aged person can do when working in cooperation with the total family group. For nonpotters there are other tasks, such as driving cattle to water, repairing huaraches, mending fishnets, whittling *colorín* wood net floats, and the like, which require little physical strength. Certainly, the average person does not look forward to retirement at the age of 55 or 60, and expects to continue to work, just as any younger person, as long as he lives. This attitude is conscious or unconscious recognition of a basic economic truth; the productivity of the village is such that, beyond children, a nonworking class or

group cannot be supported. The labor of the average individual during adult life does not produce enough so that he can expect to spend the first and last 15 years of his life in freedom from work. This apparently is possible only in a system in which a greater investment in capital equipment results in a much higher return from the labor of each worker.

Little information on the psychological and physiological aspects of old age was obtained. Many women seem to enjoy excellent health for a number of years after the menopause and, without the cares of children, are able to work harder and more continually than at other times in their lives. Life is sufficiently difficult at each stage that few if any people would like to go back to earlier periods. I have never heard anyone express the wish that he could again be 20, 30, or 40 years old. For the more fortunate oldsters, those were happy years, to look back upon with pleasure, but sufficiently difficult so that there is little desire to relive them. For the less fortunate, those same years were probably difficult enough so that a return to them would not look appealing. On the other hand, though death is regarded as natural and inevitable, I have never heard anyone express the thought that death is the easy solution to one's trials and tribulations. Informants were able to recall no cases of suicide in the village. By and large, older people seem to be neither less nor more happy than other adults; individual variations within all age classes are far greater than any variations between groups.

FUNERARY PROCEDURES

I follow standard ethnographic custom in discussing death at the end of the life cycle, even though, more logically, these data might immediately follow the section on birth. Nearly one half of all Tzintzuntzan deaths occur during the first 5 years of life (see table 50, page 271).

Tzintzuntzan has preserved no death observances which recognizably date back to pre-Conquest times. Variations in procedure correspond to the status of the deceased, and are apparently entirely Catholic in inspiration. Children are considered to be *angelitos*, little angels, and consequently go directly to Heaven without passing through Purgatory. Hence, though grief is shown freely at the death of children, it is in

spite of the doctrine that the child is better off than if it had lived. Baptismal godparents are expected to buy burial clothing for *angelitos*, consisting of a white dress and blue cape for girls, and "saints" clothing for boys, consisting of brightly colored tunic and stockings. Children of both sexes wear a crown of silver paper adorned with flowers. The white wooden coffin normally is paid for by the same godparents, though confirmation godparents have also been known to do so.

Older unmarried persons also are buried as *angelitos* if they are believed never to have had sexual relations. Their salvation is less certain, however, and it is thought that they, like other adults, must pass through Purgatory before reaching Heaven.

All other persons are considered to be adult sinners, hence must pass through Purgatory, and cannot be buried in white or colored clothing in a white coffin.

Immediately after the death of an *angelito* the body is placed on a table inside the house and properly dressed. Particularly in the case of the Tarascans *arcos*, or flower-covered arches of the same type as those used for the All Saints' celebration, are placed on the table. Adults are dressed in new clothing and laid directly in a black wooden coffin which is placed on a bed, or raised slightly off the floor on boards. A tall candle in a holder is placed at each of the four corners of the box or table. Whereas *angelitos* are carried to the cemetery either on the table itself or in an uncovered coffin, the coffins of adults are closed before they leave the house.

A wake attended by relatives and friends is held during the night before burial. A *rezandero* leads prayers and, in the case of *angelitos*, musicians are hired when economically possible. Funerals usually are not held until the afternoon following death, between noon and 3 o'clock. Sometimes if the priest is in the old convent he will be asked to come to say the Benediction; otherwise he takes no part in funeral observances.

Meanwhile the grave is dug by relatives, *compadres*, or friends. When it has reached a depth of a little less than 2 m. a narrower trench, just wide and long enough to accommodate the coffin, is excavated. After the proces-

sion arrives at the cemetery, the body, if that of a child, is removed from the table and placed in the coffin which has followed it through the streets. Palm leaves are torn from the fronds which have been carried by the participants and scattered on the floor of the excavation. The coffin is then lowered into the trench, with the head toward the east, and covered with slabs of rock so that it remains protected from the weight of the earth above, in a sort of stone-roofed chamber. Then holy water is sprinkled, each person takes a handful of earth, makes the sign of the cross, and throws the dirt in the grave. After filling the excavation the mound is slightly tamped, several lighted candles are placed at the head, and then the members of the funeral party adjourn to the home of the closest survivors where a feast has been prepared. A *novena* at which prayers are led by a *rezandero* is held for the nine following nights. On the last night the family altar is freshly decorated with flowers and lighted candles, and after prayers *pozole* is served.

The Last Rites are administered to a dying person whenever the priest is able to come. After hearing the confession of the dying person the sacerdote anoints the body with *los santos óleos* (holy oil) on the nostrils, chest, nape of the neck, hands, and feet. Masses for the dead usually are held on Mondays. On a table in the center of the nave a small gold image is placed on a black velvet cloth, and at its feet a human skull is laid. At each corner of this "tomb" a tall candle is placed. The priest usually charges \$4 for a Mass of the dead, though the cost may be less for a poor person, or considerably more for a well-to-do family.

A case history reveals in greater detail some of the events which characterize death observances. It is that of a 14-year old Tarascan girl of Ojo de Agua, killed by lightning along with her godmother in June 1945, while on her way to eat at the house of the latter.¹³

The body of the girl is brought to her home, and in the afternoon the godparents bring the white and blue clothing with which the body must be dressed. A table is set up before the family altar and decorated with arches to which flowers and palm fronds are fastened. After the body has been laid in state,

¹³ Antonia Corona, whose Day of the Dead festivities are described on pages 219-220.

candles are lighted and the all-night wake begins. Several musicians come from La Vuelta, and a *rezandero* leads prayers intermittently during the night. Next morning friends of the family dig the grave while the dinner which is to be served after the interment is prepared. Because of stormy weather the burial is delayed until about 5 o'clock in the afternoon when a momentary clearing permits the procession to leave the house. First a group of girls emerges from the house carrying palm fronds and flowers. Then follow friends and members of the family carrying lighted candles and trays filled with flowers. Next comes the corpse on the table, to which pole handles have been lashed, and after it, the musicians. Two youths silently carry the white coffin, but only virgin girls, we are told, may support the table itself. The gay marches of the orchestra and the explosions of the rockets are in sharp contrast to the serious faces and silent demeanor of the rest of the party. All is in readiness beside the grave. While the youths tear the leaves from their palm fronds several old women, including the girl's mother, who weeps bitterly, untie the body from its resting place on the table and place it in the coffin.

A discussion ensues. The folded hands of the corpse hold a palm frond to which are fastened flowers. Some say that these must be removed, and remind the others that flowers in the coffin cause the body to decompose more rapidly. But the others carry the day; the virgin must carry the palm frond, and because of the approaching rain time cannot be taken to disentangle the blossoms.

The coffin lid is nailed on with a rock, and quickly it is lowered into place. All spectators take a handful of earth, place it to their lips, describe the cross, and throw it into the opening. As if this were the signal, the heavens open and the water pours down. "*Ave María Purísima*, protect us from all evil," cry the spectators as they rush for shelter, leaving only a few men to replace the earth. Old Don Antonio, the girl's father, seems unconscious of the rain which beats on his uncovered head and rolls down his cheeks, mingling with his tears. I can hardly believe my ears; he is scolding his dead daughter. "Why did you have to go to eat with your godmother? Didn't I always feed you well at home? If you had only remained at home the lightning would not have struck you." His friends support him and quiet him. They point out that the godmother also was killed, that it was the will of God, and that he is not the one to dispute that will. The participants return to Ojo de Agua, and the funeral meal is served.

At all funerals which I have attended in Tzintzuntzan, as in other small Mexican villages, I have been impressed with the atmosphere of friendliness and sympathy which is displayed. One is particularly conscious of the solidarity of the group—the relatives, *compadres*, and friends who have assembled. The same could have hap-

pened to any of them, and when it does, they will expect the same help. To those who come a funeral means a day of relaxation, a good meal—and also a sacrifice of time. In one case, Vicente Rendón had previously accepted my invitation to ride to Mexico City on the following day. He had planned to glaze pottery to take with him to sell, but the death of the father of his *compadre*, Salvador Villagómez, meant that he had to help with the funeral. In spite of the temptation—he had never been to Mexico City—he unhesitatingly abandoned the idea of the journey to help his *compadre* Salvador. As matters turned out, by working all night he was able to finish his work, but even had he not, it would not have occurred to him to grumble or to curse the bad luck which obliged him to devote a much-needed day to nonproductive work.

DEATH STATISTICS

Death records have been fairly well kept since the establishment of the *Municipio* in 1930. For statistical purposes the 10-year period 1935-44 has been used. Table 48 shows all recorded deaths, divided according to sex and year, for this period. A total of 326 deaths occurred, an average of 32.6 per year. During

TABLE 48.—Total recorded deaths in Tzintzuntzan, 1935-44

Year	Male	Female	Total
1944	7	16	23
1943	18	14	32
1942	18	12	30
1941	11	21	32
1940	17	11	28
1939	14	23	37
1938	15	15	30
1937	13	21	34
1936	15	19	34
1935	29	17	46
Total.....	157	169	326

the same period, 543 births occurred, an excess of births over deaths of 217. Taking this average, and adding 50 to the official Government census figure of 1,077 for 1940 to allow for error, a crude death rate of 28.8 is indicated. The rate for 1944 (using the population figure of February 1945) is 18.7. Though the period is too short to give a very good picture of trends, it appears that the death rate has been

falling rather rapidly. The first 5 years of the period accounted for 181 deaths and the last 5 years only 145, giving averages of 32.1 and 25.7 respectively. It would be tempting to speculate that the opening of the highway, making possible easier visits to doctors, was the cause of this difference. The years 1931 to 1934, however (which have not been used in the remaining calculations) show an average of

deaths, and July and August, in the middle of the rainy season, show the most, with the exception of April, which stands out beyond all other months. With this exception, at first glance very puzzling, it is apparent that the rainy season from June through September is a bit more dangerous than the dry season. Local superstition says that the period following the Rescate fiesta, which falls in February or March, is that

TABLE 49.—*Tzintzuntzan deaths by months, 1935-44*

Month	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	Total
Jan.	2	1	2	3	3	0	3	3	4	2	23
Feb.	3	1	0	0	2	0	2	2	2	0	12
March.	6	2	3	4	3	1	2	3	1	3	28
April.	7	3	4	4	7	4	2	1	2	4	38
May.	4	3	1	5	3	1	3	1	3	3	27
June.	6	0	6	1	2	3	7	0	1	1	27
July.	4	5	8	5	4	2	3	3	0	1	35
Aug.	5	2	3	3	5	3	4	4	2	2	33
Sept.	3	6	3	2	4	2	2	3	4	0	29
Oct.	2	5	2	1	1	3	1	5	4	2	26
Nov.	1	4	2	2	2	7	0	2	3	3	26
Dec.	3	2	0	0	1	2	3	3	6	2	22
Total.	46	34	34	30	37	28	32	30	32	23	326

TABLE 50.—*Deaths by ages in Tzintzuntzan, 1935-44*

Age group	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	Total
0-5	12	16	18	19	13	7	23	10	20	7	145
6-10	1	2	..	..	4	2	..	1	2	2	14
11-15 .....	..	1	..	..	1	2	1	1	..	..	6
16-20 .....	..	..	1	2	..	..	1	1	1	..	6
21-25	2	1	1	1	2	2	..	2	..	2	13
26-30	3	..	1	..	4	1	..	3	2	1	15
31-35	5	1	2	1	1	1	..	1	1	..	13
36-40	1	1	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	1	6
41-45	3	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	7
46-50	2	1	2	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	9
51-55 .....	..	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	6
56-60	7	4	1	2	1	3	3	6	1	3	31
61-70	7	3	4	..	2	1	2	2	..	3	24
71-80	3	2	1	2	5	2	1	1	2	2	21
81-90 .....	..	1	1	2	..	2	..	1	..	1	8
91-100 .....	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	2
Total.	46	34	34	30	37	28	32	30	32	23	326

only 31.5 deaths a year, not much greater than the 1940-44 period. This suggests either that the years 1933-39 constituted a peak in a natural cycle or that in the earlier years registration of deaths was not as complete as in later years.

Table 49 shows deaths by months for each of the 10 years, and the total. February, in the middle of the dry season, shows the fewest

of most sickness and death. The high rate for April suggests that this belief is based on fact. In view of the almost complete lack of sanitary facilities, the enormous crowds, and the dryness coupled with winds to blow germs about, it is not surprising that this is the case.

Table 50 shows the deaths by ages for the 10-year period under consideration. It is appalling to note that 145, or nearly half of the

TABLE 51.—Recorded causes of death in Tzintzuntzan, by ages, 1935-44

Age group	Whooping cough	Bilis	Exhaustion	Smallpox	Hemorrhage	Pneumonia	Diarthera	Erysipelas	Colic	Rheumatism	Bronchitis	Congestion	Fever	Tuberculosis	Tumor	Pain	Bilious fevers	Epilepsy	Weakness	Childbirth	Vomiting	Typhoid	Wounds, gunshot	Other ¹	Total
0-5.	15	16	1	5	..	4	46	2	1	1	32	..	6	..	..	6	..	1	3	..	1	2	..	3	145
6-10.	1	5	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	14
11-15.	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
16-20.	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
21-25.	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	13
26-30.	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	15
31-35.	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	13
36-40.	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
41-45.	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
46-50.	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
51-55.	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
56-60.	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	31
61-70.	..	3	6	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
71-80.	..	2	11	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
81-90.	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
91-100.	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Total.	16	45	33	5	4	16	59	3	4	9	32	2	40	2	3	13	1	3	3	2	2	4	11	14	326

¹ Other causes listed are dropsy, malaria, neuralgia, and senility.

total, were persons of 5 years of age or less. A supplementary count showed that 81 of these were persons less than 1 year old. The ages 11 to 20 (10 to 19, American style) appear to be the safest, followed by a rise in deaths during the years 21 to 35. The death rate is lower during the years 36 to 55, highest of all during the years 56-60, and remains high during all later years.

The reader must be reminded that the ages put down on death certificates are no more accurate than those given at any other time. Hence, all these figures must be studied with certain reservations.

Table 51 shows the principal recorded causes of death in relationship to age categories. Since most deaths occurred without competent medical diagnosis, the causes of death given in the municipal records are of relatively slight value from the standpoint of precise study. Nevertheless, in terms of general categories of disease, the worst killers can be spotted. Dysentery is the most prevalent cause of death of children under 5 years of age, followed by bronchitis or other forms of respiratory infections. The undefinable *bilis* and whooping cough, about which there should be little doubt, are also common killers. *Fiebre*, typhus and typhoid, is no respecter of age, and accounts for about one-eighth of all deaths. *Agotamiento* ("exhaustion") is the most commonly stated cause of death among older people. Probably a good many of the ailments of old age are included in this category. An occasional cancer is recognized as a tumor, and rarely mention is made of a heart condition. Pneumonia is probably correct as the diagnosis for most deaths of adults so recorded. Smallpox and malaria occur, but are not particularly prevalent. Traveling public health nurses have vaccinated most adults and a great many children. The percentage of persons dying violent deaths is perhaps a bit lower than the average for all Mexico, though this admittedly is an impressionistic statement. No death is ever recorded without at least a guess as to the cause.

FROM THE ETHNOGRAPHER'S NOTEBOOK

A straight descriptive ethnographical account almost invariably reduces the picture of a village to a single plane. Yet the collective life which is that of the village, is composed only of the individual lives of the inhabitants. And they are by no means stereotyped. Some are intelligent, others are stupid, some rude and bad-mannered, and others models of courtesy and correctness. These human aspects of Tzintzuntzan can be known and understood only by meeting the people. Some of the characters whom I found most interesting have already been introduced to the reader, within the context of the subject matter under discussion. In this section I hope to convey a more intimate idea of the people themselves—what they think, how they react under different circumstances, what are dominant group characteristics. I have done this, literally, by taking random pages from field notes which contain data not strictly pertinent to the formal categories under which the culture of Tzintzuntzan has been considered, but which seem to me to throw significant light on the total picture of the way of life of the people. The data are spotty and of varying quality. Still, I hope they will contribute something not made apparent in other parts of this monograph.

I.

Zeferino Villagómez is *presidente municipal*, town mayor, in 1945. He is perhaps not the best mayor Tzintzuntzan has had, but there are some interesting things about him. Sometime after our arrival he asks, "Señor Foster, how old are you?" It was the first—and only time—the question was asked. I tell him and he muses. "And how old are you, Zeferino?" I ask. "Señor Foster, I was born on August 28, 1917." This is an astonishing reply. In a town where most adults, without careful calculations, are unable to give their ages within 5 or 10 years, Zeferino, without hesitation, gives the date of his birth. Zeferino is famed for his question asking. He is known, to this day, as "the boy who was curious." "How many horses would be necessary to pull down the church tower?" "How much salt would one have to put in the

lake to make it salty?" "How many adobes are necessary for a church?" The questions, asked 20 years earlier, are still commented upon. No one before, no one since, has asked such questions. People think it is a curious but harmless mental quirk.

One day the two of us, with Zeferino's younger brother Maximino, and Primo Calderón, drive to Morelia, and I ask them to lunch at the Oseguera Hotel. During the meal a curious individual, a dark, wiry man in his early thirties, with a frosty blind eye, enters the dining room. He is dressed in black riding pants, boots, and white shirt. At each table he leaves a printed sheet which proclaims him to be the *Andarín no. uno de la América Latina*, the foremost wanderer of Latin America. Since it falls at my place, I glance over it. He has been driven, so it reads, by an irresistible impulse to wander over Latin America, from his Brazilian home, and only the support of friends makes it possible to continue to do so. Upon his return he informs me that the sheet is mine for only \$0.10. I start to hand it back, but Zeferino, who has not seen it, pulls out the money and hands it to him. Curiosity has gotten the better of him. Two years earlier, says Zeferino, the same man was in Morelia and sold sheets with wonderful poetry which he himself had written; now, it is worth \$0.10 to know what this sheet says. I express doubt that the man is a Brazilian. Zeferino reads the tract carefully. "No, he's Brazilian all right. It says so right here."

Zeferino is also genuinely concerned about our welfare, and the success of the project. During the early days of our stay there were ugly rumors that we were *Evangelistas*, Protestant missionaries working under cover, intending to destroy the church and saints, and to convert *en masse* the population from the true faith. One day a pot filled with lime is thrown at Gabriel from behind a wall, narrowly missing him. Though most people do not take the rumor seriously, there are a few fanatics. I am attending the election of new *cargueros* at the home of José Medina. It is well after midnight, and the party is breaking up. I have a several minutes walk down the road to the school house,

where we are living. Zeferino is not at the election, but I encounter him as I step outside. "Good evening, Señor Foster. It's a lovely night, isn't it? I'm going to stroll with you to the school." "Thanks, Zeferino, but don't bother. It's just a short distance." But he walks with me, just the same. As *presidente municipal*, he has extended to us the "guarantees" of liberty and safety, and he is going to make sure that they are not violated.

II.

In every town in Mexico the visitor is informed that here the people are the most orderly and law abiding in the world. And always, there is another village, not far away, that is peopled almost exclusively by thugs and assassins. In Tzintzuntzan, the dangerous town is thought to be Coenembo, a *ranchito* of the *municipio*, 10 km. east. One day we are asked to attend a wedding breakfast in Tzintzuntzan, and then to go to Coenembo, the home of the groom, for the dinner and dance. "What, go to Coenembo?" asks Carmen, in genuine alarm. "Don't you know that's the worst place around here? They hide behind stone walls as you walk along, and 'ping,' nobody knows who does it." The others join in with the same warning. Pascual Corral had had to leave there many years earlier, because of some difficulty, and he had never been back, afraid to go. "His life wouldn't be worth five centavos," opines Guillermo. We decide to risk it anyway. One can get almost all the way by car, except for a couple of kilometers. I offer to carry the bridal party with me to save their new clothing. The bride is a pretty little girl of 18. She was born in the United States, someone ventures. I ask in what part. "*Pues, quién sabe, Señor.* Who knows, I was brought back here when I was very young." We park the car, and a half hour's walk brings us to Coenembo. The narrow, rock-walled streets are really ideal for an ambush. We almost wonder if there is truth in the stories we have heard. Presently the rest of the party arrive, having come a shorter way on horseback. Some are already drunk, from the *aguardiente* and hot sun. But all are in good spirits, and there is only one gun. And that—a guest from Quiroga carries it. And finally,

wonder of wonders, here comes Pascual, with his entire orchestra, invited to play for the feast. We eat dry rice, "soup" of macaroni, turkey *mole*, and beans. Then the second and third tables follow. *Aguardiente* is served liberally. Everybody is satisfied, jolly, a little drunk, and very friendly. Finally, at sunset, we leave to walk to the car. Not a single *balazo* all day. And Pascual? We learn, next day, that he played the entire night, returning to Tzintzuntzan none the worse for the experience.

III.

Friday, the *Octava* of Corpus, has extra excitement beyond the regularly scheduled activities. Gabriel and I descend from the *yúcatas* and pass the *presidencia*. A small knot of people clusters on the porch. Zeferino calls to me. "Señor Foster, won't you please come and take a picture of the dead man?" And there he lies on the cold tiles of the floor, the face so mashed and bloody that only with difficulty do we make out that it is a boy of not more than 15 years of age. Two candles have been placed, one at his head and the other at his feet, tilting grotesquely toward the body. Men stand around, not quite knowing whether they should take off their hats in the presence of Death. "He was struck by a car last night near El Tigre," explains Zeferino, "and brought here just a short time ago. We want the photograph so he can be identified." I take the picture as quickly as possible, knowing that no identification could ever be made from a photograph of the mangled body of what had once been a boy.

Fortunately, the identity is established in the afternoon before the pauper's burial. An older brother, perhaps 17, has heard in Morelia that a corpse has been found. The night before, his brother had left his widowed mother, determined to leave home, and the search was instigated. Somewhat drunk, the boy approaches me. Is it true that I have taken a picture of the corpse? Can he have one? "Yes, of course, but they must first be developed. Write your name in this notebook and I'll send one to you." "I can't write," he stutters. The name is written, and that of the shop where he labors. Don Pancho, the tax collector, sagely remarks that without the street address the letter will never arrive.

"I don't know the name of the street," says the boy. "Send it to the house of Sra. . . ." But he doesn't know that street either. Finally we decide that I will leave the photograph in the *presidencia*, and he can pick it up at a later date. Thanking me profusely, he takes his leave, his dead brother's shoes under his arm.

Gabriel and I are standing under the gate which opens into the churchyard. The news of the accident has spread rapidly, and small groups of children break away from the dances and run toward the *presidencia*. Presently Celia, Teresa, and Consuelo, aged 11, 8, and 5 respectively, rush by. "Consuelo," I ask, "where are you going?" "*A ver al muertecito*, to look at the little dead one," she pipes, and hurries along, as if bound on a picnic. Presently the girls return, apparently unaffected by the sight. "What did you think of the *muertecito*, Consuelo?" "The head was all bloody," she replies in a matter-of-fact voice. "Was it the first *muertecito* you have seen?" "No," and she rushes off to see what promises to be the next most interesting sight, the dancers from La Vuelta.

Next day, however, Nati tells me that Consuelo and Teresa insisted on sleeping with her, instead of in their own bed. And all during the day they remain close to their mother. It is not the first corpse they have seen, she says, but the first of a person who has died a violent death. She herself, says Nati, has always been terribly frightened by the sight of a corpse, and never willingly looks at the body of a friend or relative who has died. At night she sees the body before her, and is frightened. Vicente scoffs at her, and says he is going to make her kiss the feet of a corpse, and that that will make her fear leave her. There is no feeling that a young child should not gaze upon a mutilated body if it so desires.

IV.

I stop at the Peña home, and find Doña Andrea huddled on the tile floor, a few ragged covers pulled over her. She is suffering from dysentery, fever, and chills, and has scarcely the strength to rouse herself to greet me. Gabriel is away from Tzintzuntzan for several days and the doctoring, normally his job, is up to me. Aspirin and sulfa are prescribed. Usually

Doña Andrea sleeps on a bed with her granddaughter, Celia. "You must get up off this cold, draughty floor and into bed," I prescribe. She does not want to do it, for fear of infecting Celia. Lucía, her 2-year-old granddaughter, the child of Faustino and Pachita, toddles up, hugs her grandmother, and is given a kiss. Next day, and the following day, Doña Andrea is much better and I, conversely, seem to be suffering from the same ailment, which does not go away. I decide to go to Mexico City for several days' rest. The night before my departure she is again worse. I prescribe a heavier dose, and experience the fear which haunts all ethnologists who try to help with doctoring. Suppose the patient dies? I radiate confidence in my best bedside manner, and tell Faustino to come to the school early in the morning to tell me how his mother is. If she is not better we will bring a doctor from Pátzcuaro. Next morning, there is a knock at the door. There is Faustino, his beaming face speaking more eloquently than his voice. His mother slept well all night, the fever is gone, and she has no dysentery. His arms are full of the lovely *loza blanca*, the white pottery made by Doña Andrea and Nati, a present to take home with me, his thanks for what the medicine did for his mother. Pachita peers over his shoulder, and from under her rebozo draws several more small pieces. And finally, two eggs, still warm, are handed to me. "For your lunch on the road," she says.

V.

In Tzintzuntzan, witchcraft is not the feared and hated nefarious art that it is in other parts of Mexico. Still, there are stories of the past and—who knows—one might even be bewitched today. The common Tarascan concept of the witch is closely related to that of the animal transformer *nagual* of southern Mexico, though the name is unknown. Witches, of either sex, take out their eyes, leave them beneath hearth stones, put in cat eyes, put on wings of petates and fly through the air looking for victims from whom to suck blood.

Gabriel and I and several friends are gathered in the house of Micaela and Melesio. A single oil wick illuminates the room, and rain

beats on the roof. Experiences with witches? No, *brujos* used to be around, but one is not much troubled by them now. Micaela remarks that a good many witches formerly lived in La Vuelta, and often they assumed owl form to annoy or bewitch the Mestizos of Tzintzuntzan. However, some years ago most of the *inditos* joined the Third Order of San Francisco, and since that time there has been little trouble. Still, continues Micaela, there are a few Indians who, when angered with people in Tzintzuntzan, threaten to come at night and bewitch them.

Owls, opines Primo, are very apt to be witches who have assumed this form. Fortunately, they can be killed simply by shooting their shadow on the ground; that kills the spirit. But how does one see an owl's shadow on a dark night? Primo is not quite sure.

Vicente volunteers that he once spent an uncomfortable hour when an owl began to sing outside his house one night. Although he believes he has no enemies in La Vuelta, still, his house is almost the closest of all those in the village. Finally he arose and frightened it away with a shot. At the very least, he says, a singing owl portends sickness in the nearest house. And with a curious cause-and-effect logic, he feels that scaring the bird away removes the danger.

Carmen has had no experiences with witches, but she remembers a story of witchcraft in earlier days in the village. A man was married to a girl who became very sad and thin, and who begged, at last successfully, to be allowed to return home. The girl and her mother were both witches. They took out their eyes, hid them under the hearth stones, put in cat eyes and with petate wings went flying away to suck blood, so that the wife could recover her strength and return to her husband. Meanwhile the husband came to her mother's house, discovered the eyes, and took them home with him. When his wife appeared next day without eyes, he knew she was a witch.

Uruapan, says Micaela, is a bad center for witches. The whole sierra, and especially Tarascan towns, are full of witchcraft. A woman from Uruapan married a local man, and lived in a house in El Rincón. Apparently she was just an ordinary woman, but presently her neighbors noticed unusual things. Every night

wolves came to her house and spoke to her "like *Cristianos*" ("Christians," i. e., human beings as contrasted to nonhuman pagans), calling "Petra, Petra, Petra." After a while she died, carried off, so goes the gossip, by these werewolves.¹

VI.

Doña Andrea knows more lore, superstition, and local gossip, than anyone else I know. She is not a native Tzintzuntzeño, having come from nearby Quiroga when she married José María in 1904, at the age of 15. Though Tzintzuntzan was only 8 km. away—less than that by canoe—she had never visited the town before she came as a bride. At that time there was no plaza, and except for a few *gente de razón* in the center of town, everybody wore indigenous garb. Her girlhood training had included sewing and, she says, for the first several years she practiced this trade, showing local seamstresses how to make "civilized clothing." Ultimately, she took up the *bayeta* herself, turned to pottery making, and became one of the most skilled of all potters. With the *bayeta* and potter's art she also picked up the local lore and stories.

Don Grabiél—his name is always metathesized—wants to know how one wins the love of a girl? But it is for a girl in far-away Colombia, and besides, she has no unmarried daughters herself who might be placed in danger. After all, it's too bad. Don Grabiél is a nice boy, but he would want to take his wife far away from Tzintzuntzan, and that would not be good. Well, winning a girl is really very simple. You just kill a hummingbird, and dry, burn, and powder the body. By surreptitiously sprinkling a little on a girl she can easily be seduced. Also, by sprinkling the powder on the door of a house at night a thief can enter without awakening the owners. Other less difficult ways to win the love of a girl? Well, a boy can scrape his finger nails and place the powder in a small hole in a piece of fruit, so carefully treated that she will not notice the tampering. If she eats the powder she will be drawn magically to the love-sick or designing swain.

For really nefarious purposes, however, says Doña Andrea, there is nothing like the finger of

¹ Wolves are not found near Tzintzuntzan.

a corpse. To open a locked door, the finger is placed against the lock, which causes the body of the deceased to appear on the floor. The evil-doer jumps over it three times to the right, three times to the left, and three times forward, after which it disappears and the door swings open. To seduce a sleeping girl a man merely touches her with the finger, and she must answer his will. But possession of the dried finger also has its drawbacks. Each night, just at dusk, it speaks to the owner, "Let's go. Now's the time!" And it keeps it up all night unless the owner goes out and does evil, which quiets the finger for the rest of the night.

The buttons of a rattlesnake may serve similar purposes, or so it is rumored, continues our fountain of knowledge, and also have other virtues, if such you can call them. If a man wants to fight successfully he puts the buttons on the floor, urinates—"con el perdón de ustedes, if you will pardon me for saying so"—on them, and thus causes them to jump. Walking around them twice quiets them so they will remain in one's pocket without revealing their presence, and thus equipped, the battler cannot lose.

VII.

Jesús and Wenceslao Peña are exceptions to the general rule that witchcraft is of small moment. The former was bewitched, just a few years ago, and the latter, on his trips to the *tierra caliente*, has seen clear evidences of witches at work.

"Jesús," I ask one day, "why did you retire from the presidency of Tzintzuntzan before your term was over?" The story, though short, requires a preliminary act. We enter Jesús' *cantina*, and he pours us each a *copita* of *aguardiente*. "No more, Jesús, but thanks just the same. My stomach has been a bit upset today, and I don't think it would be good for me". (Some of our gayer friends in Tzintzuntzan came to believe that we suffered from continual stomach trouble.)

Jesús' account is told. During his term he encountered a great deal of opposition from certain segments of the village, against which, however, he successfully defended himself. Finally, however, he became so ill that he was not able to attend to his duties in the *presidencia*. Reluctantly, he agreed to surrender his po-

sition, and on the appointed morning dragged himself to the *presidencia* on crutches to deliver the office to his successor. As soon as the act was completed he noted, to his astonishment, that he no longer ached. Gingerly, he took one step without his crutches, then another, and then another. No doubt about it, he could walk just as well as ever. In short, he was completely recovered. "And how do you know it was witchcraft, Jesús?" He doesn't know how he was bewitched, but, *señor*, is it not obviously the only explanation? "How do you account for it, if it were not witchcraft?" he asks, and I can give him no answer.

Wenceslao has been listening without saying a word. Like his younger brother Faustino, he neither smokes nor drinks. "He can tell you about seeing witches." Jesús' statement evokes Wences' experience. It is the same story, almost without variation, that one hears in all parts of Mexico. He and some of his friends were sleeping under the covered *portales* surrounding the plaza of a town in the *tierra caliente*. During the night he awoke to see three balls of fire flying through the trees of the plaza, obviously witches mischief bent. But their work was much farther away, and they did no harm to Wences and his companions.

The Tarascans are much greater believers in witchcraft than the Mestizos, and they practice it much more successfully, believes Wences. Once he saw its effects in the hot country. He fell in with muleteers from Nahuatzen, and one of them, a boy, became very ill. One night while they were sleeping a dog began to sniff around the boy, and refused to be driven away. Finally, in anger, one of the men cut off its head with a single stroke of his machete. Almost immediately the boy recovered. Wences did not learn the sequel until several months later when, by chance, he ran into some of the men on this trip. The boy, it seems, had deserted his sweetheart, and unbeknown to him she had hired a witch to avenge herself. The story had been unraveled only after their return home when they learned that, the morning after the experience with the dog, an old man had been found in his home, mysteriously decapitated.²

² This story is a perfect parallel to accounts of early travelers about guardian spirit type *naguals* (as contrasted to the animal transformer *nagual*). For additional data, see Foster, 1944.

VIII.

Carmen and Guillermo, from time to time, have their domestic troubles, some serious, some unimportant. Never do they lose an opportunity to rattle skeletons in the family closet of the other. We are seated around the supper table, the dishes have not yet been removed. The talk turns to *creencias*, superstitions, and witchcraft. Presently a lively discussion ensues between the two as to whether the grandmother of the former was a witch or not. Guillermo maliciously insists *que sí*, and Carmen, blushing, denies it. Her alibi is pretty good. The grandmother had a marriage godmother from La Vuelta, a *naturalita* who, admits Carmen, was a *bruja*—and a powerful one at that. She tried to teach the grandmother the formulas, which consisted chiefly of using the right prayer so as to be able to fasten petate wings and fly away to suck blood. The grandmother, and several other novices, were trained together, but, while the others easily flew off with their new-found wings, Carmen's ancestress remained on the ground, beating her wings in a fruitless effort to get into the air. She was obviously not of the right stuff, and so gave up all attempts to become a witch.

IX.

"The hill of Tariaqueri is where Don Florentino Fraga, one of the richest men who ever lived in Ihuatzio, made his pact with the Devil." Eleuterio is explaining one way to be wealthy without working. "Don Florentino was a very ugly man with large, red eyes which always seemed to shoot fire. His face was hard, and one really felt fear in approaching him. He was accustomed to go to the hill to a place where there was a huge rock, and when he got there he would say, '*Aquí estoy, Patroncito*' ('Here I am, my chief'), and the rock would open and Don Florentino would go in. After talking with his *patroncito* he would come out with a great quantity of money, and that is how he became so rich."

Eleuterio's story is interesting, but how does he know it is true? "Once," says the story teller, "a *compadre* of Don Florentino found himself in straitened financial circumstances, and resolved to go to his *compadre* and express

his desire also to make a pact with the *patroncito*. Don Florentino asked him if he were sure he could submit to the awful tests necessary, and the *compadre* said 'Yes.' So they went to the rock. 'Now, you wait here while I go on in,' said Don Florentino. First you will see a goat running at you. Pay no attention to it. It will be followed by a fierce bull, and finally a seven-headed serpent. If you do not flinch before these tests, then you can come in.' Don Florentino knocked on the door, and out rushed the goat, so hard and fast that it almost knocked the *compadre* down. Don Florentino knocked again, and this time out rushed a great, black bull with long horns, running directly at the *compadre*. It was then that this *señor* turned around and ran down the hill without looking back, and he himself tells that never in his life was he as terrified as on that day."

X.

On earlier field trips in Veracruz, I had found that a proffered cigar was often an inexpensive way of inviting a prospective informant to sit down for an hour or so. Expecting the same in Michoacán, I went equipped with ample supplies. It soon became apparent that, not only were cigars not smoked, but that few if any men had ever even tried them. Salvador Reyes is owner of one of the larger stores. One day we find ourselves seated on the porch of the *presidencia*, I smoking. He watches me intently, and though I have learned that cigars are usually rejected, I offer him one. He takes it, puts it into his mouth without biting off the end, tries to light it and, for lack of draft, fails. I show him how to do it. He inhales deeply, chokes, and bursts out coughing. The other men watching find it highly amusing. "Don't you like it, Salvador?" I ask encouragingly. "Yes, of course, it's really very nice." He can't afford to have the others think he looks ridiculous, and he doesn't want me to think the gift is unappreciated. He takes a few more puffs, and terror mounts in his eyes. I purposely look away, and begin talking with Melesio, who is on the porch. After several minutes I turn back to Salvador. The cigar is no longer to be seen, and his composure is restored.

Vicente is just as much a novice, but better

prepared to meet the situation. My proffered cigar is accepted, with the ditty:

*El que chupa puro, ladrón seguro,
Y si sigue chupando, sigue robando.*
"He who smokes (lit. "sucks") a cigar, a robber, sure.
And if he continues smoking, he will continue robbing."

After a few puffs Vicente laughingly announces that, although he is glad to try a cigar, he obviously cannot allow himself to be considered a robber, and throws it away. The ditty was learned, he says, while on a trip through the *tierra caliente*. Some of the local muleteers rolled crude cigars from the loads of tobacco which they were carrying. When someone asked for too many, the head man cautioned him in this way.

XI.

The fiesta of Rescate is well under way. Jesús Peña has thought up two ways to make money. The first consists of a couple of outhouses, the only pay toilets the town has ever seen. The second is more successful. He has an enclosed patio, just behind his *cantina*, off the plaza. It is centrally located, and just the right size for cockfights. Don Pancho, the tax collector, is the only local man with fighting cocks, and he is to be met by several *aficionados*, fans from Pátzcuaro. An octagon-shaped enclosure 6 m. across with a fence 70 cm. high has been erected, shaded by a canvas on poles. A crudely lettered sign on one side reads "Tzintzuntzan," and on the other, "Pátzcuaro." Each cock is carried in a flour sack, and each owner has a small wooden box with trays, which holds string, knives, and other accessories. It is the first cock fight I have seen, and I watch with interest. The left spur is cut off with a miniature hack saw about 1 cm. from the leg. Around it is tied the *botana*, a felt and leather glove which protects a couple of centimeters of leg, and covers the stump. It also is the base to which the knives are tied. These are, curiously, measured by inches, and each box with a full set has a series of five:

Media pulgada, a half inch.
Una pulgada, an inch.
Pulgada y media, an inch and a half.

Before the knives, one on the left leg only, are tied in place, the cocks are presented to each other, held by the owners, and lightly beaten on the chests to arouse their anger. Each knife has two prongs on the butt, which are lashed to the *botana*, so that the curved blade, razor sharp, curves upward and inward. While being tied each blade is covered with a sheath to protect fingers from a sudden kick. With guards still in place, the cocks are allowed to strut, to show their good qualities, and to give time for placing of bets. These are made guards are removed and the birds fly at each other, half on the ground, half off. The activity lasts only about 30 seconds, and both birds usually are wounded. Presently, barring a lucky thrust, both are lying on the ground, pecking at each other. At this point the owners pick them up, take mouthfuls of *aguardiente*, and spray it on the heads of the birds, partially reviving them so that they again can fly at each other. Few birds die in the ring, but the mortal wounds appear during the first few seconds. After that, it is a question of rate of bleeding and endurance. But the element of chance remains down to the last second: a dying and badly beaten bird, in his death convulsions, may strike the jugular vein of a little-injured apparent victor, striking it down a split second before the first bird expires.

XII.

"Nothing succeeds like success," goes the old saying. In Tzintzuntzan, this could be paraphrased, "Nothing is maliciously envied like success." José Villagómez has bought a new truck, a 12-year-old Chevrolet. In spite of its battered condition, it limps into town under its own power, and is delivered to José's front door. José spent many years in the United States, and has decided that the town should have its own transportation. He will be the entrepreneur. His analysis of the need is accurate. The few busses which run from Morelia to Pátzcuaro are entirely inadequate for the traffic, and passengers often are passed by and left standing in the road. Particularly on Fridays

Punzón, a short point.
Cuarta pulgada, a quarter inch.

is it difficult to get passage to Pátzcuaro. The new truck, one would think, would be welcomed by everyone. But no, that is not the reaction at all. Immediately the gossip begins to run. "José has a new truck. I hope it breaks down. Why should he have a truck?" Nobody sees the great collective value to the community to have its own transportation, no longer to be dependent on the busses.

It is as if the town's malice is, in some way, communicated to the battered truck and its driver. José never has driven a car, and has only the barest knowledge of how it is done. One of the truck drivers working with the highway repair crew offers to give him a few lessons. José is insulted. Is it thought that he is not able to drive? Must he, the owner, ask a mere chauffeur to show him how to handle his property? José climbs in the driver's seat, studies the instrument panel, makes several adjustments, and steps on the starter. The car backs against an adjacent adobe wall, knocking several loose pieces onto the truck bed. José again makes the adjustments, the truck lurches forward in a series of faltering jerks, and then comes to a dead halt. José tries again, but nothing he can do will persuade the truck to move. It remains there, all day, on one side of the road. Next day the hood is up, and I note that the carburetor is out, disassembled, and spread out in the sun beside the house. "It's weak," explains José to the spectators. "I'm putting it in the sun to charge itself." Several days later the ill-fated vehicle disappears. "The tires were no good," apologizes José, "and on account of the war I can't get new ones. I had to send it to Morelia to be put in storage until I can get more tires." José is embittered by the experience, the townspeople are saying, "I told you so," and marketeers continue to stand in the highway and watch the loaded busses pass them by.

XIII.

"Let the other fellow do it" might almost be the motto of Tzintzuntzan. Nobody is willing to take any responsibility upon himself, and everybody is afraid that he might, for the common good, work a little harder than the next person. It is the month of March, a time

when fires sometimes are lighted in fields to burn off stubble. Occasionally these fires creep into neighboring forests, and much valuable timber is destroyed. Looking across the lake, for several nights we have seen fires burning on the slopes of Zirate and other lesser hills. But that is the worry of the people in Santa Fe and Quiroga. Those hills are nothing to us.

But now the picture has changed. A fire is seen only a couple of kilometers away, on the slopes of Tariaqueri. This is serious business. Eleuterio is badly upset. "Already we don't have enough firewood, and each year we must go farther to get it for our kilns. Now this fire comes along and makes it even more difficult." "Why don't you do something about it, Eleuterio?" I ask. "It's the responsibility of the president of the *Comunidad Indígena*," he replies indignantly. "If he won't do it, much less me."

Jesús Molinero wonders out loud why the president has not organized a party of men to put out the fire. Since the fire has just appeared, it is suggested that maybe the president does not know about it yet. "Jesús, why don't you go and tell him?" But Jesús does not have time.

Old Don Bernardino Farías speculates as to who may have been careless with his milpa. Unlike the others, he is not upset. He has seen this happen many times before. "It will burn until it burns itself out," he announces. And time proved that he was right. And he, and Eleuterio, and Jesús, and the hundreds of others who saw the fire, have even less wooded land from which to take their firewood.

XIV.

There is great consternation in town. The water pump in Ojo de Agua has broken down, this time permanently. The water taps are dry, and one must go on foot to the springs to bring drinking water. During the past weeks there have been short intervals without water, but Don Pancho now announces that the pump is worn out beyond repair. There is great indignation. How can the Government allow such things? Who will repair the pump? The toilet seats at the school are covered with burlap sacking, and the children retire to the bushes at the rear of the yard for their necessities. Continually one

XV.

sees lines of women, jars on shoulders, going and coming from the springs. It is a walk of from 1 to 2 km. in each direction. But surely, the pump soon will be repaired. Don Pancho seems unperturbed. His asthmatic Model A serves to bring glass containers of water to his house once a day, and that is easier than stirring himself to have repairs made. The days lengthen into weeks, and the weeks into months. Soon, the water is no longer a source of conversation. The town has reverted to its old custom of carrying water. I ask Pancho why he does not make the repairs, or arrange for a new pump. "No money," he replies, and it is true. "Would you believe that in the 4 months that have elapsed, I have not had a single complaint? Nobody has asked that service be restored. Besides, if they won't even pay their bills, how can we buy a new pump?"

I ask a number of friends. "Why don't you go to Pancho, tell him it is his duty, demand that he arrange to get the water working?" All agree that it is a wonderful idea. But Vicente gives the final answer. "We don't do things like that in this town." Then the men begin to wonder, out loud, *why* they don't do such things. Zurumútaró, on the road to Pátzcuaro, is called to mind. "That town does things differently," someone remarks. "It used to be the deadest, laziest town in Michoacán. Why, you could go through there in the middle of the day, and all the men would be stretched out drunk. Then they got started on their *ejido*, and every man took a *parcela*. Then they demanded more land, got it, and farmed it, too." Zurumútaró is recognized as a village—smaller than Tzintzuntzan—where people do things differently. The Tzintzuntzeño, as much as he can admire anybody who is successful, admires the people of Zurumútaró. Yet there seems to be little urge to ape them. The pump is finally repaired after 6 months. At the instigation of Gabriel, the governor agrees to install a new electric pump, and in due course this is done. I do not believe he is thanked by anyone. Gabriel is asked to run for the office of municipal president.

Yet just when I think I know the mentality of the people perfectly, the most surprising thing in the world happens. Gabriel and I return to Tzintzuntzan, for the last time, in September of 1946. All of the heads of families, and many unmarried youths as well, have banded together to buy the hill of Carichuato, just to the east of the highway, above the clay mines of the Cerrito Colorado. Pancho Fraga, the son of old Don Florentino, has offered to sell the entire area, 195 hectares, for \$18,000, and he will take payment over a period of several years, in installments. Donato Estrada and Leopoldo Cuirís are the instigators. Their salesmanship must have been superb. They have persuaded 300 men to contribute \$60 each, to buy the land for the *Comunidad Indígena*. A commission has examined the land and marked out and numbered *parcelas*, or milpas, 20 by 75 m. Half of these are already cleared areas, the remainder are in forest which, if the land is to be tilled, must be felled. Much more of the hill is in timber, and can be used to pasture animals or gather wood—though it is a bit distant for the latter utilization. Lottery numbers were distributed among all participants, and the drawing, absolutely fair according to everyone, determined the order in which each man chose his milpa. A nonfarmer is free to sell his milpa to another member of the *Comunidad*, but not to an outsider. Thus, by a single concerted action the effective lands of the *Comunidad* have been multiplied many times. And many of these same men refused to take, as an outright gift, far larger and richer *ejido* plots only 15 years ago. This is one development in Tzintzuntzan which I shall watch with the greatest of interest. It is the only case, to my knowledge, in which the town collectively has expressed the conviction that, on its own, it can do a worth-while thing. I had feared that the belief that the State and Federal governments must be the source of all improvements was too deeply engrained in thinking processes to permit independent action.



SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Were the people of the Empire of four centuries ago to return to Tzintzuntzan today, it is difficult to tell to what extent they would recognize it as their old home. From the *yácatas*, the extent of the changes would be deceiving. The lake is still there, and canoes move over its sparkling surface. Mighty Zirate still rises on the far side, and at its foot the smoke of the fires of Guayameo and Cucupao continues to curl upward. One could not see, from the distance, the changes that have taken place, nor could one know that the villages are now called Santa Fe and Quiroga. Closer home there would be other familiar sights. The hills of Tariaqueri and Yahuaró remain as before, though now the greedy fingers of eroded gulches reach much farther up their sides, and trees are confined to smaller areas near their summits. At first glance, the ruined condition of the *yácatas* themselves would suggest that the town had been deserted, and indeed, closer inspection would reveal that some of the *barrios* are no longer present. San Pablo and Santiago, just above the temple mounds? Not a visible trace remains. And Santa Ana across on the slopes of Tariaqueri? Also gone. But beneath the *yácatas*, snuggled between the two hills and the lake shore, there are obvious signs of life; it is here that one must seek the answer as to whether the Tzintzuntzan of 1945 has anything more in common with that of 1520 than the name and site.

The changes that have taken place obviously are enormous. In the chapter on pre- and post-Conquest history the general outline of the culture at the beginning of the 16th century was summarized. Using these data as a base, and comparing them with those presented in the body of the monograph, it is possible briefly to call attention to the significant changes which have occurred.

Racially, the population can be called neither Tarascan nor Spanish. There may be a few individuals with no Caucasoid blood whatsoever; it is doubtful if there is anyone without some Indian blood. The great mass of people is, in the exact sense of the word, Mestizo. This process of mestization goes so far back that, one might almost say, a new race has been produced. The inhabitants are Mestizos, not because of

the miscegenation of their parents and grandparents, but because their parents, grandparents, great-grandparents and even farther back, were also Mestizos. The initial crossings took place 17 generations ago, and a harmonious blending of the good physical characteristics of both parent stocks subsequently has occurred. The marked and often unsightly Indian prognathism has all but disappeared, but the rich black hair and lustrous skin have remained, blended in most cases with the lighter skin of the Spanish ancestors, and in some cases, set off with blue eyes. The high cheek bones are much reduced, but the angular facial form still pays tribute to the Indian *antepasados*. In short, the inhabitants of Tzintzuntzan are of the same physical type which makes up the bulk of the non-Indian population of Mexico.

It is axiomatic that language may change more rapidly than physical type. This has been the case in Tzintzuntzan, where Spanish has replaced the Indian speech 88 percent—much more, if we remember that those who still speak Tarascan also speak Spanish. It is not the *Castellano* of Castile, nor even that of Mexico City. *Aire* becomes *aigre*, and *derretir* becomes *redetir*. And the Tarascan language has left its traces in the local vocabulary in the form of words which would not be understood in other parts of the country. Red earth is *charanda*, a carrying net is *huangoche*, a type of bowl is *pinípite*, and the hearth stones are *paranguas*. Perhaps 50, perhaps 100, Tarascan words survive in the speech of the Mestizos. They themselves, in most cases, are not aware that the etymology is different from that of the rest of their speech. Certainly, in the speech of Tzintzuntzan there are more words of Nahuatl than of Tarascan derivation—*maíz*, *ocote*, *simplasuche*, *metate*, *petate*—it is the same list one finds in Mitla, Tepoztlán, or Mexico City. Again, in speech the Tzintzuntzeños are Mexicans and not Tarascans or Spaniards.

Material culture has seen many changes. Houses have windows and tile roofs, as contrasted to former lack of windows, and roofs of thatch. The introduction of iron and steel has made possible great improvements in tools, a more efficient exploitation of the environment

—and perhaps a more rapid destruction of natural resources, particularly forests and soils. But cooking is still done in clay pots and griddles over open fires, and a petate mat is the most common bed. The wheel, except for an occasional oxcart, has had little effect within the village, though the appearance of the train and bus has been significant from the standpoint of travel and transportation away from Tzintzuntzan.

Ancient forms of clothing no longer survive. Cotton is still used, though none is grown locally, and the cut and construction of garments is radically different. Wool has made possible clothing which is much better suited to the climate than was ever possible in earlier times. The aboriginal leather loin cloth, short skirt, or long cotton cape would look as amusing to a modern Tzintzuntzeño as his own garb to an inhabitant of the same village of 400 years ago. The colorful modern "indigenous" costume of the Tarascans in fact is indigenous only in that it is not of the city.

Food habits have undergone significant changes, though the staples remain the same: beans and tortillas. Greater variety is now possible, since most of the pre-Conquest items are still available, and a great many new foods have been introduced. Meat and eggs are consumed in much larger quantities, and milk, coffee, sugar, wheat products, and new garden and fruit crops make for greater opportunities for a better balanced diet.

In the basic economic organization of the village, perhaps fewer changes have taken place than in any other aspect of life. Pottery, farming, and to a lesser extent fishing and trade, seem to have been the basic occupations at the time of the Conquest, just as they are today. In all categories, notable changes and improvements have been made. Pots are now glazed and fired in kilns; wheat has become the most important cash crop, and has been integrated thoroughly into the rhythm of agriculture; new fish are found in the lake, and improved techniques are known to take them; in addition to the canoe and human back, trade moves via the burro, mule, truck, and train. But in all cases, these are improvements in techniques only, and do not constitute fundamental changes in the economic system.

The introduction of the wooden plow, drawn by oxen, is a more significant change than the acceptance of wheat, since it makes possible much more efficient use of the cultivator's time. The possibilities of animal fertilizer to enrich intensively farmed milpas are not fully understood, and few formal attempts are made to improve the soil in this way. Important pre-Conquest crops still used, in addition to maize and beans, are squash, chiles, tomatoes, chayotes, cherimoyas, alligator pears, *zapotes*, *limas*, *limones*, *nispero*, and *capulines*. But the Tzintzuntzeño has no idea that others — onions, carrots, lettuce, cabbage, melons, broadbeans, peas, peaches, apricots, and figs — were unknown in the land four centuries earlier.

The introduction of domestic animals has produced a greater change in the economy, it would appear, than that of new crops. Turkeys, except for the dog the only pre-Conquest domesticated "animal," are today kept by very few people. Perhaps the chicken is, on account of its size, more useful and therefore has replaced the earlier bird. A chicken can be killed to feed the family alone; there is great hesitancy in killing a turkey for anything short of a major fiesta. Oxen, cows, horses, mules, and burros are the most important domestic animals, and it would be difficult to visualize life without them. Pigs, for reasons which I do not fully understand, are much less numerous than in many parts of Mexico. Perhaps only those towns which produce more than enough maize for home consumption, or which have extensive wooded areas near at hand in which the animals can root, can afford to fatten pigs for sale and export. Certainly, cooking lard is indispensable, more so than the meat itself, and Tzintzuntzan must go to Quiroga and Pátzcuaro to satisfy its needs.

Fishing probably has declined in importance with the gradual mestization of the village. As an occupation, it is intimately bound to the Tarascans, and with the increasing mestization of the entire lake region, it will be interesting to note whether as an industry it will decline in importance, or whether non-Tarascans will take it up. Relatively little is known about ancient fishing methods. The most important techniques in use today, the seine and gill nets, probably are of European introduction. But a general

study of Mexican fishing techniques in relation to those of Europe is necessary before a final answer can be given. We do know that the *atlatl* for hunting ducks is a survival from earliest times, a near-vanished archaic custom which somehow still manages to hold its own against gunpowder and shot in an atomic age.

The continued use of the periodic open market as a means of effecting the interchange of merchandise clearly reveals how much of the aboriginal economic system survives today. The Tarascans of the 16th century had advanced far beyond the point where each family was an economically self-sufficient unit. Craft industries and village specialization already had made necessary a means to exchange produce and manufactures with persons of other areas, and the problem had been solved with success. Don Vasco de Quiroga strengthened this pattern by the introduction of new industries, and money little by little replaced the more common system of barter. But the changes were of degree only, and did little violence to long-established habits. The continued existence of the periodic market in much more urban centers than Pátzcuaro suggests that this aspect of economic life will not disappear for a long time.

Though generalizations usually are dangerous, it seems safe to say that changes in nonmaterial aspects of life have been more far-reaching in Tzintzuntzan, and the Tarascan area as a whole, than those just described. A dweller in Tzintzuntzan of four centuries ago would find, in spite of great differences, more than mere traces of similarity between the outward, material manifestations of life today and that which he had known. The political, social, and religious forms of today would, however, be entirely unrecognizable. Gone is the Empire, gone the god Curicaveri, gone the nobility, the commoners and the slaves, the priests and the human sacrifice. A feeling for manifest destiny prevailed at that time. The warriors willingly undertook campaigns that led them hundreds of kilometers from home, and without fear held off the attacks of the Aztecs, before whom all other groups crumbled. The will to govern and the know-how to rule were as much a part of the equipment of the Tarascans of Tzintzuntzan of the 15th and 16th centuries as of the Spaniards of succeeding

generations. No help was sought from outside sources, and no quarter was given.

How different the pattern today! Through the corridors of four centuries of time Tzintzuntzan drowsed its way, not only not governing, but because of its insignificance, hardly being governed. Recently, through a jest of history, it has found itself to be the political head of a tiny township. But the old confidence and the old urge are gone. Tzintzuntzan still looks to the outside for leadership, confused with the simple administrative problems of 5,000 people. The old ruling class is gone; the new rulers are far away, and only by chance has Tzintzuntzan received more attention than a thousand other sleepy pueblos of the same size. But the lethargy of years has not worn off — has scarcely been scratched — and the town, unable to make up its collective mind, misinterprets the outstretched hand of the central Government as a crutch for all time, and not as a temporary aid during convalescence; the muscles of the village become perpetually dependent, and less than ever is the organism able to help itself.

The picture of religion in Tzintzuntzan is, at once, identical to and entirely different from that of political rule. The old religion is gone, swept out in its entirety, and a new has taken its place. Undoubtedly Catholic images went through transitory periods when they were identified with local gods, and pagan belief survived in the new ritual. But these stages are long since past. The early friars did their work well, and today there are few traces of aboriginal belief. Church ritual and dogma are Catholic, and though modified to fit village life, do not represent the mixture of pagan and Christian elements characteristic of so many parts of Mexico. The villagers believe themselves to be, and in effect are, Catholic. The few surviving *creencias* and superstitions are, for the most part, simply superstitions, and do not form a part of the religious body.

In its outward form, then, the old religion has been destroyed just as much as the old Empire. Perhaps this was inevitable; Empire and religion were one and the same thing, and one could not survive without the other. But nothing took the place of the Empire. A jagged hole was cut in the whole cloth of the old culture, and no mending was done. A political consciousness,

and ideas of might and power, simply disappeared; the destroyers had no desire to recreate where they destroyed. By contrast, the first acts of destruction of the old religion were, in reality, the first acts of the creation of the new. Destruction of the Empire was recognized by the conquerors for what it was; destruction of the old religion was a necessary preliminary to the implantation of the new. For a time the Tarascans, including Tzintzuntzan, had, not enough religion, but too much of it. Had not the steady pressure of the Church remained with such persistent vigor over so many years, the result might have been the "idols behind altars" blending which has survived in some parts of Mexico and Guatemala. As it was, the religious energies of the people simply were channeled into new fields, and the force remained unabated. Perhaps, then, in the strength of the modern religion of Tzintzuntzan we have the greatest similarity to the old, a similarity in function rather than form.

More traces of the old life in Tzintzuntzan remain in the simple aspects of daily life than in religion and political organization. But, just because we know least about these aspects of life in Spain of the 16th century, as well as in the New World, it is often difficult to say what is a part of one cultural heritage, what of the other, or what was common to both. Had we as complete data on rural Spanish culture of the present century as we have for Mexico, the questions would be easier to answer. Thus, though specific data on birth customs at the time of the Conquest are not too complete, the basic Indian pattern in Mexico is so well known that most beliefs and customs can be divided into pre- and post-Spanish categories. Fear of eclipses we know to be Mexican from early chronicles, and special disposition of the afterbirth and umbilical stump is common over all the Americas. The customary delivery position belongs to the New World, and the postnatal concern with hot and cold foods is simply a part of a larger indigenous complex.

Once in the world, however, the infant draws farther and farther away from this indigenous base. Naming practices appear to be European, and attempts to relate the custom of taking names from saints' days to an ancient horoscope or calendar give very tenuous results. The

early informal phases of education — learning through imitating — are indigenous only in that this is the common system for all peoples before the formal stages, whether these be grammar schools or puberty rites. Except for the sling, and the occasional bow and arrow, the games of childhood are clearly non-Indian; it would be a venturesome ethnographer indeed who would trace the ball game back to the ancient Mexicans. Formal schooling, of course, is based almost entirely on modern concepts having their roots in non-Indian culture.

Marriage customs again show more aboriginal influence than one might expect. *El robo*, the modern elopement, has its counterpart in the descriptions of the *Relación*, and the modern admonitions of godparents merely continue the custom of priests and parents of long ago. Nobles formerly made use of go-betweens to arrange a match, and today, if a youth is sure of his own parents and those of the girl, he may do the same. But the exact ritual, in both cases, stems almost entirely from the Catholic Church.

About extended family relationships we can only guess. Possibly the ancient Tarascans had lineages, and possibly the strength of the modern *compadrazgo* system represents a successful grafting onto those roots. Certainly, in the past as today, great stress was laid upon correct inter-family relationships. Cooperation at the time of death, as a responsibility of *compadres*, unquestionably is a direct survival from earlier days when communal effort was more common than today. But the actual form of modern interment appears to have nothing in common with that revealed by archeology. The *tempoalxochitl* (marigold) is still the flower of the dead, but its importance is reduced to that of most other *costumbres*, only half seriously believed.

Curing practices still show much that is Indian. *Aire* and *espanto*, air and fright, still cause sickness, though cupping replaces sucking as the cure for the latter. The use of eggs, *curar con blanquillos*, probably is of European origin, in spite of the fact that it is so intimately associated with supposedly Indian cures. The herbal lore which competes today with the ministrations of university-trained doctors represents the accumulation of hundreds of years of knowledge. Some is Spanish, but most is In-

dian. Still, the native *curandero* is almost a thing of the past, and increasingly the knowledge of modern medical science will be adopted by the Tzintzuntzeños.

Although folklore has not been considered in this monograph, it is worth while calling attention to the fact that, to a greater extent than in almost any other part of Mexico, pre-Conquest stories have been replaced by Spanish. Certainly the folklorist seeking ancient legends would do much better in the Federal District than in any part of Michoacán. Origin stories, explanatory tales, and accounts of witchcraft (Indian as contrasted to European) are almost entirely lacking. One tells stories, yes, but they are stories about the Twelve Dancing Princesses, about Tar Baby, about kings with three sons, or orphans with wicked stepfathers. Likewise, no aboriginal music survives. In the sierra songs are composed and sung in Tarascan, to the accompaniment of stringed guitars. Perhaps the musicologist might find ancient non-European strains in more than the words, but that remains to be proved.

An itemization of probable origins of traits is apt to convey a false sense of reality. Almost invariably the ethnographer finds his attention more drawn to the ancient, to the exotic, to the indigenous, and unconsciously these elements may tend to sway his judgment about the total configuration. Broad categories of human culture can be examined with better success: the basic economic patterns, tools and the way they are used, social institutions and relationships, religious beliefs and activities. With this approach, it becomes very clear that the modern culture of Tzintzuntzan can be considered Indian only in the loosest sense of the word. In fact, one of the most striking aspects of the entire ancient Tarascan area is the extent to which the old way of life has been so completely swept away. In Tepoztlán, in Mitla, in Chan Kom and in a thousand other Indian villages, one can balance each European trait with an Indian one. Significant parts of the old life remain in each of the major categories of human experience, and one can point to the processes whereby earlier elements have been replaced by others of a geographically more distant origin. These cultures represent, in every sense of the word, a blending, the results of an assimilative process

that has successfully combined two very different strains.

But the Tarascan area is long since past this stage. Of all the major Indian groups of Mexico, these people are the least Indian. The Aztecs, the Zapotecs, the Mixtecs, the Totonacs — all have guarded a significant part of their cultural heritage, to an extent undreamed of by the Tarascans. And much less do the inhabitants of Tzintzuntzan reflect the indigenous. The town apparently represents a stage in the developmental process through which villages which have retained Tarascan speech will not pass until a later date. And as compared to Tarascan towns, particularly "closed" ones (i. e., those less receptive to outside influences), there is a very significant psychological difference to be found in Tzintzuntzan. The Tarascans think of themselves as members of an ethnic and linguistic group, to which first loyalties are due, and which though a part of the Mexican nation, is set off from the surrounding Mestizo populations. The Tzintzuntzeños, however, though conscious of their Tarascan background, think of themselves as Mestizos, and are proud of the word. As Mestizos, they can look to and be proud of, not only the race of the great *calzonci*, the Tarascan emperors, but also to the race of Don Vasco de Quiroga.

The fact that the people of Tzintzuntzan are rural Mexican rather than Tarascan in their outlook and viewpoint implies that hypotheses and conclusions applicable to this village should also be applicable to many other similar communities. I believe this is true. More and more I am impressed by the fact that rural Mexicans of the highland area — and to a lesser though significant extent, those of a much larger part of the country — share a common basic culture. The regional peculiarities and differences are less striking than the similarities and identities. The ethnologist thoroughly acquainted with Tzintzuntzan could describe, without ever visiting them, 75 percent of the culture of Mitla or Tepoztlán — not only the traits or elements, but their function as well. Or, to put it another way, a typical Tzintzuntzeño could be placed in any one of a thousand other rural Mexican villages, and quietly and unobtrusively he would take his place. The psychology which serves him in Tzintzuntzan would serve equally well

in his new surroundings, and his overt action patterns immediately would mark him as one of the group. Only when placed in one of the relatively more isolated and homogeneous Indian groups would he find necessary a considerable readjustment in his system of values and personal relations.

What, then, is the typical Tzintzuntzeño like, as an individual, and what does this imply with regard to the future of Mexico? My feelings about the people after a period of association extending over nearly 2 years cannot be summed up in a few words. My Mestizo and Indian friends, like my friends in the United States, are neither all good nor all bad. Through the hospitality of many I have had the opportunity to enter into confidences which I have never known in other field work, and through lack of a serious language barrier it has been possible to absorb much of the atmosphere and flavor of daily life which normally is obtained only with greater difficulties. I believe that I am very much aware of the human side of my study subjects, of their hopes, aspirations, and fears. I applaud the spirit of independence with which certain families face their own problems, and admire the system whereby friends and relatives can be called upon in time of need. I deplore the petty bickering which is characteristic of some people, and the spirit of hostility which is engendered by the successful person. Tzintzuntzan is peopled by a very human group, a group with definite cultural goals. Most of these are relatively simple: sufficient income to enjoy a modest house, food, leisure, the opportunity to participate in Church functions, the desire to be a respected member of the community, to be free from undue sickness, and to be sure of Eternal Salvation.

It is apparent that realization of a large proportion of these goals implies money and, in fact, Tzintzuntzan is a part of a society with a strong acquisitive sense. One passes by the opportunity to make money only when a social or religious obligation makes it imperative, and one parts with money only when full value is gained in return, or when there is no alternative to paying for something. Everyone, from an early age, is acutely conscious of the value of money and of its importance in daily life. Children accompany their mothers to the Pátzcuaro

market, witness the eagerness to sell well, the haggling to get the last possible centavo out of each sale, and the mental struggle which occurs with each lowering of the offering price. Likewise they watch their mothers as the latter, now buyers, reverse the process and try to stretch each peso over the largest possible number of purchases. It early becomes apparent to growing children that with money, many of the goals of life can be obtained, and that without it, they cannot. Still, it would be inaccurate to say that the desire for money is the dominating motif in the life of the people; it is simply one among others.

The collectivistic aspects of rural and Indian Mexican life have been stressed in many studies of Mexico, and much recent Government planning, such as the development of *ejidos*, has been predicated on the assumption that this is a dominating characteristic of rural peoples. In Tzintzuntzan one is struck, not with collectivistic but rather with the strong tradition of individualistic attitudes. In a sense, this is a reflection of a much stronger urban tendency, the *egoísmo* or "every man for himself" philosophy. Land is owned privately, and rights to it jealously guarded. The few *ejidatarios* who took possession of their plots do not farm them, but cling to their titles, share-cropping them with other less fortunate farmers. There is no social mechanism whereby the poor and less favored are helped, and little pity for those who experience personal or financial catastrophes. Cooperative work in the fields, found among some of the more isolated Indian groups, is unknown; the custom of the *faena*, labor dedicated to the community, is grudgingly observed. Only through the mechanism of the *compadrazgo*, and through joint participation in Church functions, is mutual help and service to others evidenced. There is little feeling of moral obligation to repay a loan; hence, except rarely to *compadres* (and even here, excuses occasionally are sought), they are made only with ample security.

Such emphasis upon self-dependence might be expected to make the individual acutely aware of his own shortcomings at times of failure. Success, it is reasoned, is due to superior skill and work; therefore, failure logically might be explained in terms of poor planning or judgment. But this is never the case. Self-

criticism is an unknown virtue—if such it is—and failure is always due to elements beyond one's control: the weather, bad luck, the unscrupulousness of other persons, but never is it the fault of the individual himself.

One aspect of the lack of self-criticism is the tremendous importance of saving face, and this in turn is reflected in the desire to conform to established social norms. "What will people say" is a much more potent factor in making for a smoothly functioning community than the combined force of Church and Government. One hesitates to take a relative as a *compadre*: "they" will say that it is done to avoid expenses. Women would rather be seen dead than without an apron: "they" will say that she doesn't even have enough to buy an apron. Jesús Molinero fulfills the obligation of being a *carguero* in the Church, with its attendant heavy expenses, for fear of "what people will say." He would risk divine wrath by failure to comply, but he can't stand adverse public opinion. "I will have to leave Tzintzuntzan with my poor son, because of what people will say," wails María F. after Isaac has been outwitted by another boy in his attempt to elope with Lucía. Gildardo M. beats his wife Carlota because the latter's mother buys her a new and badly needed dress. "People will say," explains the wife-beater, "that I am unable to clothe my wife."

And few people are hesitant in "saying," in criticizing their friends and neighbors for failure to conform, so that the fear is well grounded. Tolerance is shown largely toward one's own shortcomings. Mistrust, suspicion, and fear are the common reactions to new persons or situations. One tends to jump to conclusions, to suspect the worst rather than the best about both old friends and new friends. In any new social relationship it is assumed that the other person is trying to get the better of one; hence, one must keep oneself adequately covered, trying if possible to outmaneuver the other. Overt rivalry is not as characteristic of the people of Tzintzuntzan as of those of larger towns, but the struggle for survival is sufficiently intense that one is constantly in competition with one's fellows.

At the same time, this competition does not produce a furious struggle to outdo the other person by harder work and greater cleverness.

Quite the opposite is true; it is always surprising how many people work so little. Probably the great majority of the villagers get down to work only with a tremendous exertion of will power, and most stop work upon the slightest pretext. Those who work hard and steadily, like the members of the Hernández, Melcher, and Rendón families, and who profit accordingly, are much in the minority.

The same individual lethargy characteristic of so many families usually is typical of everyone when it is a question of attempts at group action. Were it not for the sudden and wholly unexpected burst of enthusiasm displayed in the group purchase of Carichauto Hill by the *Comunidad Indígena* (p. 281), I would have said that there was not a spark of community spirit or desire to work with the next fellow, even though the ultimate result was of financial advantage to the individual. No one, by himself, and but rarely with others, wishes to take any responsibility. Perhaps this pattern is a survival from earlier collectivistic days, if they existed, in which the group and not the individual was responsible, a pattern which is incompatible with the present individualism.

The reason for this individual and group lethargy probably is both cultural and biological. The ethnologist working alone can advance only some of the hypotheses. The cultural factors appear to center in the nature of life's goals, and in the possibility of satisfying them. Basically, these goals are of two types: material success and security, and the nonmaterial desire to be thought well of, and to ensure one's spiritual future. There is less relationship between these two goals than might be expected. Visible success stimulates rancor and ill-feeling in one's neighbors. Though the relative economic status of each family is known by all others, wealth in itself is not a symbol of success, and one attempts, as much as possible, to play down material successes. One wants wealth for personal security, and to enable one to satisfy Church obligations; after one once has carried out a major Church obligation, money is of little use in adding to one's social position.

But, as will be pointed out, the possibility of real material success is so limited by ecological and economic factors that few persons ever can expect to get far ahead. One realizes almost

from the beginning that the wealth goal is difficult and almost impossible of attainment; hence, the stimulus of a reasonable chance of success is lacking. Since one's own life is so much a series of frustrations one takes pleasure in noting the difficulties of neighbors, even though, as in the case of José's truck (p. 280), it is a case of biting off the nose to spite the face. Consciously or unconsciously the average Tzintzuntzeño realizes that in a material way he probably never will advance far. Hence, he envies, criticizes, and abuses his rare neighbor who does so, meanwhile further neglecting his own work.

Successful participation in Church affairs, on the other hand, is open to many more people; in fact, reasonable personal satisfaction is possible to almost everyone. Perhaps this explains why the Church is such a vital, living facet of life. Real satisfaction in the Church comes primarily through fulfilling the obligations of a *carguero*. Though this implies a considerable expenditure of money, it need be done only once in the lifetime of the individual, and most families, by some means, are able to collect the necessary sums. Moreover, the number of posts open each year—until very recent years, at least—has been sufficient so that everybody who wanted to serve could find an opening. Hence, the nonmaterial goals of life—the respect and esteem of one's fellows, and reasonable certainty about the hereafter—are within the reach, through the medium of the Church, of almost everyone. Obviously, surplus energies will be channeled in the direction where there is a good chance of success.

To explore further the causes of the lethargy of the average Tzintzuntzeño would necessitate a survey of the health of the community and a more detailed study of the diet. Many families, I am sure, will be found to be suffering from malnutrition and poor health to such an extent as to affect the ability and will to work. Other families, I am convinced, will be found to enjoy health and nutrition that is adequate in every reasonable sense of the word. These are the families which are able to provide for themselves a standard of living which, in terms of national means, can be called near-satisfactory. But why aren't real leaders produced from these families, why do the men hang back from

responsibility and initiative, just as the obviously undernourished? It is apparent that biological factors influence cultural factors, and cultural factors influence biological factors.

It is interesting, and perhaps not entirely fruitless, to speculate about the future course of Tzintzuntzan. In the chapter on the domestic economy, it was stated that an average annual income of from \$400 to \$500 per person would, at 1945 price levels, provide a reasonable standard of living in terms of local and national levels. What are the possibilities that such a goal, with foresight and planning, could be attained by the majority of families? The answer is, based on present techniques of production and distribution, "extremely unlikely."

Agriculture (either as a main or secondary occupation), as has been shown, is essential to a standard of living above the barest "adequate" level.¹ Eleuterio Melchor and his family live fairly well from pottery alone, though their income is considerably below the suggested figure. Other potter families, presumably, could approach or equal this figure with a similar amount of work. This guess, however, is predicated on the assumption that other pottery-making villages in the area do not increase significantly their production, and hence, through much greater supply, force down prices. Any conclusions as to how the level of living in Tzintzuntzan could be raised ought to be applicable, in a general way, to other rural villages as well. Hence, the answer must be sought in another direction.

The family workshop system of pottery making, fascinating as it is to watch, must be recognized for what it is, a system so inefficient that it cannot survive in a society which is to raise living standards above the merest subsistence level. Larger cooperative units, the use of the wheel, big kilns, and effective methods of distribution could produce far more pottery with less work. Cookery with clay pots rather than aluminum is not, as one might assume, an inefficient and outmoded technique of food preparation. The vessels are cheap, and the results equal to the best attained by other methods. Hence, it is logical to assume a continued market for pottery in Mexico for an indefinite period in the future. In terms of the local and

¹ Storekeepers are excepted from this statement.

trade area, a good many Tzintzuntzeños should be able to earn an adequate living making and selling pottery with improved techniques. A great many others, however, would be thrown out of work.

Modernization of agricultural techniques would not reduce employment to the same extent as in pottery making. In the first place, it is much harder to say what ought to be done. Here again, an outside specialist must be called in, the soil and agricultural expert, to examine the soils, study erosion, consider crops, and make recommendations. Undoubtedly significant improvements can be made. But the small size of fields, the precarious hillside perch of many, and the absolute lack of large areas precludes any large-scale mechanization. The ox doubtless will compete with the tractor for a long time to come. Hence, rather than to stimulate a fundamental change in the organization of work, as in the case of pottery making, the problem is one of giving each farmer the opportunity to avail himself of the most advanced techniques adaptable to the local topography. Because of the absolute lack of land, dispossessed potters cannot turn to farming.

The future of fishing is uncertain. Because of the few Tzintzuntzeños so engaged, it is not a matter of much concern to the village itself. When combined with agriculture, a good fisherman usually is able to make the suggested minimum per capita figure for his family.

The future of the *rescatón*, the ambulant trader, also is uncertain. The system of distribution is slow and inefficient, and in a mechanized age of trucks and trains, unnecessary. Cooperative efforts on the part of the *rescatones*—perhaps the purchase of a truck, allocation of market areas and days—undoubtedly would make possible accomplishment with fewer persons of the work now being done, with a corresponding increase in the well-being of those so favored.

All of these assumptions lead to the most difficult of all questions: what becomes of the people who cannot be fitted into a revised economic scheme? Obviously, a higher standard of living, for all Mexicans as well as the Tzintzuntzeños, can come only from a more efficient utilization of the labor of each individual. Growth of cities due to increased industrialization might for a time remove surplus popula-

tion from the country; perhaps eventually a raised standard of living would produce a lowered birth rate, the significance of which is apparent.

The only thing that is certain about the solution of the problems of Tzintzuntzan—and of a thousand other similar pueblos—is that her problems are those of the Mexican nation, and the nation's problems are those of Tzintzuntzan. Mexico, in spite of a great homogeneity of non-Indian culture, has been handicapped for centuries by lack of adequate communication and transportation. Cultural homogeneity has not meant community of interests, and superimposed upon the intense patriotism, the pride and loyalty to the Mexican nation which characterizes all Mexicans, there has been a fierce attachment to the local region almost incomprehensible in the United States. Above all one is a Mexican—*Soy Puro Mexicano*, the song goes—but one is also a Jarocho, a Tapatío, a Oaxaqueño or a Michoacano, and one shouts with unrepressed enthusiasm "I am from Michoacán" or sings "Ay Jalisco, don't give up!" Often the identification with the *patria* was, by necessity, only a theoretical identification: one gladly would die for Mexico (and countless thousands have) if the need and opportunity presented itself. But the practical community of interests was confined to the local groups, and the remainder of the country was only half-known and less understood. The problems of one part of the country were not those of another.

Only in recent years, and particularly with the development of a magnificent highway building program, have most Mexicans begun to realize that in the most complete sense of the word they are citizens of "one country," and that the problems of other sections and other social classes are very much their own. The true greatness of the Mexican nation will be realized only when a much more thoroughly integrated economic and social system is a reality, when the assimilative process through which Tzintzuntzan has passed has been extended to the most remote Indian groups. Then, *all* peoples will identify themselves first with the nation and secondly with the local group, and true opportunity to participate in and help mold the national identity will be a cultural goal to which all can aspire.

This does not mean that regional characteris-

tics need be submerged and lost *a la Americana*. One has only to think of the unique provincial flavor which graces the different provinces of Scandinavia. It does mean that a concept of a national community of interests must replace that of the local community. The success with which this goal can be realized will depend in large part on the extent to which each local area and group is understood, what are the points through which innovation can be in-

troduced, and what are the elements of culture which can be modified or eliminated without doing violence to the total configuration. The answers to these questions should concern, not alone the ethnographer, but every person interested in the solution of the basic social and economic problems which face the world today. It is my hope that this monograph will be one, among many, which will help those who control the destinies of Mexico to attain this goal.

GLOSSARY

Definitions are in terms of standard local usage, which sometimes differs from that of other parts of Mexico. Tarascan words are identified by "T." Words used once or twice only, and defined at the time, are not included in the glossary.

Aguardiente, a liquor distilled from sugarcane.

Almuerzo, a midmorning meal.

Arco, literally "arch," here meaning the decorated table on which offerings are taken to the cemetery.

Arroba, a measure of weight. 11.5 kilos.

Atole, a thin gruel, usually made of corn, with various flavorings.

Barrio, a division of a town roughly corresponding to a ward.

Batea, a wooden tray.

Bracero, a Mexican laborer brought to the United States during World War II, and subject to contracts supervised by the Mexican and United States Governments.

Caballito, literally "little horse," a drink of alcohol in soda pop.

Cabecera, a town, the administrative center of a *municipio*.

Calzonci (T), the generic word by which the Tarascan rulers were known.

Calzones, unbleached muslin trousers.

Cántaro, a small-mouthed clay water jar.

Cantina, a saloon.

Carguero, the term applied to those persons usually called *mayordomos* in other parts of Mexico. Such men have specific religious responsibilities associated with a church, chapel, or image for a period of one year.

Catrin, "of the city," "city-style," particularly applied to clothing habits.

Cazuela, a wide, shallow round or oblong clay casserole.

Charanda, the brand name of the most esteemed *aguardiente* of the Tarascan area; the term often is used in a generic sense.

Cherémekua (T), a gill net.

Chinchorro, a seine.

Chirimía, a reed flute used in some religious processions and functions.

Chocolatero, an *olla* with a spout and single handle.

Clarín, a type of wind instrument played by inhaling through a tiny mouthpiece.

Comadre, the godmother of one's child, or the mother of one's godchild.

Comal, the circular baked-clay griddle on which *tortillas* are cooked.

Compadrazgo, the system of fictitious relationships set up through the godparent system.

Compadre, the godfather of one's child, or the father of one's godchild.

Curandero, literally "curer," the native medicine man (*curandera*, fem.).

Ejido, in Colonial times, the unfarmed communal pasture lands of the village; today the term applied to lands distributed to farmers for their use during life, with title held communally by the village.

Empeño, collateral to secure a loan.

Encargado, a substitute with fewer duties to replace a *carguero*.

Fanega, a volume measure of 100 liters.

Gabán, a small serape.

Gorda, a thick wheat cake baked on a *comal*.

Güare (T), the Mestizo term for female Tarascans. Also the term is applied to small Mestizo girls who dress in indigenous costume to dance at fiestas.

Huarache (also *guarache*), a leather sandal, the common footgear of rural Mexican men.

Judea, La, the passion play given in Tzintzuntzan during Easter Week.

Kermés, a money-raising device somewhat similar to a charity ball.

Laderas, stony, eroded hillside milpas.

Loza blanca, the decorative painted "white pottery" made by Natividad Peña and her mother Andrea Medina.

Manzana, a town block.

- Matraca**, a wooden noise-maker used as a substitute for church bells during a part of Easter Week.
- Metate**, the small grinding stone on which *nixtamal* is ground. It is also used for grinding herbs, tomatoes, and other kitchen ingredients, and in Tzintzuntzan to prepare the pottery materials.
- Mezcal**, the heart of the *mezcal* cactus baked in an earth oven; not to be confused with the distilled liquor of the same name.
- Milpa**, properly a cornfield; practically, any agricultural land.
- Mole**, a highly seasoned sauce used on fowl and meat; any dish prepared with *mole* sauce usually is called *mole*, e. g., turkey *mole*.
- Municipio**, an administrative area roughly corresponding to a township or county.
- Naturalito**, a deprecativ term used by the Mestizos to refer to the Tarascans.
- Nixtamal**, maize grains soaked in lye water. After *nixtamal* has been ground, either in a mechanical mill, on a metate, or by both, it is known as *masa*, from which tortillas or other maize foods are prepared.
- Nopal**, the prickly pear cactus.
- Ocote**, the generic term for most types of pine, particularly pitchy varieties, splinters of the wood of which are used to light fires or as a means of lighting.
- Olla**, a wide-mouthed clay pot with handles.
- Orillas**, rich, black alluvial lake-shore milpas.
- Petate**, a mat woven of tules or palm.
- Portales**, the covered sidewalks in front of buildings which face the plaza in many Mexican towns.
- Pozole**, a hominylike dish to which meat frequently is added; since it is the chief dish served at many religiously inspired fiestas, such a function is called a *pozole*.
- Presidencia**, the municipal building of a *municipio*.
- Quiote**, the stalk of the *mezcal* cactus.
- Real**, a former Mexican coin, the eighth part of a peso.
- Rebozo**, the shawl worn by almost all Mexican women of the lower classes.
- Rescatón**, a traveling merchant who usually carries his wares on mules or burros.
- Rezandero**, literally "prayer," a man who recites prayers, usually for a small fee, at various religious functions.
- Serape** (also *zarape*), a blanket with a poncho-type opening in the middle so that it can be worn over the head.
- Solar**, a town lot.
- Suplente**, the alternate for each elected or appointed government official.
- Tejamanil**, a wooden shake.
- Tenencia**, the political category of the larger towns of a *municipio*, excluding the *cabecera*.
- Tierra caliente**, literally "hot country," the lowland coastal areas of Mexico.
- Tierra fría**, literally "cold country," the cold, highland areas of Mexico.
- Tierra templada**, literally "temperate country," the border country between the *tierra caliente* and the *tierra fría*.
- Tinaja**, the ornamental burnished pottery of Tzintzuntzan.
- Tortilla**, thin maize cakes baked on the *comal*, the staff of life in Mexico.
- Velar**, the act of lighting a candle in honor of a Church image.
- Yácata (T)**, pyramidal stone structures built by the ancient Tarascans as bases for their temples.
- Zacate**, long grass used as fodder or for packing pottery.

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¹ I did not encounter this interesting article until the monograph was in press. It contains worthwhile data on economics, including annual production of crops and pottery, the local market, Church properties in use, the elections at the *kenguería*, and a bit of folklore. The term *kenguería* is said to be derived from the Tarascan *kengue*, meaning *moyordomo*.

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PLATE 1. The Beaumont map of Tzintzuntzan.



PLATE 3.—**Tzintzuntzan from the air.** This view, looking south, shows the eroded slopes of Yahuaró (left center) and Tariaqueri (right center) hills, between which the village nestles on the lake shore. Most of the lake is out of sight to the right; its southern extremity reappears (middle upper right), beyond which lies Pátzcuaro town. The highway from Quiroga appears (lower left), skirts the lake shore, widens slightly at Ojo de Agua, and turns sharp south to pass through the village, at the southern edge of which appear the *yácatas* on a rectangular earth base. (Courtesy U. S. Army Air Force and Mexican Army Air Force.)

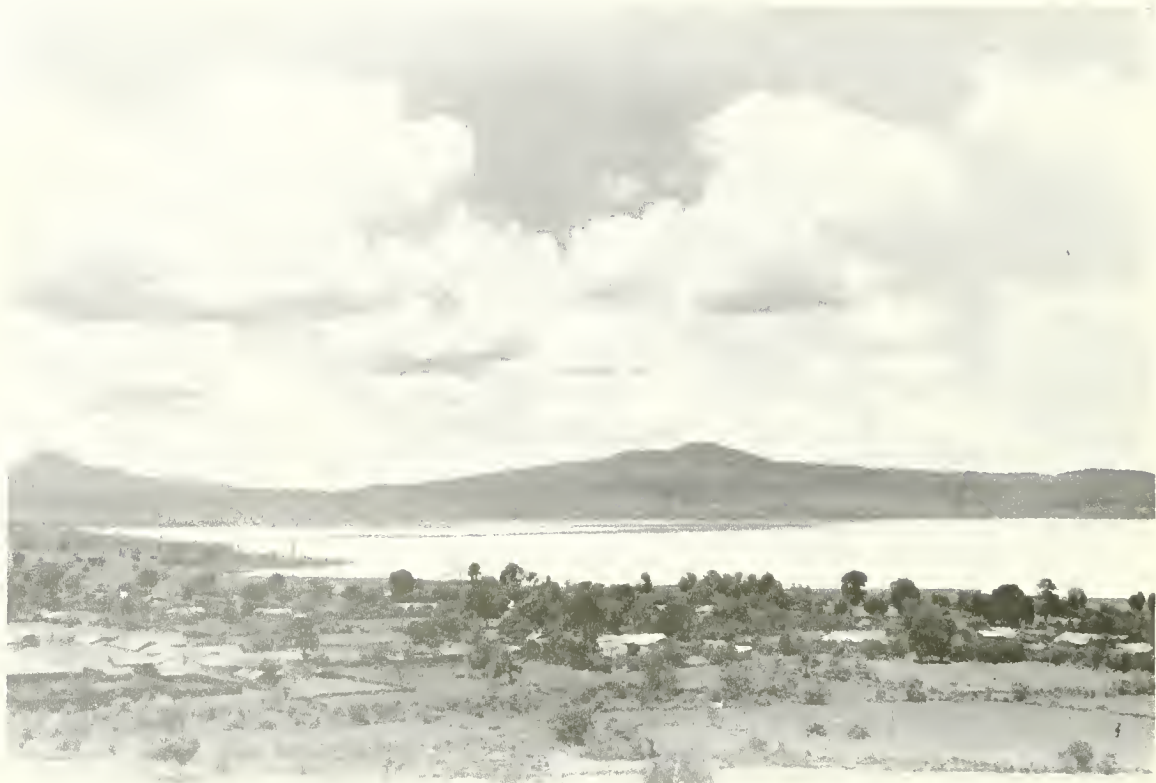


PLATE I. Landscape and physical types. *Top*: Looking northwest across Tzintzuntzan and Lake Pátzcuaro from the *yácatas*. *Bottom (left)*: Tarascan girls. *Bottom (right)*: Mestizo types. Carmen Peña, Guillermo Morales, and their son Miguel.



PLATE 5. Physical types and village scenes. *Top (left):* Mestizo couple. *Top (right):* Yicicatame Street looking toward the old convent. *Bottom (left):* Guillermo Morales' house. *Bottom (right):* Doña Andrea Peña's kitchen workshop.



PLATE 6.—Agricultural pursuits. *Top:* Salvador Villagomez with his ox team. *Bottom:* Vicente Rendón husking maize.



PLATE 7.—Harvesting activities. *Left:* Tarascan mother and children in a wheatfield. *Right:* Tarascan couple harvesting wheat



PLATE 3. Fishing scenes. *Top:* Drawing in the seine. *Bottom:* Seine stretched to dry; the man holds the tip of the *bolsa*

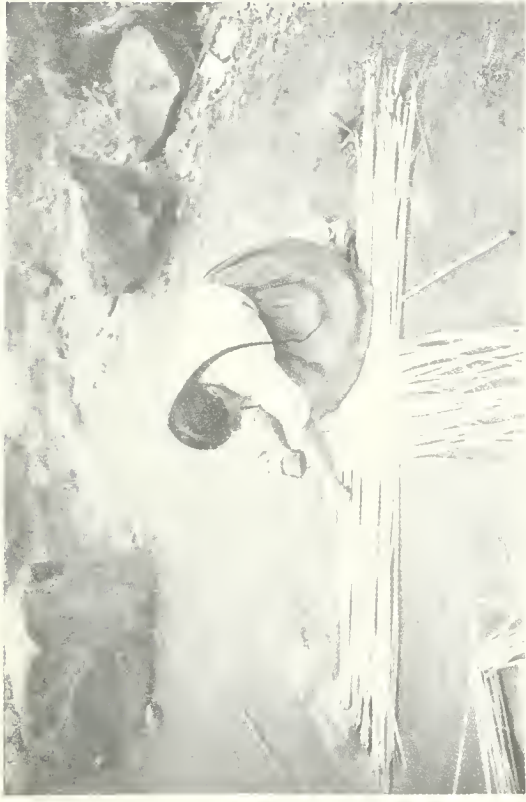


PLATE 9. **Hunting, fishing, and weaving scenes.** *Top (left):* The spear thrower in use. *Top (right):* Weaving a petate. *Bottom (left):* Carrying the seine to the canoe. *Bottom (right):* Drying bundles of tules.



PLATE 10. The Pátzcuaro market. *Top:* Canoe arriving from Janitzio. *Bottom:* Fruit stands.



PLATE II.—Pottery making. *Top (left):* Clay "mine." *Top (right):* Loading buros at a "mine." *Bottom (left):* Natividad Peña making plates while her daughters Consuelo (left) and Teresa (right) look on. *Bottom (right):* Natividad and Vicente polishing dried pots.



PLATE 12.—Pottery making. *Top (left):* Natividad glazing. *Top (right):* Natividad placing handles. *Bottom (left):* Faustino Peña mending a cracked pot. *Bottom (right):* Doña Andrea glazing.

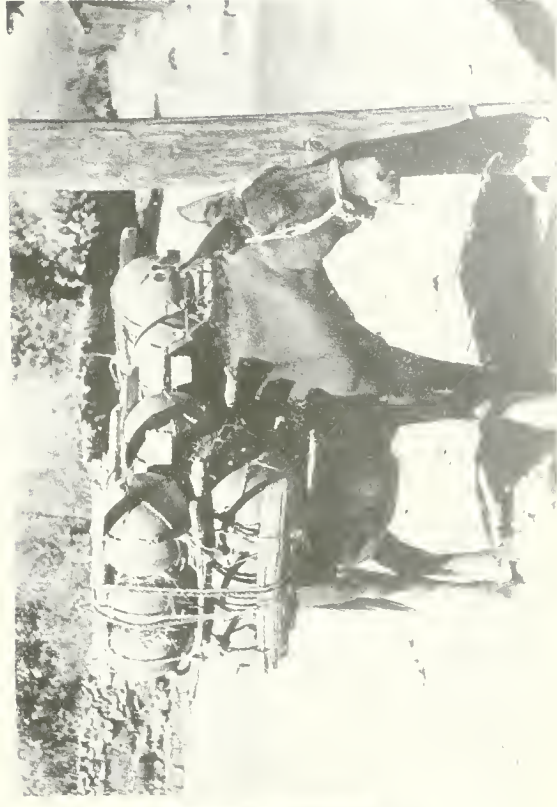
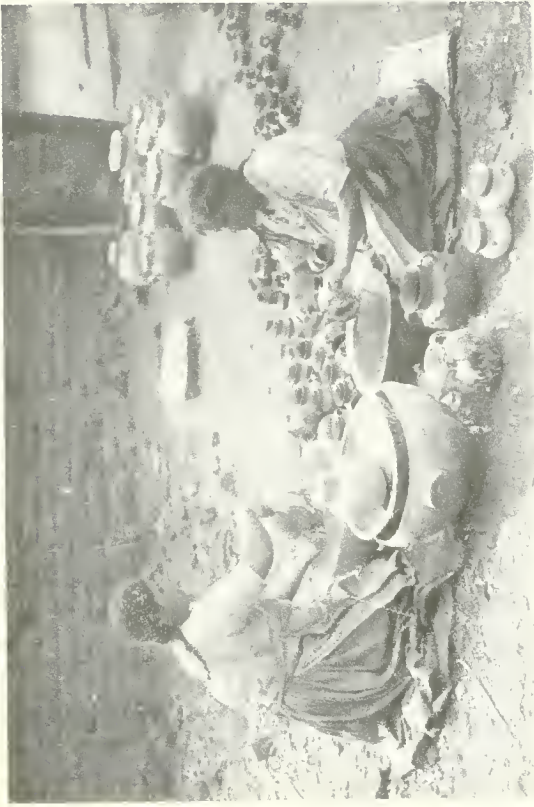


PLATE 13. Pottery making. *Top (left):* Grinding and mixing glaze. *Top (right):* Otelia Lara and Doña Andrea glazing. *Bottom (left):* Large pots loaded in the kiln for the second firing. *Bottom (right):* Pottery on the way to market. 4



PLATE 11. —Pottery styles. *Top: Ollas and cántaros. Middle: Tinaja ware. Bottom: Tinaja ware. Note the two halves of a mold at the right.*



PLATE 15.—Church activities. *Top:* La Soledad church. *Bottom (left):* Holy Week "spy." *Bottom (right):* Jesús Molinero and his clarín.



PLATE 16. Church activities. *Top*: Waiting at the grave on All Saints' Day. *Bottom (left)*: Tarascan masked dancers at the *octava* of Corpus Christi. *Bottom (right)*: A penitente on Good Friday.

Mar. 3	Wed., Mar. 14	
Maki d	Woodcutting. Grinding glaze.	Glazing, firing kiln. do.
ne. ng. ing. ng.	Making a plow. Ill. Woodcutting. House. do.	Carrying fodder. Shepherding. Sewing. do.
ara. ing pots. l.	Nothing. House. Firing mezcals oven.	Tending pack animals. Making pots. Nothing.
Polish pots. Maki hway.	Woodcutting. House.	Nothing. Making pots Highway.
Shoe ell. repa Maki othing. Maki	Woodcutting. House.	Clay mine. Making pots. Nothing. Nothing.
Pátzu. do. ng pots.		Nothing. Making pots.
Seeking. burro Maki.		Ill. Making pots.
Clay ng pots. Maki do.	Woodcutting. House.	Making pots. do.

TABLE 23.—Work schedule for eight family groups from March 1 to April 25, 1945¹

Family group	Relationship	Age	Thurs. Mar. 1	Fr., Mar. 2	Sat. Mar. 3	Sun., Mar. 4	Mon., Mar. 5	Tues., Mar. 6	Wed., Mar. 7	Thurs., Mar. 8	Fr., Mar. 9	Sat., Mar. 10	Sun., Mar. 11	Mon., Mar. 12	Tues., Mar. 13	Wed., Mar. 14
Renda family:	Husband	42	Social visit to Carrales.	Pulverizing clay.	Woodcutting.	Mix. polishing pots.	Woodcutting.	Mixing paste.	Clay mine.	Grinding, mixing paste.	Woodcutting.	Woodcutting.	Mass. to Quirigua.	Unloading kiln.	Painting pots.	Woodcutting.
Vicente:	Wife	40	do.	Making pots.	do.	House.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Natividad	Wife	40	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Hernandez family:	Husband	45														
Melchor	Wife	40														
Micaela	Mother	36														
Francisco	Son	15														
Saraco	Son	15														
Hermana	Sister-in-law	24														
Dolores	Daughter	16														
Melchor family:	Husband	40														
Electro	Wife	35														
Aurelia	Wife	35														
Larrosa	Daughter	16														
Leonardo	Son	15														
Urbano family:	Husband	55														
Alejandro	Wife	45														
Margarita	Wife	45														
Inero	Son	20														
Melchor family:	Husband	56														
José	Wife	50														
Hilario	Son	25														
Elena	Daughter	23														
Rómulo	Husband	29														
Teresa	Wife	19														
Vasquez family:	Husband	50														
Paulino	Son	50														
Salud	Mother	70														
Urbano family:	Husband	32														
Severiano	Wife	28														
Mariana	Wife	28														

Family group	Relationship	Age	Thurs. Mar. 15	Fr., Mar. 16	Sat. Mar. 17	Sun., Mar. 18	Mon., Mar. 19	Tues., Mar. 20	Wed., Mar. 21	Thurs., Mar. 22	Fr., Mar. 23	Sat., Mar. 24	Sun., Mar. 25	Mon., Mar. 26	Tues., Mar. 27	Wed., Mar. 28
Renda family:	Husband	42	Unloading kiln.	Painting pots.	Unloading kiln.	In Hierro.	Old job at home.	Pulverizing clay.	Woodcutting.	Carrying cool tiles.	Clay mine.	Woodcutting.	Mass. nothing.	Unloading kiln.	Unloading kiln.	Unloading kiln.
Vicente:	Wife	40	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Natividad	Wife	40	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Hernandez family:	Husband	45														
Melchor	Wife	40														
Micaela	Mother	36														
Francisco	Son	15														
Saraco	Son	15														
Hermana	Sister-in-law	24														
Dolores	Daughter	16														
Melchor family:	Husband	40														
Electro	Wife	35														
Aurelia	Wife	35														
Larrosa	Daughter	16														
Leonardo	Son	15														
Urbano family:	Husband	55														
Alejandro	Wife	45														
Margarita	Wife	45														
Inero	Son	20														
Melchor family:	Husband	56														
José	Wife	50														
Hilario	Son	25														
Elena	Daughter	23														
Rómulo	Husband	29														
Teresa	Wife	19														
Vasquez family:	Husband	50														
Paulino	Son	50														
Salud	Mother	70														
Urbano family:	Husband	32														
Severiano	Wife	28														
Mariana	Wife	28														

¹ Data at left of each column refer to morning; at right, to afternoon; across columns, all day.
² No data for Mar. 1-7.

ght family groups from March 1 t

	Wed., April 4			Tues., April 10		Wed., April 11	
g fodder.	Woodcutting.	Making pots.	Mixs.	Mixing paste.	Making pots.	Pulverizing	Making pots.
pots.	House.	do.	Ho m	House.	do.	House.	Polishing pots.
		Planting maize.	s.		Cultivating.		Cultivating.
clothes.	House.	Sewing. Planting maize.	Ho	House.	Visiting. Cultivating.	House.	Writing letters. Cultivating.
clothes.	House.	Shepherding. Sewing.	Ho d	House.	Shepherding. Sewing.	House.	House. Sewing.
	Clay mine.	Nothing.	Wo		Return from Santa Clara.	Woodcutting.	Nothing.
	Making pots.	do.	Mahes.		Trip to Pátzcuaro.	Mixing paste.	Making pots.
	House.	do.	Ho	House.	Making pots.	House.	do.
		Firing mezcál oven.	Claven.		Cutting mezcál.	Firing mezcál	oven.
		Highway.	Ho		Highway.	House.	Highway.
pots.	House.	Making pots.	Ho	House.	Making pots.	House.	To Quiroga for flour.
		Highway.			Highway.		Highway.
g	Woodcutting.	Bringing fodder.	kiln.	Mixing paste.	Bringing fodder.		Shoe repairing.
pots.	House.	Making pots.	Ho	House.	Making pots.	House.	Making pots.
	House.	Highway. Nothing.		House.	Highway. Making pots.	House.	Highway Making pots.
	Mixing paste.	Police duties.	Puñs.	Mixing paste.	Polishing pots.	Clay mine.	Mixing paste.
	House.	Making pots.	Mitay.	House.	Making pots.	House.	Making pots.
		Harvesting wheat.			Harvesting wheat.		Harvesting wheat.
	House.		Ho	House.	Pulverizing clay.	House.	Mixing paste.

TABLE 23.—Work schedule for eight family groups from March 1 to April 25, 1945 (Continued).

Family group	Relationship	Age	Mon, Mar. 29	Tue, Mar. 30	Wed, Mar. 31	Thurs, Apr. 1	Fri, Apr. 2	Sat, Apr. 3	Sun, Apr. 4	Mon, Apr. 5	Tue, Apr. 6	Wed, Apr. 7	Thurs, Apr. 8	Fri, Apr. 9	Sat, Apr. 10	Sun, Apr. 11	Mon, Apr. 12	Tue, Apr. 13	Wed, Apr. 14	Thurs, Apr. 15	Fri, Apr. 16	Sat, Apr. 17	Sun, Apr. 18	Mon, Apr. 19	Tue, Apr. 20	Wed, Apr. 21														
Reardon family	Husband	42	Nothing	Watching judo	Mam. Watching judo	Mam. To Tarcero for ashaka clay	Mam. cutting beans	Nothing	Nothing	Pulverizing clay	Making pots	Woodcutting	Bringing fodder	Woodcutting	Making pots	Mixing paste	Polishing pots	Woodcutting	Making pots	Clay mine	Polishing pots	Woodcutting	Making pots	Clay mine	Making pots	Mam. to Quirigua	Pulverizing clay	Mixing paste	Making pots	Mixing paste	Making pots	Pulverizing clay	Making pots	Mixing paste	Making pots	Pulverizing clay	Making pots			
Navidad	Wife	40	Mam.	do.	do.	do.	Washing clothes	do.	do.	House	Making pots	House	Making pots	House	do.	House	Making pots	House	do.	House	Making pots	House	mixing paste	do.	House	do.	House	do.	House	do.	House	do.	House	do.	House	do.	House	do.	House	do.
Hernandez family	Husband	35	Mam. buying pottery	Watching judo	Mam. Watching judo	Planting maize	Mam.	To Quiroga	Planting maize	Planting maize	Planting maize	Planting maize	Cultivating	Cultivating	To Lagunillas to well	In Lagunillas	Return from Lagunillas	Cultivating	Cultivating	Cultivating	Cultivating	Cultivating	To Lagunillas to well	In Lagunillas	Return from Lagunillas	Cultivating	Cultivating	Cultivating	Cultivating	Cultivating	Cultivating	Cultivating	Cultivating	Cultivating	Cultivating	Cultivating	Cultivating	Cultivating		
Micela	Mother	36	House	do.	do.	do.	do.	To Huatezo to buy seed	House	Visiting	House	Sewing	House	Sewing	House	Sewing	House	Sewing	House	Sewing	House	Sewing	House	Sewing	House	Sewing	House	Sewing	House	Sewing	House	Sewing	House	Sewing	House	Sewing	House	Sewing	House	Sewing
Francisco	son	17	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	
Francisco	son	15	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	
Hermosillo	sister-in-law	24	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	
Dolores	Daughter	10	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.		
Melchor family	Eleuterio	40	Mam.	Watching judo	Mam.	Watching judo	Ringing metal	Nothing	To Quirigua	All night fiesta	Nothing	Nothing	Clay mine	Nothing	Woodcutting	Polishing pots	Woodcutting	Polishing pots	Woodcutting	Polishing pots	Woodcutting	Polishing pots	Ringing metal	Clay mine	Nothing	Woodcutting	Polishing pots	Clay mine	Nothing	Woodcutting	Polishing pots	Woodcutting	Polishing pots	Woodcutting	Polishing pots	Woodcutting	Polishing pots			
Aurelia	Wife	35	do.	do.	To Patucaero	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.		
Carmon	Daughter	16	do.	do.	Watching judo	House	Church	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.		
Leonardo	son	15	do.	do.	Watching judo	House	Church	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.		
Urbano family	Man	55	Nothing	Watching judo	Mam. Nothing	Watching judo	Mam. Nothing	Nothing	Mam.	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing		
Alejandro	Husband	45	House	Highway	Highway	Mixing paste	House	Highway	Highway	Mixing paste	House	Highway	Highway	Mixing paste	House	Highway	Highway	Mixing paste	House	Highway	Highway	Mixing paste	House	Highway	Highway	Mixing paste	House	Highway	Highway	Mixing paste	House	Highway	Highway	Mixing paste	House	Highway	Highway			
Marina	Wife	28	House	Nothing	House	Mixing paste	House	Nothing	House	Nothing	House	Nothing	House	Nothing	House	Nothing	House	Nothing	House	Nothing	House	Nothing	House	Nothing	House	Nothing	House	Nothing	House	Nothing	House	Nothing	House	Nothing	House	Nothing	House	Nothing		

* No data for April 22-25.

† No data for April 20-25.



Date							Income				Cash balance	
	Nixtamal	Bread	Stationery, stamps	School	Glaze	Other	Total	Pots	As judge	Other		Total
Feb. 10	\$ 0.09	\$ 1.0				\$ 75.00	\$ 83.67	\$ 10.75			\$ 10.75	\$ 264.24
11	.09						27.42	¹ 25.10			25.10	191.32
12	.09	1.0				.30	3.03		\$ 0.20		.20	189.00
13						.55	2.40					186.17
14	.12						1.88	1.20			1.20	183.77
15	.12	1.0	\$ 0.30			.35	3.32					183.09
16	.12	.6				.32	3.29	.95			.95	179.77
17		1.0				60.00	62.50	42.00			42.00	177.43
18						40.00	41.45					156.93
19	.12	1.2				.05	2.95	5.10			5.10	115.48
20	.09						2.63		15.00		15.00	117.63
21	.09					1.00	2.44					130.00
22	.09					.10	4.29		8.00	\$ 1.00	9.00	127.56
23	.09	.6				.10	1.92					132.27
24	.12					75.25	76.00	.45			.35	130.35
25	.12					25.00	26.97				.80	55.15
26	.09						1.09		6.00		6.00	28.18
27	.10	.6				4.50	7.70					33.09
28		.6				4.00	5.81				.62	25.39
March 1											.62	20.20
2	.12			\$ 0.60	\$ 6.00		7.36	.40			.25	20.20
3							.50					13.49
4	.12	.1					.49				.25	12.99
5		¹ .6		.30			1.05			1.60	.60	12.75
6	.10	.7					2.90					12.30
7		.5					1.75					9.40
8		.5	.13				.71					7.65
9	.12	.5					.42					6.94
10	.12				2.60	.10	4.12					6.52
11	.05	.8		.60	15.60	9.00	30.66			50.00	50.00	2.40
12	.12	.7		1.00			3.32	.85		.40	1.25	21.74
13	.10						.60					19.67
14	.12						1.32					19.07
15							.50	4.10			4.10	17.75
16	.12					7.50	8.67	9.55			9.55	21.35
17						.05	1.48	35.05			35.05	22.23
18						.20	2.30					55.80
19	.12	1.0				.75	3.67					53.50
20	.12	.6					2.32					49.83
21	.10		.23	.30		.20	3.13	1.45			1.45	47.51
22		1.0				.20	2.60					45.83
23	.12	.5		.10		.45	5.97			.10	.10	43.23
24						.20	1.15					37.36
25	.12	.5					2.22					36.21
26	.12			.10		.35	2.62					33.99
27		1.4					2.10			.05	.05	31.37
28	.17					.10	1.77	10.00			10.00	29.32
29		.8				1.60	4.58			.10	.10	37.55
30							2.32					33.07
31		.5					.95					30.75
April 1	.17					.50	2.82	15.50			15.50	29.80
2				.40			1.75					42.48
3	.12			.50		.10	4.94					40.73
4						.10	2.60					35.79
5	.12						.87	1.80			1.80	33.19
6								2.00			2.00	34.12
7	.12		.23			.20	2.30					36.12
8	.12	.5			25.00	2.00	29.12					33.82
9				.25		.50	1.42					4.70
10	.06			.35			.66	2.00			2.00	3.28
Total	\$ 4.09	\$ 24.2	\$ 0.89	\$ 4.50	\$ 49.20	\$ 310.62	\$ 510.79	\$ 168.25	\$ 29.20	\$ 53.72	\$ 251.17	4.62

¹ Value of barte

Date													Income	
	Nixtamal	Bread	Sugar	Milk	Meat	Fish	Glaze	Fodder	Travel	Meals	Other	Pots	Mezcal	
March 1	\$ 0.10			\$ 0.25		\$ 1.20		\$ 1.20						
2			\$ 0.20	.25						\$ 0.80				
3	.10			.25		.30								
4		\$ 0.10		.25	\$ 1.10								\$ 0.70	
5	.10		.20	.25	1.60						\$ 0.40		.40	
6	.10	.50		.25		.90	.65	2.00	\$ 1.10	\$ 0.60	.10	34.50		
7	.08		.20								2.25			
8	.08			.25	.70								.70	
9	.10		.45	.25			.25					37.00		
10	.10				1.50		\$ 3.75						7.00	
11	.10			.25			.00				.20	8.58	.50	
12	.20			.25	1.90	1.00		2.00	.50	1.75		50.40		
13	.20	.20	.20	.25		1.00							.60	
14	.09	.20		.25							.20		1.00	
15	.10	.05	.20										.60	
16	.09			.25			.00				.20	33.70		
17	.15			.25	1.00								8.10	
18	.10		.45			.45							.75	
19	.10			.25						1.20		47.90	.50	
20	.19				.80	.30					.30		.70	
21	.07	.40		.25							.20			
22	.07	.05		.25	.70		3.75		.50				.05	
23	.07	.40	.10	.25							.20		8.50	
24	.07			.25							.75			
25	.15		.10		1.50				.50	.30	4.00	8.40		
26	.10			.25							.20		.20	
27	.10			.25	.70	.20		2.00		.35	.20	51.20	.50	
28	.10	.30	.10			1.00							1.30	
29	.20	.10		.25		.40								
30				.25			.40		1.80		.30			
31	.10	3.00	.10	.25									2.00	
April 1	.10	.40			1.00					1.50			4.00	
2			.10	.25										
3	.20					.30	3.75							
4	.20	.50		.25	1.15									
5	.10	.10	.20	.25	1.20									
6				.25		1.00								
7				.25		1.00							6.00	
8					.40	.30			.50				.30	
9	.15	.30	.10	.25									.25	
10	.10			.25	.50			2.00	.95	1.30		37.00		
11	.20				.75									
12	.20		.20	.25	.80									
13	.15			.25	.30									
14	.20												13.00	
15			.10	.25	1.00		4.00		.50					
16	.15		.20	.25				2.00		.70		44.05		
17				.25		1.20	.50							
18	.10			.25										
19	.10		.10								1.15			
20	.15			.25	4.00						.70			
21	.10		.20	.25									9.00	
22	.15	.20		.25										
23	.10	.20	.10											
24	.15			.25	2.00			2.00	.90			11.50		
25	.10		.20	.25	.30		4.00							
26	.10										.40			
Total	\$ 5.91	\$ 7.00	\$ 3.80	\$ 10.50	\$ 24.90	\$ 10.55	\$.80	\$ 19.25	\$ 13.20	\$ 8.15	\$ 8.00	\$ 11.85	\$ 364.63	\$ 66.65
Total expenditures												\$ 400.86	Total Income	\$ 431.23

Date
March 1
2
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April 1
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Total
Total ex
¹ Val

¹ Value of bartered goods.

Date			
	Nixtamal	Bread	Milk
March 1	\$0.19		
2	.07	\$0.15	
3			\$0.30
4		.20	
5	.19		
6	.10		
7	.20		
8	.10	.20	
9	.07		
10		.10	
11	.05		
12	.12		
13	.10		
14	.05		
15		.20	
16	.12		
17	.10		
18	.12		
19	.12		
20	.05	.15	
21	.10		
22			
23	.12		
24		.20	
25			
26			
27			
28			
29	.12	.10	
30	.16		
31	.15		
April 1	.15		
2	.20		
3	.10	.20	
4		.15	
5	.10		
6			
7	.20		
8	.10		
9	.08	.05	
10	.09		
11	.10		
12	.10		
13		.10	
14	.10		
15	.08		
16		.20	
17	.10		
18	.13		
19	.13		
20	.09	.15	
21	.10		
22	.12		
23	.13		
24	.08	.10	
25	.14		
26			
27	.06		
28	.09		
29		.10	
Total	\$4.97	\$2.35	\$0.30

Total expenditures.....

¹ Value of bartered goods.

Date	Nixtamal	Bread	Sugar	Meat
March 1		\$0.10		
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8	\$0.10		\$0.10	
9				
10				
11				\$0.20
12	.08			
13				
14				
15				
16	.03			
17				
18	.05			
19				
20				
21				
22	.03			
23	.03			
24	.03			
25				
26				
27				
28		.20		
29	.08			
30	.05	.10		
31	.03			
April 1				
2	.07			
3	.05	.05		
4				
5	.07			
6	.07	.05		
7	.05			
8	.05			
9	.07			
10	.07			
11	.07			
12	.09			
13	.09			
14				
15	.05			
16	.05			
17	.05			
18				¹ 2.00
Total	\$1.41	\$0.50	\$0.10	\$2.20

Total expenditures.....

¹ Value of bartered goods.

TABLE 30.—1

Date	Nixtamal	Bread	Sugar	Meat	Fish	Cheese	Lard
March 1	\$0.04						
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11					\$0.20		
12							\$0.10
13					.50		.15
14							
15					.15		.10
16							
17					.20		
18							
19							
20					.20		
21	.05						
22							
23							
24							
25							.10
26							
27					.15		
28							.10
29		\$0.50	\$0.50			\$0.20	.10
30					.50		.10
31							.10
April 1					.50		.10
2							.00
3							.10
4					.20		.10
5							.00
6							
7							
8				\$0.20			.00
9				.20			
10							
11					.20		.10
12				.30			.00
13					.20		.00
14							.10
15					.20		.10
16							
17					.20		
18				.30			
19				.20			
Total	\$0.09	\$0.50	\$0.50	\$1.20	\$3.40	\$0.20	\$1.10

Total expenditures.....

TABLE 30.—Family budget of Paulino Vázquez, March 1 to April 19, 1945

Date	Expenditures																			Income				
	Nixtamal	Bread	Sugar	Meat	Fish	Cheese	Lard	Rice	Potatoes	Maize	Beans	Salt	Chiles	Tomatoes	Onions	Matches	Cigarettes	Church	Soap	Glaze	Court fine	Harvesting wheat	Pots	
March 1	\$0.04																							
2																								
3																								
4																								
5										\$0.63		\$0.05					\$0.10		\$0.05					
6												.05												
7																								
8										.63														
9																								
10																								
11					\$0.20					1.65						.05			.10					\$16.00
12							\$0.10		\$0.20											\$2.60				
13					.50		.15							\$0.05										
14																								
15					.15		.10																	
16																								
17					.20																			
18																								
19					.20												.10					\$0.50		
20										.90														
21	.05																							
22										.45														
23										.90														
24															.05	\$0.05								
25																								
26										.30														
27																								
28					.15										.05	.05								
29		\$0.50	\$0.50			\$0.20		\$0.22							.05									
30					.50		.10								.10	.05						\$0.05		
31							.10																	
April 1					.50		.10						\$0.05						.10					
2							.05				\$0.13													
3							.10																	
4					.20				.16															
5							.05				.15													
6																								
7																								
8					\$0.20		.05						.05											\$5.00
9					.20																			
10											.15													
11					.20		.10				.15				.05	.05								
12					.30		.05			.95	.15			.03	.05	.05								
13					.20		.05				.15				.05									
14							.05																	
15					.20		.10																	
16																								
17					.20																			
18					.30										.05	.05								
19					.20																			
Total	\$0.09	\$0.50	\$0.50	\$1.20	\$3.40	\$0.20	\$1.45	\$0.22	\$0.66	\$6.11	\$0.88	\$0.10	\$0.13	\$0.57	\$0.20	\$0.20	\$0.20	\$0.05	\$0.25	\$2.60	\$0.50	\$5.00	\$16.00	\$16.00
Total expenditures.....																						\$20.01	Total income.....	\$21.00

TABLE 31.—*Fa*

Date	Nixtamal	Bread	Sugar	Meat	Fish	Lard	Ferme
March 1	\$0.08					\$0.05	
2					\$1.00		
3					.20		
4					.20	.05	
5	.08			\$0.25			
6	.08				.60		
7	.08					.05	
8	.08						
9	.04						
10	.08				.20		
11			\$0.10		.20		
12	.08					.05	
13	.08				.25		
14	.08						
15	.08				.15	.10	
16					.15		
17	.08				.15		
18	.08					.05	
19	.08						
20	.08				.10		
21						.05	
22	.08				.10	.05	
23	.08					.10	
24	.07				.10	.05	
25							
26							
27				.15	.15	.10	
28	.09				.10	.05	
29	.08	\$0.50	.25				
30					.20	.10	
31	.08					.05	
April 1	.08						
2	.08				.20		
3						.05	
4	.08			.20			
5						.05	\$0
6						.05	
7						.05	
8						.10	
9	.10			.20			
10	.08			.30			
11				.20		.05	
12					.15	.05	
13					.15	.05	
14				.15		.10	
15				.20		.10	
16				.15		.05	
17	.08			.30		.05	
18	.05		.20			.05	
19				.30			
20					.20	.05	
21							
22	.04					.05	
23	.05					.05	
24	.05						
25	.04					.05	
26	.05					.05	
27							
28	.04						
Total	\$2.46	\$0.50	\$0.55	\$2.40	\$4.55	\$1.95	\$0

Total expenditures.....

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